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TIBETAN PAINTED SCROLLS

AN ARTISTIC AND SYMBOLIC ILLUSTRATION
OF 172 TIBETAN PAINTINGS PRECEDED BY A SURVEY
OF THE HISTORICAL, ARTISTIC, LITERARY AND RELI-
GIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF TIBETAN CULTURE. WITH
AN ARTICLE OF P. PELLIOU ON A MONGOL EDICT,
THE TRANSLATION OF HISTORICAL
DOCUMENTS AND AN APPENDIX
ON PREBUDDHISTIC IDEAS
OF TIBET

II



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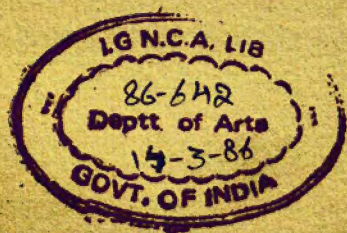
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PART THREE

DESCRIPTION AND EXPLANATION
OF THE TANKAS



NEPALESE SCHOOLS

TANKA n. 1 (Plate E).

This tanka, certainly one of the oldest in the collection, although one of the best preserved, can be considered a splendid specimen of that hieratic art, faithful to India's classical traditions, which Nepalese schools introduced into Tibet. In this case too we are helped by a comparison not only with the miniatures of Nepalese manuscripts and of their covers, but with some frescoes decorating the sKu aḅum of Jo nañ's chapels; the latter, as I could judge, when I examined them in 1939, may be considered a product of the same school, and very probably of the same craftsmen.

The painting is not difficult to interpret: The Buddha Rin c'en aḅyuiṅ gnas is the principal personage, attended by two acolytes: including the two couples above and the two smaller figures in both of the lower corners, we have the group of the eight Bodhisattvas.¹⁾

TANKAS nn. 2, 3 (Plates 1, F).

They represent rDo rje sems dpa', that is Vajrasattva, the visible symbol of cosmic consciousness in its absolute and incorruptible essence. His name, indeed, means adamant being, because, as the diamond is incorruptible, so this first principle of all things is not subject to any decay. He is the unsubstantiality of things itself, *dharmānairātmya-sambhūta* (*Jñānasiddhi*, p. 12), the being who is of himself, *svayambhūrūpa* (*Samputodbhavakalparāja*, fol. 56, 14th), the dharmakāya himself (*ibid.*).

He is then above the pentad because he is undifferentiated and, in the schools of the *anuttara-yoga*, the sixth Buddha, i. e. a moment of being preceding any evolution into the multiple: he is therefore identical with the Sarvatathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra, the

adamantine essence of the physical, verbal and spiritual plane of all the Tathāgatas (*Gubhasamāja*, p. 111), he who has neither beginning nor end (*anādinidāna-sattva*, *Jñānasiddhi*, p. 84). He is always represented with a bell and a rdo rje, the former in his left hand and the latter in his right; these instruments, essential to every esoteric Buddhist liturgy, are symbols: the first of the emptiness of all things and of the awareness of such emptiness, the second of the meditative process which translates into psychological experiences and spiritual realizations that same awareness. So when Vajrasattva is represented, as in the present tanka, embracing his śakti, that same symbolism is expressed by human figures: god = rdo rje, śakti = bell; that is, the synthesis of the two elements from which supreme enlightenment is derived: gnosis and compassion.²⁾

When he assumes forms, he reveals the Law, as *Bhagavān Vajrasattva*, to the choirs of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (*Gubhasamāja*, p. 111); he may then be alone or with his śakti, who is gnosis connaturated with him (*sabajā prajñā*, *Samputodbhavakalparāja*, p. 50). Sometimes he is white, sometimes, as in the present case, blue, Akṣobhya's very colour; he, in reality, in his aspect as sambhogakāya, is often confused with Akṣobhya, who is his first emanation (*akṣobhyo 'pi vajrasattvena mudryate*, *Advavajrasaṅgraha*, p. 42). Therefore in the Bar do, on the sixth day, when the deities of the pentad appear to the deceased's conscious principle, Akṣobhya's name is substituted with Vajrasattva's. Akṣobhya, one of the five manifestations of cosmic consciousness in its creative principle, also has the rdo rje as a symbol; his name means "the unshakeable", namely the adamant state of being, its quintessential nature, beyond all becoming.

On Plate 1 the god is represented with his female counterpart, wearing a diadem and necklaces. Above and below, figures of deities belonging to his cycle and masters initiated into his mysteries. Above: aBhi ma la (Vimala), Lotsāva Rin c'en mc'og, Gye re mc'og skyon, the Buddha Rin c'en g'zon nu, rGyal ba yon tan, sGrub pa sañs rgyas sems pa, Ña ston mc'og.³⁾ Then come two figures of Kun tu bzai po, of a dark blue colour, in samādhimudrā: on each side of rDo rje sems dpa' two Buddhas dressed as monks, Lhai sruñ ba and Lha ma goñ gyi sruñ ba. Underneath rDo rje g'zon nu, rDo rje rnam ajoms, rDo rje (bžad pa?), mK'a' agro ma Sen ge gdon ma, mGon po lcags pa, Re ma ti, bLa ma Śā kya byañ c'ub.

Plate F represents the same god, but those listening to his revelation, or the heavenly choirs to which he manifests himself, are no longer Buddhas, but Bodhisattvas: two on each side of him and six above, namely the eight Bodhisattvas whom we shall often find in the course of these pages. The tanka is one of the most ancient and very probably the work of Nepalese artists.

TANKA n. 4 (Plate 2).

It represents Akṣobhya (cfr. n. 12). The god is seated, in the attitude belonging to him, with his right hand in bhūmisparśa-mudrā, Gotama Buddha's usual mudrā, which alludes to his victory over Māra, in the night of Bodhgayā, when, after long meditation, the truth was revealed to him in all its splendour and he became at last the Enlightened. The repetition of the same mudrā is not surprising: there seems to be no doubt that Akṣobhya originated as a symbol of the unchangeableness of a Buddha's condition. When supreme enlightenment has been achieved, he who has partaken of it can never lose possession of it: enlightenment has transferred him to a spiritual plane which is the kingdom of the absolute, symbolically

called "the diamond sphere", because it is incorruptible and unfailing.

On each side we see two standing Bodhisattvas, both exactly in the same position; the lotus they carry in their right hand shows them to be two figures of Padmapāṇi. On the throne, his vehicle, the elephant, is visible. Above, figures of eleven Buddhas in different attitudes; around, various figures of deities belonging to Akṣobhya's cycle.

In Padmapāṇi's two figures, the hem of the dress is in relief: putty has been applied and then gilded.

TANKA n. 5 (Plate G).

This tanka represents Śaṃvara-Heruka and his cycle, together with the bla ma brgyud. I have written elsewhere concerning this god and Tantric literature, and must refer the reader to those pages.⁴⁾ The style of painting has a great analogy with the miniatures of Nepalese manuscripts, or of their coverings, and, on the other hand, with the most remarkable frescoes of the sKu ṭsum of Gyantse.

TANKA n. 6 (Plate 3).

This painting, of a dark red, is an absolute parallel of the frescoes, of Nepalese inspiration, in the sKu ṭsum of Gyantse. It is dedicated to bDe mc'og, Śaṃvara. I have more than once spoken about this god and his cycle in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, and must refer the reader to this work.

The two central figures represent bDe mc'og according to the usual iconographies and the mK'a' agro ma.

Above, Heruka, with two arms, embracing his śakti and grasping the bell and the vajra; he is surrounded by four gods, i. e. Dākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, gZugs can ma (Rūpiṇī): they all have four arms and on the left they hold the kapāla and the khaṭvāṅga, and on the right the knife and the magical tambourine.

Below, four K'ro mo, i. e. Kv'a gdon ma, 'Ug gdon ma, K'yi gdon ma, P'ag gdon ma (*Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 32). Then the cycle of the four above-mentioned goddesses is repeated (on the left). Below, near the donor's image, terrific deities, among which we can identify Jambhala, dPal ldan lha mo, Bya rog gdon, Sen ge gdon etc. On the first row, above, two Siddhas, rDo rje ac'añ, rDo rje sems dpa', mGon po. Around them unfolds the series of the masters connected with this cycle.

The tanka is probably of rÑiñ ma pa inspiration, as can be desumed from the caps of many lamas represented therein.

TANKA n. 7 (Plate 4).

This tanka comes from the monastery of Nor: the identification of the personages represented offers no difficulty, because even if iconographic tradition did not help us, the inscription at the bottom of the painting would supplement it; it leaves no doubt that this is a portrait of the Sa skya c'en po, Kun dga' sñiñ po, mentioned more than once in the present work: *rje btsun rnal abyor dbaṅ p'yug agran zla t'ams cad abral žiñ rig pa adsin pai sa la gnas pa dpal ldan sa skya pa c'en po kun dga' sñiñ po rgyal mts'an*, "the venerable lord of ascetics, who has no rivals, the vidyādhara residing on earth, the glorious great Sa skya pa Kun dga' sñiñ po, ...

His hands are in the mudrā of the preaching of the Law, and from them issue two lotus flowers, which blooming on delicate tendrils uphold a little bell and a rdo rje. The lama is thus represented with the symbols of the *vajrasattva* or *vajradhara*, i. e., as substantiated with supreme reality. Around him 16 figures of masters develop: on the right and left two images of Virūpā, the initiatic master of the Sa skya pa school and Mañjuśrī. Below, within curves coiling in a parallel manner to the right and left, like leaves of a plant growing out of a vessel of ambrosia, the seven

symbols of kingship and, completing the vase, also the eight well-omened signs. The ornaments on the throne are, as in the tanka n. 4, in relief, and obtained by the same technique.

The background of the painting is dotted here and there with floreal patterns. The tanka certainly belongs to a Nepalese school. Indeed it is possible to be more definite: this tanka is part of a series of similar paintings, representing as many lamas and hierarchs of the Sa skya pa school; they are to be found in the Nor or Evam c'os sde monastery, often mentioned in the present work, founded in 1429 by rGyal ba rdo rje ac'añ Kun dga' bzañ po. On this occasion the latter invited many Nepalese artists to adorn the chapels of the new convent he had caused to be built with the help and contribution not only of the gTsañ nobles, but also of devotees from remote provinces, among whom, for instance, were princes of Ladakh, Purang and mNa' ris.⁵⁾

Among the other sacred objects he ordered, his biography mentions "*bris sku*,, i. e. "paintings of the *gsuñ nag gi bla ma bgyud*, masters of the transmission of the verbal plane,, (p. 44).

The present tanka belongs to this series, hence it goes back to the XVth century; it may be considered one of the most important paintings of the present collection.

TANKA n. 8 (Plate 5).

It is dedicated to the cycle of the 84 siddhas, perfect men, in whom India's mystical experience is realized and in whose school the traditions of Indian yoga converge. I refer to what has been said before on these siddhas.

Round the two central figures, which the lack of inscriptions does not allow us to identify, unfolds the series of the siddhas, which is here reproduced in order.

The arabic numeral sometimes written near the Siddha's name refers to the lists studied above. As we shall see, the tanka does not represent the 84 Siddhas' traditional

list as contained in bsTan agyur LXXXVI, 1, but rather it follows the other text of the bsTan agyur LXXII, 52, *Grub t'ob brgyad cu rtsa bzii gsol adebs* which as we saw, was specially popular among the bKa' gdams pa.

ROWS	corresponding number in the list n. III ⁶⁾
1st	
1. lohita.....	3
2. [m]ts'o skyes rdo rje...	6
3. [m]ts'o skyes rdo rje (but a different iconography)	
4. šan [ti pa]	
5. dom bi he ru ka.....	7
6. rdo rje dri[l] bu pa	10
7. ra len dra o (<i>sic</i>) for: na len dra pa.....	11
8. illegible	
9. name missing	
10. ditto	
2nd	
1. ap'ags pa t'ogs med ...	78
2. name missing	
3. klan (?) bu pa	
4. na t'a pa.....	16
5. ti lo pa.....	23
6. dpal ldan sa ra ha.....	5
7. tog tse.....	17
8. la ba pa.....	19
9. mar me mdsad.....	22
10. illegible	
3rd	
1. šaṇ ti pa.....	21
2. name missing	
3. nag po spyod pa.....	14
4. p'ag ts'ad pa	
5. bzaṇ po ston pa.....	26
6. sa ba ri.....	27
7. name missing	
8. illegible	
9. aje tu pa (jetāri pā?) ..	32
10. name missing	

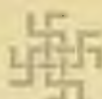
ROWS	corresponding number in the list n. III
4th	
1. ka ri pa.....	53
2. sprin gyi [šugs can]....	52
3. mig [gcig pa] kā ne ri..	18
5. name missing	
6. ki la pa (nilapa?).....	48
7. illegible	
8. ts'em bu pa.....	69
9. abu su ku pa.....	7
10. nag po spyod pa.....	24
5th	
1. sa ra ha c'un ba.....	81?
2. si ha li.....	71
3. adsa' lan da ri.....	46
4. ša kya gšes gñen.....	64
5. bhi na so	
6. name missing	
7. ts'aṇs dbyaṇs k'a ra	
8. rdo rje (c'un) k'am	
9. name missing	
10. name missing	
6th	
name missing everywhere	

CENTRAL PORTION

sagara pa (sāgara)	ba ra	central figure	ka na la (=ka mala) (37)	gser gliṇ pa (38)
[indra] bhu[ti] (15)	kon ka pa (konkana) (40)		ap'ags pa [lha?] (2)	stam... [ka la?] (18)
name missing	name missing		zla ba grags pa (59)	kun dga' sñiṇ po (58)
illegible	bhi na pa (23)		a nan ta pā (55)	adsa ri pa (54?)

TANKA n. 9 (Plates 6, 7).

This tanka is one of the most interesting and ancient: although it is not accompanied by any inscription, there is no doubt whatever



that it represents Śākyaśrī and, all around the large central figure, the most important events of his life, as they were imagined by believers and told by his more or less legendary biographies. Śākyaśrī, better known to Tibetans, from the country of his birth, as *K'a c'e paṇ c'en*, "the paṇḍita of Kashmir", was one of the most remarkable figures of late Buddhism. The author of some notable works on dogmatics and liturgy, he may be considered one of the most active personages in the late period of the preaching of Buddhism in the Country of Snows.

His life is well known. Having been invited to come to Tibet by the lotsāva of K'ro p'u, he preached the doctrine and expounded its mysteries and its liturgy to his disciples, particularly in the region of gTsañ; his teachings were later handed on by the lotsāva of K'ro p'u to the great theologian and polygraphist Bu ston, whom Tibetan tradition recognizes as an incarnation of the Kashmiri Paṇḍita.

He has been mentioned more than once in the present work; for greater clearness, it will now be well to add an extract from the *Dam pai c'os kyī byuñ ts'ul bstan pai rgya mts'or ajug pa gru c'en*, p. 146b, which contains a brief summary of the Kashmiri master's life, well furnished with dates.⁷⁾

"In the year wood-mouse (1204), 3337 after the Buddha's nirvana, the Kashmiri Paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadrā, with some lesser pandits, came to Tibet. These pandits, forming his retinue, were Sugataśrī, learned in the Mādhyamika and in the Prajñāpāramitā, Jayadatta learned in the Vinaya, Vibhūticandra versed in grammar and in the Abhidharma, Dānaśīla in logic, Saṅghaśrī in the Candravyākaraṇa both ancient and recent, Jīvagupta in the laws of Maitreya, Mahābodhi in the Bodhicaryāvatāra, Kālacandra in the Kālacakra.⁸⁾ This paṇḍita was born in Dsaśobharā, in K'ri stan of Kashmir in the year wood-ox (1145).⁹⁾ At the age of ten he studied grammar under the Brahman Lakṣmīdhara¹⁰⁾ (in the text: lakṣandhīra); from

nine to 22 he led the life of a pious layman, devoted to study. At 23 he was ordained as a monk by the abbot Sukhaśrībhadradeva and was given the name Subhadra. He remained in Kashmir up to the age of 29; at 30 he went to Magadha, where he obtained the first initiation at the hands of Śāntākaragupta, who was acting as an abbot (*mk'an po*), of Daśabala, and of Dhavaraka (*sic*)¹¹⁾ as esoteric master. When he was already 60, the lotsāva of K'ro p'u, who was then 33, in the year of the mouse, in the month of *magha*, set off to invite him, got to the Indian market Vaidūrya,¹²⁾ and sent him, with gifts, a letter which began: "In the teachings of Śākya a son of Śākya has been born, whose name is Śākya", and met the paṇḍita in Vaneśvara...

"The Paṇḍita was very glad and, being about to depart, had two sedan-chairs made for the other lesser pandits too, and took them along. In C'u mig, K'ro p'u pa ordered 60 monks to go out to meet him, and with 60 sunshades, silken bands and music, they led him to K'ro p'u. On that same occasion the Sa skya paṇḍita, whose father dPal c'en 'od po had died in the year of the boar (1203) while he was going to rKyañ adur¹³⁾ with funeral offerings, met the C'os rje (Śākyaśrī) and wrote the book on logic and the *C'os mc'og bstod*. Thus it is said.

"Residing in Kro p'u during the summer retreat, 800 persons took vows while he expounded the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. Then Byaṅ c'ub dpal of Lho brag was initiated by him; then they came to invite him with many gifts, on the part of the abbot of aBrik'uñ, in dBus. Having arrived in sLas mo c'e, he consecrated the objects of the cult, which had been brought from India, and presented precious offerings. Then bSod nams mdses of gTsañ so met him...

"In the year of the elephant (1205) he passed the summer retreat in sLas mo c'e, and at the end of the retreat he came to C'u mig riñ mo; in rGyan goñ he conferred the vows upon rDo rje dpal: then he went to gŽu sñe

mo. Through mTs'ur p'u he came to sTod luñ, where he honoured the two images of Jo bo. Then, in the year of the tiger (1206) he passed the winter retreat in Srin mo ri, expounding the Law of Byams pa and various other subjects (*rig ts'ogs*). In the year of fire and of the hare (1207) he came to Sol nag t'añ ... Then, on his way to Ra sgreñ, in the North, he was invited by (the abbot) of aBri k'uñ; thus having been prevented from going there, the bKa' gdams pa could not meet him. In the year earth-dragon (1208) he came to gTsañ; in rGyan goñ in sÑañ smad he conferred the perfect initiation upon the Sa skya pañḍita; on this occasion Byañ c'ub 'od of Lhasa acted as esoteric master; being born in the year wood-mouse, this was then 65 years old. In the year of the serpent (1209) he spent the summer retreat in Rin c'en sgañ and in the year of the horse (1210) he spent it in Sa skya.

"In the year of the sheep (1211) he spent the same summer retreat in Lug gu gdoñ, in Šañ, and on this occasion he conferred the perfect initiation upon Lha btsun guñ t'añ pa; in the year of the ape (1212) he spent the summer in K'ro p'u, in the year water-ape (1212) from the third to the thirteenth day of the month *Bre*, he consecrated Maitreya's statue in K'ro p'u. Then from K'ro p'u he went to mÑa' ris. In the year of the bird (1213) he spent the summer retreat in Pu hrañs; in the year wood-dog (1214) he returned to Kashmir; for only 29 years he gave living creatures the benefit (of his teachings).

"At the age of 99, on the fifth of the month sGrog, he passed away,,.

The tanka considers not so much these episodes of his life, which we may call external, as his revelations and the interior events. The scenes it represents, however, would remain all but impossible to decipher, if we were not aided, not so much by the K'a c'e pañ c'en's biography, as by a litany which, in the form of mystical invocations, sums up the main events of the saint's life. This litany was actually written by his Tibetan disciple, the

lotsāva of K'ro p'u Byams pa dpal;¹⁴⁾ its title is *Pañ c'en ša kya śrī rnam t'ar k'ro p'u lo tsa bas mdsad pa*. It contains, besides a few introductory and closing verses, 36 invocations, to each of which corresponds a scene. These litanies were used as a foundation by a *rnam t'ar*, who explained them and completed them, mostly by a paraphrase; the title of this work is: *Sai steñ na agran zla dañ bral ba k'a c'e pañ ḍi ta ša kya śrī bha drai rnam t'ar* written by bSod nams dpal bzañ po on the base of the rNam t'ar composed by the lotsāva of K'ro p'u and by the lotsāva of dPal (to be corrected dPyal).

The tanka is a pictorial translation of that small book. We would therefore be well advised to take these invocations as a base: without dwelling upon particular descriptions, we will simply translate the litanies themselves, which are the best illustration of the pictures. The scenes begin in the upper part of the tanka, to the left of the small picture placed over the axis of the central figure, and they end at the right of it.

1. Honour to him who was born in Dsa so dha ra as the son of the merchant Samaya-sum bha ka, in the sacred village dBañ p'yug c'e in Pra ba pu ra,¹⁵⁾ in the peerless K'ri bstan, lofty city of Kashmir.

2. Honour to him, whom the king encircled with a diadem, because after having studied well under the Brahman La kṣi dha ra, from his tenth year, grammar, rhetoric and medicine, he overcame (in public debates the followers of) other doctrines.

3. Honour to him who, after having studied grammar and logic according to the Buddhist system and the other treasures of the sacred scriptures and of the other schools under Rat na sri etc. in Bhrin gi bhi ha ra,¹⁶⁾ saw (explained) in letters (emanating) like the circle of a rainbow from his lamp, the difficult points of the mystical sciences.

4. Honour to him who, favoured by his protecting deity, frequenting scholars and perfect men like La li ta trid etc. in Sa mi and in Sa tra bhi ha ra,¹⁷⁾ progressed in the study



of various treatises of dogmatics, and then on the way to salvation.

5. Honour to him who, having become a great treasure-house of the sacred scriptures, abandoned the life of a layman and was ordained as a monk at the age of 23; by the grace of the Victorious, the bodhi tree (having appeared to him in a dream) bent its branches before him (as an act of homage) and Byams mgon stretching out his arms (over his head) taught him the way of ascetic purity.¹⁸⁾

6. Honour to him who in Dsa ya pu ri,¹⁹⁾ having heard for a long time (the explanation of) the Mother of the Victorious (gnosis) was instructed in the Law by Mi p'am,²⁰⁾ who had appeared to him among the clouds: later he attained a condition of supreme ecstasy, (inspired) by the deep sound (of thunder) and lightning, as he saw in a dream.

7. Honour to him who, after having received instruction upon many of his (Maitreya's) books in the presence of masters like Ži abyun, dByaṅs snaṅ, Blo gros sbas, aByor ldan šes rab bkod pa,²¹⁾ placing himself in a vase full of oil of sesame, learnt by heart hundreds of thousands (of verses).

8. Honour to him who in 16.000.000 of famous cities was the most celebrated among hundreds of pandits, both Buddhists and belonging to opposite schools, and having become at the same time a miraculous incorporation of the threefold science, founded a large number of wonderful mc'od rten.

9. Honour to him who in the temple of Sun bha ku ṭa, in a dream caused by the noble (Tārā), received the prophecy that he would be able to answer back in all debates concerning gnosis, grammar and logic, and became as a birch-tree for the ravens who had received from K'ro gñer can the gift of eloquence.²²⁾

10. Honour to him who, having gone over the nine mountains from that holy place, K'a c'e, arrived in the Ma ga ta (Magadha) source of wisdom, and on his way, in a hut in the forest, had the vision of the great Bodhi-sattva; while many other visions appeared

to him, he obtained the revelation of the sixfold magic formula.

11. Honour to him who, having reached the age of 30, was consecrated as a monk (by a ceremony in which took part) San ta ka ra gup ta as first officiant, Da sa bha le (as master of the liturgy) and Dha na ka ra (as master of the formulas).²³⁾

12. Honour to him who became such a scholar as had never existed before him, when in the garden in Benares called Draṅ sroṅ bltams (Rṣipatana) the pandit De va pu nya, being inspired, taught the second preaching of the law, extracting its essence from the Mahāyāna.

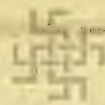
13. Honour to him who, in the sandalwood palace of the Ma la ya, heard the revelation of aJam dbyaṅs, rTa mgrin and sGrol ma etc. and obtained the gift of receiving alms upon which were drawn eight manifestations of various signs of good omen.

14. Honour to him who in Ma ga ta, a place frequented by the Buddhas of the three epochs, heard from the master called Ņi zla rgya mts'o various teachings concerning the Mahāyāna, and received from the gods who had appeared in the centre of the sky, an homage of celestial flowers.

15. Honour to him who, in the peerless temple of Bhi kra ma,²⁴⁾ having been baptized as the first among thousands of monks, became the point (where are collected) all the virtues, causing the rain of ambrosia represented by beautiful maxims to rain uninterruptedly.

16. Honour to you who, on the see of Na len dra, that mine of scholars, have vanquished the masters of the heretics from all the points of space; you who have dedicated there sacred objects famous for their stores of royal gifts; you who have become lord of the protectors of the Buddha's teachings.

17. Honour to him who in O dan pu ri,²⁵⁾ that lofty place, was greeted by 12.000 monks, who came to meet him while the most important persons of all the four classes into which the Buddhist community is divided,²⁶⁾ bowed



before the lotus of his feet. There he had two marvellous visions.

18. Being in Ka ni ka and in Zla ba bkram, in a place called the well-omened forest of U si,²⁷⁾ he had a vision of the Buddha who, together with two Auditors, who followed him as attendants, begged alms of the lord of the Klu.

19. Honour to him who in Dsa ya na ga ra, when the King who ruled according to the law was married, saw that round Mi p'am, the central deity (of the group that had appeared to him) were Nor aḍsin (who sang beautiful songs), and a son of the gods who waved a white and graceful fly-whisk; then he heard the seven laws (of Maitreya-nātha).

20. Honour to him whom, while in the temple of gSer 'od rgyal mts'an Chinese messengers, come from afar, were addressing prayers to him, a white and handsome monk, observant of the Law (appeared in a dream and) in an agreeable voice prophesied that which was to happen in another time.

21. Honour to him, to whom, in the "Garden of rushes", in Benares, while a drummer was lifting up his voice in song and beating his drum, a woman in a painting (having assumed a real body) offered as alms a milk-soup which became ambrosia.

22. Honour to him who, while, during the autumn solstice, the religious ceremony was taking place in the rDo rje gdan and clouds of thick, scented smoke uplifted, were gathered on high, and lightning flickered, listened to the perfect Law of the yoga and obtained a state of ecstasy.

23. Honour to you who, while in the heart of a forest (two Bodhisattvas) in the form of a buffalo and a cow, briefly explained the essence of the supreme ascetic, those beautiful maxims did (once again) explain in an ample manner, writing them in letters of blood on the skin of your body.

24. Honour to him who had the vision of Byams (pa), sGrol (ma) and T'ub dbaṅ on the tips of the flames of the votive lamps; he

who before this, when he abandoned the lay life and was consecrated as a monk, had taken them as the holy patrons of the four laws.²⁸⁾

25. Honour to him who, while foreign soldiers were destroying Magadha (*dbus aggyur ac'an*) and other places, in a dream inspired by the goddess actually saw, as if it had been a park, the road which leads northward and eastward.

26. Honour to him to whom, while in a night full of dangers he was travelling on the road to the East, the stars Pa ba saṅs and dGa' bde c'e pointed out the way, while Ma hā kā la held a lamp, dropping a rain of flowers upon him.

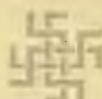
27. Honour to him over whom, in the temple of Dsa ha dha la,²⁹⁾ which protects the world, four goddesses of the class of Rig aḍsin, namely Tog can, Ñe bai tog can, gSer p'reṅ can and Lo ma gos can, in the first hours of the day, held parasols.

28. Honour to him who, as once he sat absorbed in meditation, when the morning drum was beaten, heard the four Laws of the Son of the Victorious, (awakened by the sound) of the drum, coming from the home of the gods: he, then, realized in various manners (the experiences symbolized by) Kye rdo rje, aK'or lo sdom pa and of Dus abyūṅ.

29. Honour to him who in the seventh day of the second month of the years wood-mouse, while the lotsāva who was to lead him was on the way, was insistently invited to go northward by gTsug tor, gSer mdog can and rNam t'os sras.

30. Honour to him who, although moved to compassion like the great being he was, nevertheless, due to fatigue, was about to go back (to India); but at that moment a light of the great Maitreya was manifested to him, and trustworthy messengers uttered to him a prophecy regarding time, place and person.

31. Honour to him who, in the land celebrated as the centre of the Country of Snows, caused the good of infinite creatures, by appearing like a sun of the world, which moved



from South to North; through this apparition he did good, whether he was seen or whether he was spoken about or whether he was remembered or touched (in the books where he is mentioned).

32. Honour to him who, according to the prediction of the r̥ṣi in Bya rkañ, of the Šiñ skyoñ in O rgyañ and of the arhat in Siñ ga gliñ, perfected himself until he became in the future a third Buddha; up to that time he took refuge in the dGa' ldan.

33. Honour to you, lamp of the aDsam gliñ, master of the Law whom no one equals anywhere, whether in India, China, Nepal, Tibet, Khotan, Kashmir; you who accomplished on this earth endless miracles.

34. Honour to you who may be compared to a lotus, to the sun, to a gem and to the clouds, because trembling (with compassion) you are not tainted by any mud, you shine upon the world, you are the treasure of every beneficent deed, and you rain upon all a shower of ambrosia. You are the essence of mystical perfections.

By comparing these litanies with the scenes represented in the tanka, we see that the correspondence is perfect up to scene 31; the painter, of course, is concise, much more so than the author of the litanies we have translated. There is no doubt that the artist has very faithfully followed the outline drawn by the lotsāva of K'ro p'u. The small figures represented in the tiny pictures, although they are few and awkward, reproduce in a striking and life-like manner the scenes mentioned by the poet. From verse 31 to verse 34 the correspondence is lacking; from verse 31 to 34 there is no allusion to particular events in the saint's life; it is rather an apotheosis, done in a general manner. Probably the painter has filled the space which remained at his disposal with scenes drawing their inspiration from oral tradition, and most likely from the events which brought Śākyaśrī to Tibet and from the account of his spiritual relations with the lotsāva of K'ro p'u, who was his greatest disciple.

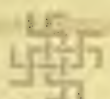
TANKA n. 10 (Plates 8-12).

This tanka is the most ancient illustration of Tsoñ k'a pa's life known to me; it has no relation with the later composition of Tashilunpo represented by nn. 55-60.

We are in another world, not only artistically speaking, but also from a spiritual point of view. There external events prevail: Tsoñ k'a pa's meetings, his journeys, his ascent to great honours as the founder of a sect; he is magnified as the apostle of a new trend in the very circle of his devotees, who are already aware of the secure supremacy of their own school. In the present tanka, much older and probably painted in the XVIth century, he is seen with different eyes; the vicissitudes of his life recede into the background; the artist evokes his spiritual world, his visions, his attainment of sanctity, the revelation of truth expressed by the symbols of the gods. This *tanka* therefore is not so much a simple biography in pictures (*rnam t'ar*), as, rather, a *gsaṅ rnam t'ar*, a secret biography in which the master's mystical ascent is represented in its outstanding moments.

Of course these visions and miracles take place in well known localities, in monasteries and temples whose names we have learnt from his biography. But also in this case, the painter has not invented anything; he has followed a literary outline, conforming himself closely to the written biography; to each event and episode in the biography a small picture corresponds, numbered according to the letters of the alphabet, from *ka* to *la*. The single scenes can be identified with certainty, because each of them is accompanied by a brief inscription in running hand (*dbu med*) written in yellow or black ink, often discoloured with age and therefore not always quite legible.

The series of the pictures begins above the central image, at the top, to the right, with a scene in which two lamas are seen kneeling in front of an image of aJam dbyaṅs; it then unfolds on the band on the right, it is resumed



on the left and joins the first picture, over the head of the central figure. Another two pictures are on both sides of the head. Below, in the scene on the left, the following inscription can be read in praise of Tsoñ k'a pa:

1. *de bdag cag gi bla ma dam pa šar tsoñ*
2. *k'a pa blo bzañ grags pai dpal žes mts'an*
3. *yoñs su grags pa gro ba ma lus pai*
4. *spyi gñen gcig bu rgyur pai rgyal ba*
5. *t'ams cad t'ugs keyi sras mc'og dam pa*
6. *... t'ugs rje dan mk'yen rab ts'an bai*
7. *... mña' bdag dam pa adi la mk'yen pa*
8. *... rtso bai dan p'rin las la sogs pa*
9. *dpag tu med pa... rgyal bai bstan*
10. *pa la rgyal ba ñid dan qts'unš³⁰ šin k'yad par*
11. *du sdig pai dus keyi gro ba dam... adul ba*
12. *la rgyal ba gñis pas kyañ... mts'an c'e*
13. *ba ni udir bkod pa la sogs pai rnam t'ar rnamš*
14. *mt'on pa šes par gyur ro.*

"This is our exalted master Blo bzañ grags pa of Šar Tsoñ, such is his famous name; he is the common and only friend of all creatures, the supreme exalted spiritual son of all Victors.

"In this master of all manners of compassion and knowledge..., knowledge... compassion and infinite action etc. ... in the teachings of the Victorious, he is the equal of the Victorious himself. In a special manner the created beings of this sinful epoch... in the discipline... by the second Victorious also... great name - seeing the deeds of his life reproduced here, may they recognize them,,,

Is it possible to identify the source of the painter's inspiration? Among the complete works of Tsoñ k'a pa and of his two foremost disciples (Lhasa edition) there is a pamphlet entitled: *rJe rin po c'ei gsañ bai rnam t'ar rgya mts'o lta bu las c'a šas ñuñ du žig yoñs su brjod pai gtam rin po c'ei sñe ma*, written by another of his pupils bKra šis dpal ldan³¹ in aBras spuñs, which, as the title shows, is a secret biography of the founder of the Yellow sect. Therefore, to illustrate the tanka, it will be enough to read and translate the inscriptions which accompany

each single painting; thus each event, which the painter has represented according to the source he has taken as a model, will clearly appear. We have also noticed that often the inscriptions follow the text of the biography to the extent of using the same words: in these cases the correspondence I have noticed has not been printed in italics.

Before describing the single scenes which unfold from the right to the left of the central image, it will be well to speak of the latter. It reproduces Tsoñ k'a pa's figure according to its traditional iconography, between his two most celebrated disciples: Grags pa rgyal mts'an and Dar ma rin c'en.

A – *blo ñes nam mk'a' sgrib gži (?) sdig dan sña (?)*
las ... rgya lha min gyal pas rgyal...
grags pai gsal adañs srid žii mun pa ajoms
blo bzañ grags pai žabs la p'yag ts'al lo
skye ba kun du rjes su gzuñ du gsol.

B – To the right:
adul ba adsin pa
grags pa rgyal mts'an

C – To the left:
rig pai dbañ p'yug dar ma rin c'en

A – Homage at the feet of Blo bzañ grags pa: he is a sun of glory (*grags pa*) who overthrows the darkness of the world and the darkness beyond the world, vanquishing the demons in battle, (putting to flight) as the sun does to the spots of the sky, the sins of the mind (*blo*). May he assist all living beings.

B – Grags pa rgyal mts'an, keeper of the monastic rules.

C – Dar ma rin c'en, lord of science.

ka – bdag cag gi dbañ bla ma dam pa adi sñon sañs
rgyas (mdun) du byon nas (?) byañ c'ub sems dpa' mos
pai blo gros adi dan ajal (sic, always) (biogr., p. 4).

k'a – adi yañ bla ma dam pa adi sku skye ba adi la
gsuñ rabs rab abyam keyi don mt'a' dag t'ugs su c'ud ciñ
bslab pa 3 la ñes skyon rdul tsam (?) yañ mi mña'
k'yad par du bla ma dbu ma pa dan ajal ajam
dbyañs la dri ba mañ du mdsad³² (biogr.,
p. 2 b; in gTsañ roñ).



ga – *yañ* *skyi* *šod* *kyi* *dga'* *ba* *gdon* *du* *dpon* *slob* *gñis* *sku* *ts'ams* *mdsad* *nas* *ajam* *dbyaṅs* *sgrub* *pas* *adi* *lta* *bui* *skui* *snañ* *ba* *dños* *su* *byuñ* *riñ*, *dbu* *ma* *pas* *lo* *ts'ts'a* *ba* *mdsad* *pas* *dri* *ba* *la* *gdams* *pai* *gnad* *gsuñs* *pa* *dpag* *tu* *med* (biogr., p. 4 b); *dbu* *ma* *pa* *c'os* *rje*.

ña – *yañ* *de* *ltar* *du* *bla* *mas* *lo* *ts'a* *mdsad* *nas* *ajam* *dbyaṅs* *p'yi* *nañ* *gsaṅ* *gyi* *dbaṅ* *dañ* *las* *gšin* *gyi* *rjes* *gnañ* *gsaṅ* *pas* *dpa'* *gcig* *gi* *rjes* *gnañ* *mdsad* *dus* *adi* *lta* *bui* *rnam* *par* *snañ* *ba* *byuñ* *gda'* (biogr., p. 5 a).

ca – *yañ* *nañ* *sgrub* *gsaṅ* *sgrub* *rnams* *kyi* *skabs* *su* *ajigs* *byed* *dños* *su* *gzigs*...

c'a – *yañ* *las* *gšin* *gyi* *rjes* *gnañ* *gi* *skabs* *su* *adi* *ltar* *du* *las* *gšin* *bka'* *sgo* *ba* *la* *sogs* *pai* *rnam* *p'ul* *dpag* *tu* *med* *gzigs* *pa* *yin* *gda'* (biogr., p. 5 a).

ña – under the images of the two lama (*dbu* *ma* *pa* *c'os* *rje*): *yañ* *lha* *sai* *dpon* *slob* *2* *kyis* *ajam* *dbyaṅs* *la* *gsol* *ba* *drag* *du* *btas* *pas* *rje* *btsun* *gyis* *ñams* *len* *gyi* *gnad* *sdus* *pai* *ts'igs* *bcad* *bka'* *žig* *gsuñs* *pa* *c'os* *rje* *pas* *zin* *ris* *su* *bris* *yod* *pa* *gda'o* (biogr., p. 5 b).

(no letter) – *rgyal* *ba* *sman* *gyi* *lha* *bla* *gos* *ser* *po* *can* *byams* *pa* *rin* *po* *c'ei* *rgyan* *dañ* *ldan* (biogr., p. 5 b).

(no letter) – *mgon* *po* *ts'e* *dpag* *med* *byams* *pa* *rab* *byuñ* *gi* *c'a* *rnams* *can* *bla* *ma* *rtogs* *ldan* *ajam* *dpal* *rgya* *mts'o*.

ta – *yañ* *ajam* *dbyaṅs* *kyis* *bka'* *yi*... *yañ* (*yod?*) *bskul* *ba* *la* *rtags* *slob* *ma* *brgyad* *dañ* *bcas* *pa* *bya* *bral* *la* *byon* *nas* *'ol* *ka* *c'os* *luñ* *du* *p'eb* *ts'ams* *cad* *bsag* *sbyañ* *la* *abad* *pas* *abris*... *rnams*... (biogr., pp. 5, 6).

t'a – *yañ* *dei* *dbyid* *ts'e* *la* *rje* *btsun* *gyis* *dmu* *rgod* *gdul* *dkai* *sems* *can* *adi* *rnams* *la* *bšad* *pas* *p'an* *t'ogs* *c'en* *por* *ga* *la* *agyur* *de* *bas* *sgrub* [*pa* *lhur* *blañ* *dben* *ruñ* *pa* *ste* *rañ* *gžan* *gñis* *ka* *ats'ams*] *pai* *lam* *rñed* *snam* *ces* *sogs* *gsuñs* *so* (biogr., p. 6 a).

da – *yañ* *rdsiñ* *ji* *jo* *bo* *la* *ajal* *nas* *rgyal* *sog* *p'ur* *byon* *t'ugs* *dam* *šin* *tu* *p'el* *de* *dus* *ajam* *dbyaṅs* *sku* *šin* *tu* *c'e* *ba* *gzi* *brjid* *p'un* *sum* *ts'ogs* *pa* *žig* *la* *sañs* *rgyas* *dañ* *byañ* *c'ub* *sems* *dpa'* *dpag* *tu* *med* *pas* *bskor* *ba* *dañ* *klu* *grub*, *arya* *de* *ba*, *sañs* *rgyas* *skyañs*, *klu* *byañ*, *zla* *sgrags* (*sic* *for* *grags*), *t'ogs* *med*

sku *mc'ed*, *cogs* (*for* *p'yogs*) *glañ*, *c'os* *grags*, *yon* *tan* (*'od*), *sa* *kya* *'od*, *lha* *dbaṅ* *blo*, *rgyan* *mk'an* *po* *ka* *ma* *la* *ši* *la*, *a* *bhyas* (*pañ* *đita*), *rgyal* *po* *Inda* *bodhi*. *bram* *ze* *saraha*, *lu* *hi* *pa*, *dril* *bu* *pa*, *nag* *po* *spyod* *pa* *la* *sogs* *pa* *rnams* *dños* *su* *gzigs* *ñams* *snañ* *yin* *par*... *dgoñs* *pas*, *ajam* *dbyaṅs* *kyis* *ñams* *snañ* *rañ* *dga'* *ba* *min* *pas* *gsol* *drag* *po* *t'ob* *adi* *rnams* *rañ* *gžan* *la* *p'an* *t'ogs* *rgya* *c'en* *po* *'oñ* *bai* *rten* *abrel* *yin* *žes* *gsuñs* *so* (biogr., p. 6 a-b).

na – *yañ* *gnas* *der* *bcom* *ldan* *adas* *rdo* *rje* *ajigs* *byed* *žal* *p'yag* *yoñs* *su* *rdsogs* *pa* *šin* *du* (*sic*) *c'e* *ba* *gzi* *brjid* *bzod* *pa* *dka'* *žig* *žal* *gzigs* (biogr., p. 6 b).

pa – *yañ* *gnas* *der* *rje* *btsun* *sku* *sñar* *dañ* *adra* *ba* *žig* *gzigs* *pai* *t'ugs* *k'a* *na* *p'ar* *ral* *grii* *yu* *va* *zug* *ciñ* *dei* *t'ugs* *k'ar* *rtse* *mo* *zug* *pa* *la* *ral* *k'ri* *steñ* *gis* *bdud* *rtsi* *dkar* *ser* *šin* *du* *snum* *žig* *byuñ* *nas* *rjei* *t'ugs* *k'ar* *t'im* *pas* *bde* *ba* *mañ* *du* *adug*... (biogr., p. 6 b).

p'a – *de* *nas* *rje* *btsun* *gyi* *gsuñ* *gis* *skul* *nas* *rdsiñ* *jii* *tsug* *lag* *k'añ* *žig* *gsos* *mdsad* *pa* *la* *sogs* *dañ* *yañ* *rje* *btsun* *gyi* *gsuñ* *gis* *skul* *nas* *byams* *pai* *bstod* *rin* *c'en* *gsal* *bai* *gron* *me* *žes* *bya* *ba* *mdsad* (biogr., p. 7 a); *yañ* *dei* *ts'e* *ajam* *dbyaṅs* *kyi* *žin* *bkod* *bžeñs* *nas* *rab* *gnas* *mdsad* *pas* *ye* *šes* *pa* *dños* *su* *t'ims* *soñ* *ba* *gzigs* *gžan* *yañ* *rab* *gnas* *mdsad* *pa* *la* *de* *dañ* *adra* *bai* *rnam* *pa* *de* *la* *t'un* *pa* *med* *gsuñ* *ba* *yin* *gda'o* *dei* *p'yir* *rten* *de* *rnams* *dañ* *rje* *btsun* *gi* (*m*) *c'od* *pai* *žin* *du*... *k'yad* *par* *med* *lta* *bar* *gyis* *šig* (biogr., p. 7 a-b).

ba – *yañ* *rgya* *gar* *šin* *gi* *ri* *la* *byon* *pai* *bšed* *pai* *skabs* *su* *rje* *btsun* *gi* *gsuñ* *gis* *rdsiñ* *jii* *jo* *bo* *la* *rab* *byañ* *gi* *rtags* *ts'añ* *mai* *skyes* *abul* *dañ* *bcas* *bstod*... *ciñ* *gsol* *adebs* *ts'igs* *ts'añs* *pai* *bcad* (*for* *cod*) *pan*... *žes* *bya* *ba* *adi* *ltar* *gyis* *la* *p'ul* *dañ* *bsag* *la* *sogs* *šig* *p'yis* *p'an* *pa* *abyuñ* *ba* *rten* *abrel* *yod* *gsuñs* *rten* *nas* *adi* *ltar* *mdsad* (biogr., p. 7 b).

ma – *de* *nas* *ts'a* *ri* *nas* *dmyal* (*for* *gñal*) *la* *byon* *pai* *lam* *du* *mo* *lai* *rtsa* *k'ar* *žag* *bžugs* *mdsad* *par* *nub* *la* *rje* *btsun* *byams* *mgon* *gyi* *sku* *šin* *tu* *c'e* *ba* *lhun* *po* *ltar* *mñon* *par* *brjid* *ciñ*, *ñi* *ma* *ltar* *gzi* *brjid* *abar* *ba* *žig* *gis* *rigs* *kyi* *bu* *kyod* *kyis* *sañs* *rgyas* *ajig* *rten* *du* *byon* *pa*

ltar cig 'on ba yod pas šes par byos šig ces
dbugs p'yun ba *dños su byun*. de bas na skyes
bu dam pa adi sañs rgyas dan k'yad par med
lta bur kyis šig (biogr., p. 7 b).

tša – yañ myal (= gñal) smad siñ ge sgañ na
bžugs dus su dpal dus kyī ak'or lo dpa' bo
gcig pa žig nar mar gzigs šiñ nub gcig rnal
(= mnal) lam du k'yod kyis dus kyī ak'or lo
zla ba bzañ po dan adra ba žig. 'on ba yod do
gsuñs (biogr., p. 8 a).

t'sa – yañ dmyal (= gñal) smad du bžugs
dus snal (= mnal) lam du dbyañs can mai
gsuñ gis dguñ lo lña bcui rtsa bdun t'ub de
bar rañ gžan gyi don, dpag tu med agrub gsuñ
rje btsun ma rnam rgyal ma la sogs pa (la) gsol
btag ciñ bsñen sgrub byas (mañ du byas)... bas
riñ žig t'ub par mi agyur ram žes žus pas de
t'ams cad sñon gyi smon lam gyi šugs su t'ugs
adun gyi gnad kyis blo gros goñ nas goñ du
ap'el bai rgyu soñ nas sku ts'e la c'er ma
byuñ ces gsuñ ba gcig byuñ (biogr., p. 8 a).

dsa – yañ dmyal (= gñal) nas dvags po lha
sdiñs su p'ebś bla ma dkön la gsol ba drag
po btab pas klu grub yab sras lña rañ bžin yod
med kyī gnad rñams la abrel rtam (= gtam)
gyis bka' sgo (= bgro) ba mdsad kyī adug
pai nañ nas sañs rgyas *bskyañs yin zer pai* ...

va – yañ sman luñ gi rgya sog p'ur ts'o
ap'ul c'en po žag bco lñai *bar du mc'od* p'un
sum ts'ogs *p'ul mc'od pa* ciñ p'yogs bcui de
bžin bšegs pa spyān adren pai dmigs pa dan
adun pa drag po mdsad pa na *šar p'yogs de*
bžin gšegs t'ams cad rñam snañ gi rñam pa can dan de
bžin du p'yogs lña la de bžin gšegs lñas gañ po mc'od
pa bžes par gzigs (biogr., p. 9 a).

ža – yañ 'ol ka bsam stan (for gtan) gliñ
du bsañ (for gsañ) bdus gyi rdsogs rim gsal bai
sgron me mdsad pai p'yir bla ma dan dkon
mcog la gsol ba drag po adebs pa mdsad pai
nub gcig rje btsun aḡam pai rdo rje lha bcu
dgur dkyil ak'or yoñs su rdsogs na dkyil ak'or
tso (for gtso) bos bum pa gcig rje la ster rtsis
mdsad ciñ de dus byams pa dan aḡam dbyañs kyañ
snañ ño (biogr., p. 10 a-b).

za – yañ dbyen (for dben) gnas dga' ldan
p'ebś nas c'ad brtsod rtsom gsum gyis bstan pai

rmañ ts'ugs par mdsad do: de nas dguñ lo lña
bdun pai *dus su sku* k'ams (b)sñel bai ts'ul
(b)stan pa la sku (m)ts'ams mdsad nas...
Under the image of the god: *p'yag drug pa*.

rdo rje slob ma bdun gyis žabs druñ du
bžugs nas p'yir zlog sogs *la abad ciñ* rje rin po c'e
ñin ni bde stoñ dben dbyer med sogs *la bžugs*
pai skabs bcom ldan adas t'ub pa *ño mts'ar* pa
ldan pa gcig gzigs *de rañ la stim* pai dmigs pa
mdsad pas t'im (biogr., pp. 11 b, 12 a).

ba – ... *p'yag drug pas sna drañs las bšin* (for gšin)
gyis gnod byed kyī agrin (for mgrin) *pa nas k'rid k'yi*
(for kše) *ta* (for tra) *pa las ded ciñ byuñ ba nas mgo*
gri gug gis bcad nas, abrub k'uñ de lta bu gcig na cug
(for bcug) *pa gzigs pa dan ñams du* (for mñan du)
p'yi rol na nag poi p'yogs kyī gza' klu ša za
rgyal po ste bži po sde dan bcas pa dmag p'am
mo žes pa c'o ñes (for c'o nes) pa gzigs de nas
riñ po ma soñ bar sku k'ams sañs par gyur ro
(biogr., p. 12 b); yañ ts'e adi ñin rin po c'ei
k'ri gcig gi steñ na bu ston yin zer pai bla
mai rñam pa can gcig pa bžugs adug pa des
gsañ adus rtsa rgyud kyī glegs bam žig gñañ
nas adii bdag po gyis gsuñ ba dan p'yag gñis
kyis glegs bam bteg nas hūm vajra uttiṣṭha
ces gsuñ žiñ lan gsum dbu t'og du bšag de
dños su gzigs (biogr., p. 11).

ya – *De nas* sku k'ams sañs pa dan aḡam
dbyañs kyis da p'yin c'ad gtso bor bskyed
rdsogs kyī t'ugs *ñams su bžes* pa na sñags bla
med kyī sgo nas rtogs pa k'yad par can rgyud
la k'ruñs šiñ slob ma skal ldan du ma la rtogs
pa k'yad par can re skye *bar agyur* ro žes gsuñs
(biogr., p. 13).

la – yañ rje adi sku sñel... dka' t'ub du... byañ
c'ub sems dpa' sñiñ... bar... gda'.

ka – "This holy master of ours in past
times, while going to meet the Buddha, met
the bodhisattva Mos pa blo gros... This
scene therefore deals with Tsoñ k'a pa's first
incarnation, concerning which many stories
are told in the tradition which soon became
widespread in the dGe legs pa schools. He
is said to have been the son of a Brahman
who met, in Śākyamuni's times, a Bodhi-
sattva called Mos pa blo gros, was led by



him to the Buddha, was immediately touched and decided to follow the paths of wisdom, presenting the ascetic with a rock-crystal necklace.

k'a – “This holy master, in this (his last) birth, learned all the infinite subjects of the holy scriptures in such a manner, that not even a speck of the dust of deficiency remained, as regards the threefold instructions;³³⁾ particularly, he met the master dBu ma pa and addressed several questions to aJam dbyaṅs „.

This, according to the biography, happened in gTsañ roñ.

ga – “Then while the two, master and disciple, were meditating in dGa' ba gdoñ, in the environs of sKyid šod, as he attained the mystical experiences connected with aJam dbyaṅs, manifestations of bodies similar to the one of this (god) occurred; dBu ma pa acting as interpreter, (aJam dbyaṅs) (answered) questions, making numberless speeches, in which he revealed the fundamental meaning of the secret instructions „.

ña – “Then in such guise, the master dBu ma pa acting as interpreter, he listened to (the doctrine) of aJam dbyaṅs' three baptisms: the exoteric baptism, the esoteric one and the secret one, and Las gšin's instructions (*rjes gnañ*); when he followed dPa' gcig's instructions, many visions appeared under this god's likeness „.

Las gšin is another of gŠin rje's names, or, as the biography says, p. 5 a. bKa' sdod gsuñ rje c'os kyi rgyal po, whom, in this circumstance Tsoñ k'a pa is said to have evoked with the help of his master. dPa' gcig, Ekavīra, is one of the forms of aJam dbyaṅs.

ca – “Then, when he attained the mystical experiences connected with that god, both the exoteric and the esoteric ones, he actually saw many images of aJigs byed „.

c'a – “Then, when he practised Las gšin's instructions, he saw endless apparitions, according to the evocations of this Las gšin „.

ña – “Then, in Lhasa, these two, master and disciple, having earnestly prayed to aJam dbyaṅs, rJe btsun (= aJam dbyaṅs) recited a

few verses containing a summary of the meaning of the mystical experiences, and the C'os rje wrote them down „.

Without a numbering letter:

“The Victorious, god of medicine, with a yellow outer garment. Byams pa with precious ornaments „. These visions are said to have taken place, according to biography, in 'Ol ka.

“Ts'e dpad med and Byams pa, with some objects needed for consecration (*rab byuñ*) „; as it is said in the same work, this refers to visions which appeared in the same place and under the same circumstances.

ta – “Then, reflecting upon aJam dbyaṅs's admonitions, he went to Bya bral with eight disciples, and having got to C'os luñ in the environs of 'Ol ka, they being very zealous in the exercise and in the accumulation [of religious merits ...] and the scriptures (or paintings?) „.

The episode described above is connected with the meeting between Tsoñ k'a pa and the lama aJam dpal rgya mts'o who, at aJam dbyaṅs instigation, advised him to persist in meditating upon the deities he had evoked and who had already appeared to him, in order that all his doubts concerning the Law might be solved. Although, generally speaking, the facts correspond, between the text of the biography and the text of the inscription there is, in this case, a noticeable difference. Also in the text the indication of the locality is lacking.

t'a – “Then, during that same spring, rJe btsun said to him: If you will explain the Law to demons and to creatures who are difficult to convert what great profit will you be able to obtain? Therefore apply yourself earnestly to mystical experiences, retire into solitude, and thus you will attain a path profitable to yourself and to others „.

da – “Then, having visited in rDsiñ ji Jo bo's image, he went to rGyal sog p'u, and his aptitudes for meditating developed greatly. In those times he saw in its actual form an

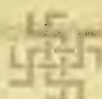


image of aJam dbyaṅs, very large and of supreme splendour, surrounded by innumerable Buddhas and Bodhisattvas: he actually saw Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Buddhapālita, Nāgabodhi, Candrakīrti, Asaṅga and his brother, Diṇnāga, Dharmakīrti, Guṇaprabha, Śākya-prabha, Devendramati, rGyan mk'an po, Kamalaśīla, Abhayākara the paṇḍita, king Indrabodhi, the Brāhmaṇa Saraha, Luhipā, Ghaṇṭāpā, Kṛṣṇācārya, etc. As he thought them to be hallucinations, aJam dbyaṅs said to him: Hallucinations do not produce any joy, therefore pray earnestly: these prove that you have the omen of producing great good for yourself and for others...

The passage and the enumeration of gods and masters literally corresponds to the text of the biography.

na – “Then in this place he had the vision of the blessed king rDo rje ajigs byed, with all his gigantic faces and hands, whose splendour it was difficult to sustain... The inscription copies the text.

pa – “Then in that same place, in the heart of rJe btsun's image, which had appeared to him in the same way as its preceding manifestations, a dagger was stuck, with its point into the heart and its hilt outside; an extraordinarily oily current of white and yellow ambrosia appeared above the dagger and disappeared into the saint's heart...³⁴⁾ According to the text we may supplement “(all his body was filled) with great bliss (so that he could not speak)...

The correspondence to the text is once more literal.

p'a – “Then, urged by rJe btsun's words, he restored that part of the temple of rDsiṅ Ji³⁵⁾ which had been destroyed; then again urged by rJe btsun he composed the hymn of Byams pa, called: the precious, sparkling lamp...

“Then in that time, having caused the (painted) heaven of aJam dbyaṅs to be made, and having celebrated its consecration, he saw that the divine spirit³⁶⁾ had really penetrated therein; further, during the consecration he

said: It will not happen that (the spirit of the god) does not penetrate here;³⁷⁾ therefore do not think that these images and the god's venerable heaven are different...

ba – “Then, when he had the intention of going to Śiṅ gi ri, in India, rJe btsun said to him: Lift up hymns to the Jo bo of rDsiṅ ji and offer him those gifts which have all the signs of purity, making a hymn called: Brahmā's diadem,....

“hence an omen of good will proceed from it... Relying on these words, he did thus...

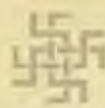
ma – “Then in the night he spent under the slopes of the Mo la, on the way to gÑal, when he was going there from Tsa ri, a huge image of rJe btsun aJam dbyaṅs mgon po appeared to him, like the Meru, majestic, shining like the sun, which suggested to him this true inspiration: O son of a noble family, you will be like a Buddha come into the world; know you this...

“Therefore this lofty creature must be considered as not differing from a Buddha...

tsa – “Then, while he was dwelling in Seṅ ge sgaṅ in gÑal smad, he continually saw Dus kyi ak'or lo in visions, and one night, in his sleep, the latter said to him: You are like Zla ba bzaṅ po of Dus kyi ak'or lo come (on earth)...³⁸⁾

ts'a – “Then, while he was dwelling in gÑal smad, dByaṅs can ma said to him: You will live 57 years, therefore you will do incalculable good to yourself and to others... He asked: “Worshipping rJe btsun ma rnam rgyal ma and praying to her and to the other gods, shall I not be able to lengthen my life?.. and the other answered: “All this (happened) by virtue of the essence itself of desire (matured) in the force of the vow made in preceding lives; this was the cause that your mind developed from one degree to the next: (but) this cannot produce a lengthening of life...

dsa – “Then, having gone to gÑal Lha sdiṅs in Dvags po, he addressed an earnest prayer to the precious master Klu grub and to his four disciples; then this master explained



to him in a speech the doctrine concerning (the problem, whether) things have an essence of their own or not: among them Saṅgyas bskyas (Buddhapālita) (handed him a Sanskrit book of the Mādhyamika system),...

va – “Again he presented as a gift, during a fortnight, an extraordinary offering in rGya sog p'u, in the environs of sMan lun, on the occasion of the festival of the Great Miracle, and then he perceived that the Tathāgatas of the ten points of space, to whom he presented the offering, hastened towards him, and through an earnest prayer he saw that the Tathāgata of the Eastern region took the appearance of rNam par snan mdsad, and so the five regions were filled with the five (families) of the Tathāgatas who accepted his offerings...,”

ža – “Then, being in bSam gtan gliñ, in the environs of 'Ol ka, with the purpose of writing the dPal gsañ adus gsal bai sgron me, one night he addressed an earnest prayer to the master and to the (three) gems, and then (in that same night) the complete maṇḍala of the 19 gods of rJe btsun aJam pai rdo rje, and the principal divinity of the maṇḍala offered him a vase... and in that time Byams pa and aJam dbyaṅs also appeared to him...,”

za – “Then having gone to the retreat of dGa' ldan, he laid the foundations of his teachings, with the explanations, the discussion and the composition of treatises; then at the age of 57 he showed in what manner the body becomes diseased; then, having shut himself up in the retreat... and his seven disciples in the vajra having placed themselves near him, performed the exorcisms with great zeal; and the precious saint himself, during the day, began to meditate upon the non-diversity of beatitude and of the void;³⁹⁾ then, he had the vision of the blessed and wonderful Ascetic, then he saw him as if resting into his own self, and so disappearing into himself...,”

ba – “Being invited by P'yag drug pa, Las gšin (= gŠin rje gšed c'os rgyal) dragged the demon (gNod byed) by the neck, and

the kṣetrapāla, attacking the (demon) with a knife, cut off his head, and it seemed to him (i. e. Tsoṅ k'a pa) as if he were dwelling inside a pit, and at the same time outside (the pit) the gza', the klu, the ša za and the rgyal po, namely the four orders (of demons) ruling over the black actions, with their retinue lifted up the lament called: defeat in battle...,”

“This he saw. After a short time his health improved...,”

“Then, this day, in the daytime, he saw that on the throne of gems the figure of a lama was seated, who must have been Bu ston; the latter gave him the fundamental tantra gSañ adus, telling him to take possession of it, and then, having lifted the book with both hands, he laid it thrice on his head saying: būm vajra uttiṣṭha...,”

ya – “Then his body was healed and aJam dbyaṅs said to him: From now on, above all, you will experience the method of evocation and the perfect method, and an extraordinary intuition will be born in your spirit, and this will also happen to each of your disciples, who have been prepared for it through their karma...,”

ra – This is without any inscription; we see a mc'od rten honoured by some deities; below, four smaller mc'od rten.

It is the vision he had as a sign of the spiritual perfection attained by his disciples (biogr., p. 13 b).

la – “The saint's body having become diseased... penances... aByaṅm dbyaṅs, ... and the bodhisattva...,”

All round the central image, small images of masters follow one another, representing the sampradāya, the series of Indian and Tibetan doctors through whom the doctrines of initiation, the particular methods and the interpretation of the holy scriptures were transmitted to Tsoṅ k'a pa and by him to his principal disciples. They thus follow one another, beginning from the right of the figure of Amitābha which is, in fact, in the centre of the external frame encircling the painting.

In the centre:

<i>ajam dbyaṅs pa</i>	<i>bdag gtso / byams pa</i>
<i>t'ogs med</i>	<i>rnam grol sde</i>
<i>dbyig gñen</i>	<i>btsun pa grol sde</i> ⁴⁰⁾

On the row to the right:

<i>... ni (or mi) sde</i>	<i>gser gliṅ pa</i>
<i>dul bai lba</i>	<i>a tī sa</i>
<i>rnam snaṅ mdsad</i>	<i>abrom ston pa</i>
<i>seṅ (?) bzaṅ</i>	<i>dpal ldan dgon pa pa</i>
<i>ku su li c'e ba</i>	<i>bśes gñen sne zur pa</i>
<i>ku sa (sic) c'uṅ ba</i>	<i>byaṅ sems t'og ma pa (?)</i> ⁴¹⁾
<i>nam mk'a' seṅ ge</i>	

Below:

<i>nam mk'a' rgyal po.</i>	<i>rtsa bai bla lta ... ga'o</i>
<i>ye śes rgyal po</i>	<i>yin</i>
<i>nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an</i>	<i>k'yi tra ba la (ksetra-</i>
<i>t'ams cad mk'yen blo bzaṅ</i>	<i>pāla)</i>
<i>grags pa</i>	<i>las gñin.</i>

"The vision of the principal masters,":

adi brgyad pa adi daṅ po bya bral
la byon dus k'rid pas bslob ma ajam dbyaṅs kyis adi
rnams luṅ stan pa de rnams yin.

"These are his first eight disciples whom he took with him to Bya bral and who received a prophecy by aJam dbyaris,":

To the left, from the bottom to the top, beginning from the fourth image:

<i>byaṅ sems naḡ dbaṅ grags</i>	<i>ye śes rgyal po</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>nam mk'a' rgyal po</i>
<i>t'ams cad mk'yen blo</i>	<i>nam mk'a' ye śes</i>
<i>bzaṅ grags pa</i>	<i>dbu ... ma pa</i>
<i>... rgyal mts'an</i>	<i>sne zur pa</i>
<i>abrom ston pa</i>	

On the top:

<i>a tī śa</i>	<i>rig pai k'u dbyaṅs pa</i>
<i>k'u dbyaṅ kra (?) pa</i>	<i>zla ba grags pa</i>
<i>klu grub.</i>	

The tanka has been discovered in the monastery of Toling: we find therefore in this list the name of Nag dbaṅ grags pa, the first apostle of the *dGe lugs pa* in Western Tibet and himself a disciple of Tsoṅ k'a pa. ⁴²⁾

It can be easily seen that many repetitions appear in this tanka: the painter had selected a given number of masters or disciples of Tsoṅ k'a pa, and as they were too few to fill the frame surrounding the tanka, he was obliged to repeat some of them.

In the centre of the carpet laid on the throne, the image of the donor who, as may be seen from his apparel, is a lama.

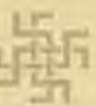
TANKA n. 11 (Plate 13).

A lama, perhaps Tsoṅ k'a pa, surrounded by masters and disciples. The attribution to the Yellow Sect seems certain, because in the series of lamas surrounding the central figure, no personage is present who may be considered Sa skya pa; some of the latter, in fact, are as a rule easily recognized by their special apparel. Above, in the centre, Avalokiteśvara, on the left Mañjuśrī, four-armed, Śākyamuni; on the right mGon po, two-armed, Khasarpaṇa.

The image is enclosed within two frames in which are vertically arranged small images of masters and lamas. The 16 Arhats may be identified, accompanied by Dharma-ta la, placed inside the first frame. As we shall have to return at length to this cycle of the Arhats later on, I refer the reader to what I wrote in the illustration of tankas nn. 121-136. The series of the Arhats is closed by two images of Tārā, white and green.

Below, the donor attended by his family.

The free space round the central figure is strewn with small flowers, according to the manner of Nepalese miniature-painters and of the wall-paintings which are their reflection and continuation.



GUGE SCHOOL

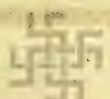
TANKA n. 12 (Plates 14-22).

This tanka, undoubtedly one of the most interesting in the collection, represents once more Akṣobhya (*Mi ak' rugs pa*). He is represented as in tanka n. 4, with a single difference: the vajra, symbol of his spiritual essence, rests vertically on his left hand. The god, wearing monastic robes, is assisted, on the right and left, by two Bodhisattvas. He is seated on a lotus flower, from whose stem flexible leaves shoot out and, curving to form a circle, enclose figures of animals, two lions and two elephants. It is the symbol of the lotus being born out of the cosmic waters, which we have mentioned.

On the top and on the bottom of the tanka are seen eleven figures of Buddhas in the attitude of preaching the Law; perhaps they represent the Buddhas of the ten cardinal points, if we consider as independent from the cycle the central figure between two Bodhisattvas, enthroned on the top of the axis. The foliage of a tree surmounts the image: it represents the bodhi tree, under which Akṣobhya, when he was still a Bodhisattva, attained enlightenment, though there is a more valid reason for explaining the presence of this tree as a symbol of Akṣobhya: this god is, in fact, a duplication, so to say, of the Buddha in the *vajrāsana* immediately after the conquest of the supreme illumination. Round Akṣobhya, monks praying and kneeling, Bodhisattvas and gods.

There seems to be no doubt that the scenes here reproduced represent Akṣobhya's celestial glory and his heaven. Saints in monastic robes and angel-like Bodhisattvas surround him, amid groves of trees loaded with gems and precious bands, warbling birds and red flowers. The painter has taken

his inspiration from the traditional models describing the Buddhas' heavenly kingdoms; in reality there is no such detailed description of the Abhirati (i. e. of Akṣobhya's heaven) as we have, for instance, of the Sukhāvātī, Amitābha's heaven. It is therefore difficult to tell whether in this case the painters have followed a tradition handed down by some literary text, or whether they have drawn this paradise after their own imagination, looking for an inspiration to the most famous and popular heavens, and following the usual *cliché* which describes the marvels of these celestial abodes. But there is no doubt that one scene at least was inspired by a famous book of the Mahāyāna: I allude to those ladders, placed on high, to the right and left of Akṣobhya's figure, on which different figures of gods or men (the former wearing diadems, the latter not) mount and descend; the stair of the gods is made of lotus flowers, the invariable symbol of every spiritual nature. It is clear that in this case the painter had before his mind's eyes the brief description of the Abhirati found in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, when Vimalakīrti, taking hold of that heaven as if it were a wreath of flowers, and laying it upon our earth, shows it to the community to reveal its glories and to exalt the boundless bliss which the Buddha's Law has in store for its devotees: "Now I, seizing it, from the element of water (on which it rests) up to the Akanīṣṭha, and accurately cutting all around it, like the potter's wheel, and lifting it with my right hand and holding it like a wreath of flowers, I will lay such a heaven upon this universe *mi mjed* (*sabāloka*), and thus I will show it to this assembly, without rising from this throne. I will show this Abhirati heaven, with several hundreds of thousands of Bodhisattvas and gods and



Nāgas and Yakṣas and Gandharvas and Asuras, surrounded by the mountain which encircles it (*Cakravāla*); and waterfalls, ponds, sources, lakes, oceans, Sumeru, mountains, hills and knolls, and the moon, the sun and the constellations, with gods, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Gandharvas, and Brahmā's seat, and villages, cities, countries and regions, and kingdoms and monks and women; Bodhisattvas, listeners, and the Tathāgata Akṣobhya's bodhi tree, and the Tathāgata Akṣobhya explaining the Law, seated amid an assembly vast as the ocean; and lotuses (scattered) in the ten points of space, (seated on which he shows) the actions proper to a Buddha, and a threefold ladder, wrought with gems, going from the Jambudvīpa up to Trayastriṃśa's heaven, and on that noble ladder the Trayastriṃśa gods descend into the Jambudvīpa to see the Tathāgata Akṣobhya and to do him homage and worship him to hear the Law. And all the men of the Jambudvīpa ascend to the Trayastriṃśa's heaven to see the Trayastriṃśa gods (BKA' AGYUR, *mdo*, vol. p'a, p. 365, chap. II = Chinese transl., chap. 12; Taishō, p. 555).⁴³⁾

In Tibet several *smoṇ lam* or prayers inspired by these sacred texts, are circulated; and people also take the vow of being born again, when their earthly life shall have reached its end, in Akṣobhya's heaven. These *smoṇ lam*, when uttered with an intense and earnest faith, put forth an extremely efficient power, which puts an end to the working of karma and projects the devotee into the paradise of his desire. Among the best known *smoṇ lam*, leading to rebirth in the Abhirati heaven, I will mention the one by Pad ma dkar po: *mNgon par dga' bai žiñ du adren pai smoṇ lam yid kyi žiñ rta* (complete works, vol. ca) and the one by Tāranātha: *mNgon par dga' bai žiñ gi smoṇ lam mdo sdei dgoṇs don* (complete works, vol. pa).

This is a literature adding nothing new to the traditional patterns according to which the devotees see these heavens in their imagination; moreover there seems to be no doubt

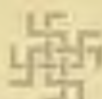
that certain details on which it dwells are inspired by pictorial compositions representing heavenly bliss as suggested by a fervid imagination; we find there cool and shady gardens, trees from which scented tissues or divine food come down, according to the secret wishes of the inhabitants, tents ornamented with all manners of precious things and ponds whose banks are sprinkled with gold dust, and lotus flowers miraculously springing up at every step.

TANKA n. 13 (Plates 23, H).

This tanka represents a new heaven, not the Abhirati but another one, much more celebrated throughout the Buddhist world, viz. that of Amitābha: the heaven of the Sukhāvati, bDe ba can, "the pure earth of the West", where those devotees are reborn who have offered themselves, in an impulse of love, to that god's compassionate grace.

Before speaking of the heaven represented in this tanka, it will be well to illustrate briefly the figure of the god ruling over it. The representation of the Sukhāvati always centres round 'Od dpag med, Amitābha, "infinite light", represented in monastic dress, with the vase for alms placed on his hands in samādhimudrā. 'Od dpag med is nowise distinguishable from Śākyamuni, except for his red colour and the two or eight Bodhisattvas which surround him. In front of this image we have that of Ts'e dpag med, Amitāyuh "infinite life", with diadem and royal ornaments, i. e. according to the type of the sambhogakāya. Besides these two aspects, Lamaist dogmatic knows a third one called sNañ ba mt'a' yas "infinite splendour", Ananta-prabha. This is the Dharma-kāya, the Law, the absolute and its symbol; it is not representable.

Ts'e dpag med, as his iconographic type shows, is the sambhogakāya, the Buddha occupying the West in the maṇḍala of the pentad: the symbol of the "lotus family".



'Od dpag med is the *nirmāṇakāya*, adequate to the preparation and the spiritual and karmic maturity of those who believe in him. Leaving aside for the moment the symbol of the *dharmakāya*, transcendent reality, the other two are kept distinct in Lamaist tradition, both as to iconography and in name: they are parallel entities but independent, each being the expression of a different mythology.

This distinction made by the Tibetans between the three aspects of the same god, must it be considered as derived from India, or rather as a successive elaboration of Tibetan schools? To tell the truth, in Indian literature devoted to this cycle there is no distinction between *Amitābha* and *Amitāyuh*: the great *Sukhāvatīvyūha* mentions indiscriminately *Amitāyuh* and *Amitābha*; in the small *Sukhāvatīvyūha* only *Amitāyuh* appears, but as the contents of the two texts are the same and the mythography is the same, we must conclude that in the schools, from which those books come, the two names corresponded to a single entity and that no difference of ideological contents was attributed to the different names. The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, p. 184, mentions *Amitāyuh* as the Buddha of the West, but on page 454 he becomes *Amitābha*, keeping nevertheless the same character as a ruler of the blissful Western kingdom.

Thus in the most ancient Mahāyānic tradition not only is there no trace of a different personality for *Amitābha* and *Amitāyuh*, but there is not even a difference in degree between their aspects: both forms, apparently, go back to a vow of *Dharmakara*'s, SBE, XLIX, p. 14: "... if, after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, my light should be liable to be measured in this Buddha country of mine... then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

"... if the measure of the life of the beings in that Buddha country of mine should be liable to be measured except by their own

power of prayer, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge...

The *Ta chih tu lun* (Taishō, XXV, p. 93) relates *Amitābha* to the cosmic age in which human life lasts for an incalculable time. But unending life and infinite light, ζωή and φῶς, have too great an importance for religious history, in India and outside India, for us to exclude that under this myth may be hidden an extremely complex history and two originally independent cycles.⁴⁴⁾

Leaving this problem aside for the time being, it is certain that the same uncertainty remains also in the *Vajrayāna*; for instance in the SM, p. 445, in the same list of *Tathāgatas*, the god is called once *Amitābha* and another time *Amitāyuh*. In the maṇḍala described by *Advayavajra*, the West is occupied by *Amitābha*; in the *Guhyasamāja*, *Amitāyuh* (*Amitāyurvajra*) predominates over *Amitābha*, but there is no allusion to a difference between the two; on p. 47 *Amitavajra* is identified with *Amitāyuh*.

In the SM, p. 374, after having attracted *Amitābha* into the meditative process, honouring him with exoteric offerings (*pūjā*), they ask him for initiatic baptism, saying: "May *Amitābha* baptize me... " Then let one meditate on the vessels (*kalaśa*) which *Amitābha* emanates out of his heart, which are full of the fivefold ambrosia... Here it is clear that *Amitābha* is in possession of the *kalaśa*, the vessel of immortality proper to the Tibetan *Ts'e dpag med*, instead of the *piṇḍapātra*, the vase for alms, which Lamaism regularly attributes to him.

Hence there are good reasons for admitting that the division into *Ts'e dpag med* and 'Od dpag med, although it gives back its value to an original difference between the two types, was the work of Tibetan masters. But they, avoiding as usual to take upon themselves any new departure in the religious field, state that the cult of *Ts'e dpag med*, as a distinct entity, goes back to Indian masters, namely to *Ti p'u* (*Tc p'u*) who taught

its revelation to Ras c'uñ grags pa, who in his turn spread his worship in Tibet. This Ts'e dpag med is called Ts'e dan ye šes dpag med, "infinite life and gnosis"; the theological opinions of the schools are reflected upon him. On one side he remains sambhogakāya, and then he has royal draperies and ornaments, a diadem and a vase of ambrosia, *kalāśa*. His heaven is not stated: it is said in a general manner that those who have been initiated into his mysteries will obtain his *go ap'añ*, the same mystical sphere whose visive symbol he is. But his other aspect is a *sprul sku*, *nirmāṇakāya* (*dPal ldan sa skya pai gser c'os lugs kyī ts'e dpag med sprul skui sgrub t'abs bum c'o ga rjes gnañ dan bcas pai skor rnam*, GT, Ka). He then carries the vase for alms (*sprul skui c'a lugs mts'an dan ldan*, GT, ka, p. 181) and he rules over the bDe ba can (*gSum abum sa skya pa*, vol. p'a, p. 338). This last aspect is therefore identified with 'Od dpag med (*ibid.*) and then, as a *sprul sku*, the monastic dress is well adapted to him: the bDe ba can, besides being a heaven, still remains one of the numberless worlds in infinite space, where a Buddha analogous to the historical Buddha preaches the Law; he therefore repeats Śākya-muni's aspects, and is accordingly represented under the bodhi tree.

But the same cannot be said of Ts'e dpag med, who instead of being located in heaven, is placed in the abstract plane of the maṇḍala, viz. in the elementary cosmogram of the world. The hope of the Tantric school to attain immortality through magic, alchemy or liturgy, contributed to his individuality and popularity with the later Vajrayāna schools. The God of infinite life became the god of immortality; those initiated into his mysteries are rescued from death, as the Tantric schools will allow their adepts to be: he then becomes transformed from Ts'e dpag med into *aC'i med*, the immortal.

The rNiñ ma pa gave a greater theological discipline to these doctrines, placing above the two hypostases, sambhoga and nirmāṇakāya, their essential aspect, the principle from

which they draw the reason of their existence, namely, as we have said, the dharmakāya, (GT, ka, p. 180: "without abandoning the essential body sNan ba mt'a' yas,, ... hymn by aP'ags pa, written in the year *sa rta*, 1258), clarifying what the other schools had hinted at here.

In this tanka we find the same heavenly choirs, the same gatherings of chosen souls, eagerly listening to the preaching of the Law and gazing upon Amitābha's majesty: the same majestic pavilions, the ponds from which spring superb lotus flowers, on which miraculous apparitions of Buddha are manifested, surrounded by adoring crowds; heavenly trees raining gems and souls which ascend to paradise fluttering through the air (see SBE, vol. XLI, p. 33 ff.). Below, out of a few ponds, lotus flowers issue, on which preaching Buddhas are seated, surrounded by listening disciples, as in the *Sukhāvati-vyūha*: "There are lotus flowers there, half a yogana in circumference... And from each gem-lotus there proceed thirty-six hundred thousand kotis of Buddhas, with bodies of a golden colour, possessed of the thirty-two marks of great men, who go and teach the Law to beings in immensurable and innumerable worlds..., (*ibid.*, p. 36).

The pavilions, on the right and on the left, with personages in the interior, are referred to in another passage of the same text: "And if they desire a palace, with colours and emblems of such and such height and width, adorned with a hundred thousand gates made with different jewels covered with different heavenly flowers, full of couches strewn with beautiful cushions, then exactly such a palace appears before them. And in these delightful palaces they dwell, play, sport, walk about, being honoured and surrounded by seven times seven thousands of Apsaras,, (*ibid.*, p. 49 sgg.).

We cannot tell whether these representations of Amitābha's heaven have ever been very popular in India, at any rate we have no trustworthy documents on the subject; but in Tibet, where Amitābha's cult met with the



greatest fortune, the Sukhāvātī is a subject very frequently treated by artists in their paintings and frescoes. The Sukhāvātī is the heaven where through the ceremony of *p'o ba*, the dying man's conscious principle is transferred, in order to escape the painful vicissitudes of transmigration. But in these representations the Tibetans followed Chinese, or perhaps, more exactly, central-Asian models (called Ping hsiang, in Japanese Henso-zu). They reproduce, through the devices of design and colour, the descriptions of these celestial places given by religious literature; in our case, besides the canonical works already alluded to, these descriptions are to be found particularly in the *Kuan wu liang shou fo ching shu* 觀無量壽佛經疏 (Taishō, 1753) and other works by Shan tao, 善導 (cfr. tanka n. 20).

Their influence is still felt to this day: a type of that heaven was based upon those influences; it was handed down through the centuries with unalterable fixity; but rarely, only in the case of exquisitely well-dowered artists, has it been represented with a certain amount of originality.

But our specimen is interesting because of its comparative independence from the most common types, in which Chinese influence prevails; here one breathes a monkish atmosphere, entirely imbued with India's spiritual and esoterical influence, although the whole composition springs from the same literary themes as those which inspired Chinese artists.

In the centre towers 'Od dpag med's figure. He is between two Bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, seated on a throne resting on a lotus, of the same style as the preceding tanka. It is clear that the two pictures, 11 and 12, come from the same schools and belong to the same manner.

TANKA n. 14 (Plates 24-28, I).

This *tanka* may be considered typical of the western Tibetan manner of painting, which I have called the Guge style; it represents

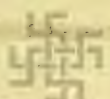
Śākyamuni between his two disciples Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra. The Buddha is touching the ground with his right hand, to invoke the goddess of the earth as a witness of the enlightenment he has attained; with his left hand he holds the pot in which to collect alms (*piṇḍapātra*, *lbun bzed*). On a level with his head, in the halo there are: rJe btsun Byams pa and rJe btsun aJam dbyaṅs.

Why are these two Bodhisattvas present in the halo, when the Buddha has on each side his two great *śrāvaka*? What is the meaning of the figures of two personages belonging to another assembly, different from the one of the "hearers"? Evidently the two vehicles, the greater and the lesser one, are not opposed to each other but complete each other, forming a single vehicle *ekayāna* - the *Saddharmapundarīka*'s fundamental teaching - which reveals itself differently to created beings, according to their different spiritual capacity and maturity.

Precisely in the *Saddharmapundarīka*, the first to ask the Buddha questions are Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, whom we see here reproduced in the halo; the Buddha first announces his doctrine to the Śrāvaka, and after they have gone, satisfied with the truth of nirvāṇa and believing that there is nothing further to be learnt, the Buddha reveals the transcendent truth of the "Lotus of the good faith", to the disciples who have remained with him and to the Bodhisattvas, headed precisely by Maitreya and Mañjuśrī. For this reason we are not mistaken in thinking that this tanka, while it represents the Buddha's life according to his earthly vicissitudes, the *nirmāṇakāya* who has appeared as Śuddhodana's son, actually stresses by the two Bodhisattvas' presence the highest degree of revelation, the continuity of the Hīnayāna in the Mahāyāna.

The halo, as in the preceding tanka, is perfectly circular and, according to the manner of bronze statues of the Pāla age, protects not only the Buddha's head, but all of his chest.

All around, tiny paintings are displayed: the most important are those to the right, to



the left and under the Buddha's figure, representing the principal incidents of his life and preachings.

The story begins immediately to the left of the Buddha, under the figures of the Arhats. I will simply describe and translate the inscriptions which accompany the various scenes, all recalling well known incidents of Śākyamuni's life.

A – First stripe:

1. a) *dga' ldan na bžugs pai dam pa tog dkar po*: "Śvetaketu in the Tuṣita heaven,,. Śvetaketu is the name of the Bodhisattva who will descend upon earth from the Tuṣita heaven, to be incarnated as the son of Śudhodana and, at the end of his long spiritual preparation, will attain Buddhahood.

2. b) *rje btsun rgyal ts'ab du skos*: "He establishes rje btsun as his successor,,. The Bodhisattva, before descending upon earth, establishes as his successor Maitreya, who will be the Buddha of the next age.

B – Second stripe:

3. *dga' ldan gnas nas glaṅ poi gžugs kyis lbums su žugs pa la lba rnams kyis mc'od pa ap'ul*: "From the Tuṣita heaven, entering into his mother's womb in the likeness of a white elephant, he is worshipped by the gods,,.

C – Third stripe:

4. a) His birth, represented in the traditional manner.

b) *sku ltam pas no mts'ar pai ltas maṅ du byuṅ ba yin*: "after his birth many marvellous signs appear,,.

5. c) In the third picture: *Lba yi bus sku k'rus*: "He is washed by the gods,,.

D – Fourth stripe:

6. a) *p'yogs bžir gom pa bdun bdun bor bas me tog pad ma bdun bdun byuṅ ba*: "moving for every point of space seven steps, seven lotus flowers are born in every direction,,.

7. b) (in the middle of the central figure): *ma mo brgyad kyis mc'od*: "he is honoured by the eight mothers,,. In the tanka they are only four.

8. c) *draṅ sroṅ nag pos mts'an bstan pa*: "the ascetic Asita reveals the omens,,.

E – Fifth stripe:

9. *de nas šiṅ rtai ak'or lo daṅ bcas nas lba k'an ajal* (for *mjal*) *du ap'ebś pas lba rnams kyis p'yag byas pa*: "then, going in a chariot to visit a temple, he is honoured by the gods,,.

F – Sixth stripe:

10. On the edge: *ser skyai sgor na ba gžigs*: "by the gate of Kapilavastu he sees a sick man,,; *ak'or lo bsgyur (?) šiṅ rta draṅś*: "The Cakravartin drives a chariot,,.

G – Seventh stripe:

11. ... *yid rtsis slabs*: "he learns mathematics,,; the incident represents his mathematical contest with Arjuna.

12. *gžon nus rol rtsed mt'oṅ ba*: "the young prince is present at games,,; the black figure is Devadatta's.

From now on the scenes follow one near the other.

13. *lba sbyin kyis t'al mo snun nas gsad*: "Devadatta strikes (the elephant) with his hand and kills it,,.

(To the right, above):

14. *byaṅ c'ub semś dpai žabs kyis(s) ap'aṅś*. "The Bodhisattva flings the elephant (over the wall) with a kick,,. Under the throne: *glaṅ po gšoṅś*: he removes the elephant.

15. *kyal aḍrar pa*: "He contends in jest (with his friends),,,.

16. *k'ab tu btsun mo bžes pa*: "he marries,,.

17. *dga' ba bya*: "His amusements,,.

18. *žiṅ rmo ba gžigs*: "he sees the peasant (at work),,,.

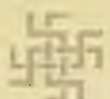
19. *lho sgor rgas pa gžigs*: "by the southern gate he sees an old man,,.

20. *mts'an moi c'as rnams*: "customs of the night,,.

21. Above: *nub sgor ši ba gžigs*: "by the western gate he sees a corpse,,.

22. *byaṅ sgor (rab tu) byuṅ ba gžigs*: "by the northern gate he sees a monk,,.

23. The scenes which follow show his exit from the city with the horse Kaṇṭhaka, whose hoofs are supported by "the gods of the four points of the compass,,: *rgyal c'en bžis brtseg pa*.



24. The Buddha cuts off his hair: the inscriptions are mostly illegible.

Next:

25. *p'yag dar gyi k'rod ... (kyi) c'os gos ap'ul ...*
"offering of the monk's tunic, made of rags,,"

Still below:

26. *rgyal po gsal rgyal spyān drañ*: "king Prasenajit's invitation,, then, in the following square, above:

27. *drañ sroñ rñams lhan cig tu ... (sgom?) mdsad*: "he meditates in the soothsayers' company,, To the left of a river's course:

28. *c'u bo ne rañ dsa rar dka' t'ub ma*: "he practises asceticism on the bank of the Nairāñjanā,,

Underneath, to the left:

29. *legs skyes mas žo p'ul*: "Sujātā offers curdled milk,,

From a lake the figures of two nāgas emerge:

30. *klu (med?) dañ ajal bas mig*: meeting with the serpent (Kālīka) ... *bya ba* (or *byub = byañ c'ub?*).

Next:

31. *k'ye'u bkras (bkra šis) rtsa du rbba? ap'ul*.
"Young Svastika offers him *dūrvā* grass (on which to sit) ,,"

In the last picture to the right follows the scene of victory over Māra: the inscription is illegible.

Above:

32. *m't'o rañs mñon par rdsogs pai sañs rgyas rgyal c'en bžis lhuñ bzed bži ap'ul ba gcig tu byin gyis rñabs*: "in the morning, when he had attained perfect enlightenment, the gods of the four heavenly regions offered him four bowls for alms, which by his grace became a single bowl,, To the right the figure of the Buddha under the Tree of Enlightenment.

33. *sum bcu rtsa gsum du yum la c'os gsuñs kyis sa la p'eb*s: "having been to the heaven of the Trayastriṃśa to preach the Law to his mother, he descends again upon earth,,

On the same line, to the right:

34. *c'ar rluñ dus klu bzuñs kyis(s) sku la ak'ral*: "during a storm, a serpent winds itself around his body,,

35. *yul ba ra sar ak'or lña sde sogs c'os ak'or bskor*: "in Benares he preaches to the five disciples ,,"

36. *rigs kyī bu grags pa rab tu byuñ*: "the ordination of that son of a noble race, Yaśas,,

37. To the right: *btsun mo rñams kyañ rab tu byuñ*: "women too take vows,,

Above, to the left:

38. *rdsu ap'ul ya ma zuñ nas c'os la bkod*: "by the miracle of the multiplication of the images, he converts (those present) to the Law,,

In the middle:

39. *bya rgod p'uñ po rir c'os bskor*: "he preaches on the *Gr̥dhrakūṭa* ,,"

To the right: *'od mai ts'al*: "the garden of the *Veṇuvana* ,,"

Above, to the left:

40. *mu tegs ston pa drug po ts'o ap'ul c'en stan nas, ts'ar bcad pas ts'or lbun*: "the six masters of the heretics, after he had displayed great miracles, are annihilated, and then, hurled into a lake,,

41. *gžan yañ t'eg pa sna ts'ogs la c'os kyī ak'or lo bskor*: "then he preaches the Law to followers of various schools,,

Above, to the left:

42. *groñ k'yer bsod sñoms la ap'eb*s: "he returns to the city to beg,,

To the right:

43. *rgyal po k'ab tu glañ c'en sñon pa btul*: "In *Rājagṛha* he subdues the infuriated elephant,,

Above, to the left:

44. *Yañs pa can du spreus sprañ rtsi ap'ul ba ac'i ba dus byas pas lhar skyes*: "In *Śrāvastī* an ape, after having offered honey to him, is reborn among the gods,,

To the right:

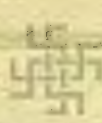
45. *sñuñ bai ts'ul bstan*: "He falls ill,,

Above, to the left:

46. *bcom ldan aḍas dañ ñaṇ t'os la rañ me abar ba*: "the Blessed One and his hearers burn in a self-created fire,,

To the right:

47. *riñ srel c'a brgyad du sgos pa*: "the division of the relics in eight lots,,



Above:

The eight mc'od rten:

48. *sgo mañs; byañ c'ub; rnam rgyal; pad spuñs; dben stam* (for *gtam?*); *ts'o ap'ruñ, lba qbab; k'añ rtsegs.*

This, then, is a real biography of the Buddha in pictures. Of course, in the present case also, the painters had a rich literature from which to glean. Ranging from the canonical lives of the Buddha, like those in the *Lalitavistara* and in the *Mahāvastu*, to the summaries contained in the *Vinaya* and in poems (Aśvaghōṣa), this literature supplied the Tibetans with first-hand sources for pictorial representations of Śākyamuni's biography. Out of these same sources, at a very early date, the Indians themselves, with their mania for classification, had selected those main incidents which stand out with a striking distinctiveness in the Śākyasaint's earthly life. Already Maitreya-Asaṅga in the *Uttaratantra* had discerned twelve fundamental episodes which sum up the Buddha's life. The Tibetans follow their example; they often mention and not less frequently represent the *mdsad pa bcu gñis*, the twelve works of the Buddha, which are catalogued as follows: 1) he descended from the Tuṣita heaven; 2) entered his mother's womb; 3) was born as Śākyamuni; 4) proved his ability in many skilful exercises; 5) led an untroubled existence among noble ladies; 6) fled from home; 7) practised asceticism; 8) appeared at the foot of the Tree of Enlightenment; 9) overcame Māra's attacks; 10) obtained supreme enlightenment; 11) put the wheel of the Law in motion; 12) he passed away in nirvana.⁴⁵⁾

But Śākyamuni's life appeared so eventful that it could not be reduced to these twelve essential moments. The vastness of canonical literature concerning the Buddha's life, the accounts which are sometimes irreconcilable, even the fact that many incidents are to be found scattered through different works, as in the case of the *Vinaya*, which is precisely

one of the richest sources for reconstructing the Buddha's legend, all these circumstances induced Tibetan writers also to sum up the master's life in a systematic form. This necessity was all the more keenly felt because Śākyamuni's *mdsad pas* were a favourite subject with painters and temple decorators. Just as in China, to supply the same need, the *Shih chia ju lai ying hua lu* 釋迦如來應化錄 had been compiled, so in Tibet one of the greatest polygraphists, Tāranātha, summed up the legend in an original form: he summarized it in 125 episodes, in his work entitled *bCom ldan ādas t'ub pai dbaṅ poi mdsad pa mdo tsam brjod pa mt'ōñ bas don ldan rab tu dga' ba dañ bcas pas dad pai ñiñ byed p'yogs brgyar ac'ar ba*. Later he treated the same subject on invitation of P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal cutting down the episodes of the Buddha's life to a hundred, with the well-defined aim of furnishing a guide to artists; so we have the *sTon pa śa kya dbaṅ poi mdsad pa brgya pai bris yig rje btsun kun dga' sñiñ gis mdsad pa*, which, having divided the subject-matter into a hundred scenes, illustrates concisely the various episodes grouped in each scene.

Of course this book is a biography of the Buddha only in an indirect sense: very often Śākyamuni is simply the spiritual centre around which the story develops; the characters who act are his disciples, his rivals, the laymen who become converted after hearing his word. The Buddha himself is mostly a spectator, who having witnessed an incident, uses it as an occasion for a sermon or for a moral precept: many of the episodes are found in the *Avadānakalpalatā*, but it is not certain that all were introduced into Tāranātha's biography through that rather random collection of different stories: their common source is the one from which Kṣemendra himself had drawn his material, that is the *Vinaya* (*ādul ba*); then the *Karmaśataka*, the *Avadānaśataka*, and other texts with the object (acknowledged by Tāranātha himself in the long and interesting colophon to his work) of putting the tales of



Hinayāna in harmony with those of Mahāyāna. In order to obtain material for a comparison, it will be well to give a summary of Tāranātha's 125 stories.

1. The Buddha was, in dGa' ldan, Dam pa tog ḍkar po, Śvetaketu.

2. History of the Śākya family, a lofty family.

3. The five looks.

4. The descent from dGa' ldan and the entrance into his mother's womb.

5. Sojourn in his mother's womb.

6. His birth in the garden at Lumbinī.

7. Entrance into the city of Ser skya (Kapilavastu).

8. Prophecy of the soothsayer Ñon mon med (Araṇa).

9. He learns various arts.

10. He shows his skill.

11. He marries Gags ḍsin ma (Yaśo-dharā).

12. Story of the tree *dge bai sñiñ po* (*udumbara*) born when the Buddha appeared.

13. He marries Sa ḍts'o ma (Gopā).⁴⁶⁾

14. The three meetings: old man, sick man and corpse.

15. Meditation in the field and vision of the cemetery.

16. Story of Ri dvags skyas (Mṛgajā) who, having seen him from a window, threw a pearl necklace to him.

17. The palace is guarded by sentries, lest the prince should go out.

18. Flight from home.

19. He assumes a monk's apparel.

20. The quest for truth in the company of heretics.

21. The seven asceticisms.

22. He abandons asceticism and restores his body to health with milk-soup.

23. He starts for Bodhgayā.

24. He brings Māra into subjection.

25. He obtains supreme gnosis.

26. He rests in the forest.

27. On Brahmā's and Indra's request, he goes to Benares.

28. Sermon to his first five disciples.

29. Yaśas and four others are converted.

30. From Benares to Magadha.

31. Conversion of Mahākāśyapa and other ascetics.

32. Meeting with Bimbisāra.

33. Śāriputra's and Maudgalyāyana's conversion.

34. The serpent Elāpatra's conversion.

35. Kātyāyana sent to convert the king (Pradyota) of ḍP'ags rgyal (Ujjayin).

36. Story of Me skyes btsas pa (Jyotiṣka).

37. The Buddha, in the midst of flames, preaches to Indra and other gods.

38. Anāthapiṇḍada's conversion to truth.

39. Anāthapiṇḍada builds the Jetavana.

40. The Buddha is invited to Śrāvastī.

41. King Prasenajit believes in the Buddha.

42. Meeting of the Buddha with his father Śuddhodana on the former's return to Kapilavastu.

43. Sermon to the Śākya women.

44. Nanda's ordination.

45. Gautamī and other women are admitted into the order.

46. Story of Pūrṇa.

47. Maudgalyāyana goes into the 'Od zer can (Prabhāvatī) world, to find his mother who had been reborn there, in order to convert her.

48. Sermon to the Brahman Pad ma sñiñ po (Padmagarbha).

49. Story of the two boys, a Kṣatriya and a Brahman, the first of whom, through his wisdom, obtains good luck and is converted.

50. The Buddha sends Maudgalyāyana to convert the Nāgas Nanda and Upananda.

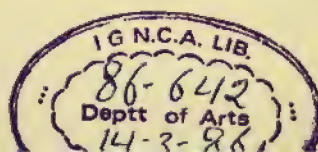
51. The Buddha protects Prasenajit from the Nāgas' attacks.

52. Conversion of the yakṣa ḍBroḡ gnas (Āṭavaka).

53. Lag rgyud (Hastaka) is taught the truth.

54. Story of Utrāyana (Rudrāyana) and Rauraka (*sGra sgros*).⁴⁷⁾

55. Submission of the lion Ral pa can, (Keśarin).



56. Birth of Ser skya (Kapila) as a sea-monster.

57. The Brahman Nya gro dha skyes (Pip-palāyana) marries a woman resembling the golden statue he had made, lives with her chastely and is ordained as a monk by the Buddha.

58. The Buddha invites Mahākāśyapa to sit with him on the same seat.

59. Ānanda has a part in each of the Buddha's acts.

60. An ape offers honey.

61. Story of the great Śrāvastī miracle.

62. Conversion of 500 ascetics.

63. Reconciliation between the two kings of Pañcāla (*līa len*).

64. Conversion of a thousand *piśāca*.

65. The great assembly in Kapilavastu; on this occasion demons and creatures of all kinds came together.

66. Conversion of five hundred Śrāvastī merchants saved from a storm.

67. The descent from heaven (the fifth miracle).

68. Entry into the city of bZaṅ byed (Bhadramkara).

69. dPal sbed's (Śrīgupta) conversion.

70. Ordination of Me skyes (Jyotiṣka).

71. Story of aP'rog ma (Harīti).

72. King Kapina of gSer gyi sa (Suvarṇabhūmi) in the South becomes an arhat.

73. He reveals the truth to gDaṅs can (Ghoṣila) of Kauśāmbī.

74. gDaṅs can invites the Buddha to Kauśāmbī; the king's conversion.

75. Story of Mu tig can (Mālikā) daughter of the king of Siṃhala.

76. Mā ga dha bzaṅ mo (Sumāgadhā) invites the Buddha to Bu ram šin aP'el (Puṇḍravardhana).

77. Magic of Lhas byin (Devadatta).

78. Purification of the monks.

79. Sins of king Ma skyes dgra (Ajātaśatru).

80. Lhas byin attempts in vain to hurt the Buddha.

81. The elephant Nor skyoṅ, (Dhana-pāla) subdued.

82. The truth is revealed to aTs'o byed (Jīvaka).

83. The rGyal c'en and a thousand ṛṣi see the truth.

84. Submission of Sor mo p'reṅ (Aṅgulimāla).

85. Story of aP'ags pa legs 'oṅs (Svāgata).

86. The Buddha passes the summer on the mountain C'u srin byis pa gsod (Śiśumāra).

87. King Prasenajit honours Mahākāśyapa.

88. He prophesies that a poor woman will become a Buddha.

89. He pacifies king Prasenajit's ambitious pretensions.

90. He restrains Ma skyes dgra from offending.

91. He induces king Ma skyes dgra to believe in the faith.

92. Story of Lhas byin.

93. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana visit the sick.

94. Events on the way to Vaiśālī.

95. The inhabitants of Vaiśālī are induced to do good.

96. He visits Mithilā and other places.

97. He subdues the Malla.

98. He starts for the village of Nyagrodha.

99. In the Brahmans' village.

100. Conversion of the Northern populations.

101. Visit to bCom rlag (Mathurā).

102. Visit to O ta la (Story of Kajaṅgalā).

103. He passes the summer retreat in dGra mt'a' (Parāntaka).

104. Events on the way to lNa len (Pañcāla).

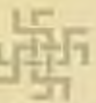
105. The story of the poor Brahman.

106. The prophecy on the course of works.

107. He guides the Śākya towards liberation.

108. He prophesies to the Brahman Gaṅ po (Pūrṇa) that he will attain enlightenment.

109. List of the seven indefectible causes (*mi ṇams pai rgyu*).



110. What happened when he was on the way to Vaiśālī.

111. Sojourn in the wood of *śiṅśapa* trees, to the North of 'Od ma can (Beluva).

112. Story of Nor can (Dhanika).

113. Renouncement of the vital *samskāra*.

114. On the way to rTsa can (Kuśa).

115. Events in rTsa can.

116. Conversion of Rab dga' ba (Supriya) king of the Dri za (Gandharva).

117. Rab bzaiṅ (Subhadra) becomes an arhat.

118. Parinirvāṇa.

119. The relics.

120. The relics are divided into eight lots.

121. Account of the first council.

122. 'Od sruṅ c'en po's nirvāṇa.

123. Ordination of Śa ṇai gos can (Śāṇā-vāsin).

124. Kung dga' bo's last work.

125. The second council.

It is clear that the above outline has been used as a guide and an inspiration for larger and later pictorial representations of the Buddha's life: the artists may have known Tāra-nātha's very book (this is far from unlikely, as it is extremely popular in Tibet to this day), or they may have used some other work akin to it; in any case there is no doubt that, in its general lines, the series of tanka in the Musée Guimet, published by Hackin, fits into this scheme.⁴⁸⁾ It is a late series, its composition and style show it to be a contemporary of the great series of the AKL and of the woodcuts representing Tsoṅ k'a pa's life, perhaps it is even more recent. Our tanka, much more ancient, is an altogether different case: the events it represents are essential, they are those in which the Buddha is really an actor, indeed the principal character; the moments it represents are the decisive events of his life as a master, accessories are neglected. The painter could do without the Dulva for this work; the data to be found in Aśvaghoṣa or in the Lalitavistara were enough for him.

But let us go back to our tanka.

Above, in two rows, 34 images of the Buddha follow one another, each with a different posture of the hands: together with the central Buddha, they represent the 35 Buddhas who are invoked during the confession of sins.

The cycle of the *ltuṅ bśags* is also simply called the cycle of the 35 Buddhas.

This is not an innovation of the Tibetans but it goes back to well known canonical books, the oldest reference being the *Chüeh ting p'i ni ching* 決定毘尼經 *Vinayaviniścaya* (*Upālipariprocchā*) (Taishō, XII, n. 325, p. 38) which Śāntideva quotes with its list of the 35 Buddhas in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (p. 169).

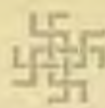
How is this number 35 reached? Evidently by the insertion of intermediate points in the spatial diagram of the maṇḍala: viz. the 4 fundamental directions, then the following 4 secondary points, then 24 intermediate points + centre + zenith + nadir = 35. They are therefore a synthesis of the space. In fact the *Upālipariprocchā* says: "all the perfect Buddhas, the Tathāgatas beginning with those above named who stay, exist, live in all spheres of existence, may protect one etc.," (quoted in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 168). In Tibet this cycle evolved from that formula enjoyed a great popularity and therefore a vast liturgical literature deals with it, out of which are worth quoting, for instance, the *Saṅs rgyas sum cu so lñai mts'an gyi p'an yon* written by rGyal ts'ab, and particularly the *Saṅs rgyas so lñai mñon rtogs dan lha skui p'yag ts'al*, of Tsoṅ k'a pa, important also from an iconographical point of view. This second work is especially interesting, because it describes in detail the characters of the cycle (see table in next page).

Underneath is painted the series of the Arhats, who are not 16 but 18; concerning their representation, I refer the reader to the illustration of tankas nn. 121-136.

Under the Buddha's image are represented the donors: the principal personage is a woman, followed by two youths and three girls. They are all seated in the Tibetan

THE THIRTY-FIVE BUDDHAS:

	colour	mudrā
1. Śākyamuni	yellow	left hand in bhūmiśparśa, right in samādhi
2. rDo rje sñiñ po rab tu ajoms pa	yellow	dharmavyākhyāna
3. Rin c'en 'od ap'ro	red	samādhi
4. Klu dbaṅ	blue up to his neck white above the neck	holding the rdo rje upon his heart with both hands.
5. dPa' boi sde	yellow	right hand in abhaya
6. dPal dgyes	yellow	dharmavyākhyāna
7. Rin c'en me	red	like Śākyamuni
8. Rin c'en zla 'od	white	as above
9. mT'oñ ba don yod	green	like dPa' boi sde
10. Rin c'en zla ba	white	dharmavyākhyāna
11. Dri ma med pa	blue	samādhi
12. dPal sbyin	yellow	as above
13. Ts'añs pa	yellow	like Śākyamuni
14. Ts'añs pas sbyin	red	dharmavyākhyāna
15. C'u lha	white	samādhi
16. C'u lhai lha	white	dharmavyākhyāna
17. dPal bzañ	yellow	like dPa' boi sde
18. Tsan da na dpal	white	like Śākyamuni
19. gZi brjid mt'a' yas	red	dharmavyākhyāna
20. 'Od dpal	blue	as above
21. Mya ñan med dpal	pale red	samādhi
22. Sred med kyi bu	yellow	dharmavyākhyāna
23. Me tog dpal	yellow	like dPa' boi sde
24. Ts'añs pai 'od zer	yellow	like Śākyamuni
25. Pad mai 'od zer	red	like Śākyamuni
26. Nor dpal	blue	samādhi
27. Dran pai dpal	yellow	samādhi
28. mTs'an dpal šin tu yoñs grags	white	right hand in dharmavyākhyāna, left in samādhi
29. dBañ poi tog gi rgyal mts'an	blue	a flag in his right hand, left hand in samādhi
30. Šin tu rnam par gnon pa	blue	a sword in his right hand, left in samādhi
31. gYul las šin tu rnam par rgyal ba	blue	holds a yellow shield with both hands
32. rNam par gnon pas gšegs	blue	both hands in bhūmiśparśa
33. Kun nas snañ ba bkod pa	red	left in samādhi, right in abhaya
34. Rin c'en pad mas rnam par gnon pa	red or yellow	as above
35. Ri dbaṅ gi rgyal po	yellow	a mountain upon both hands in samādhi



manner, and all turned towards an altar, upon which, as if evoked by the donors' piety, appears Jambhala, the god of wealth, who requites their devotion with his graces. In front of the donors we see the gifts offered to the temple: gold and vases of *c'an* prepared for the occasion, with a threefold lump of flour kneaded with butter applied on the rim. It is the ever-present *rten abrel*, the invocation of a good omen, which is never missing in any ceremony.

As to style, this tanka is not unique, it finds its counterpart in the frescoes of some temples in Western Tibet, representing the same subject, which can be dated with certainty. I allude to the representations of the Buddha's life decorating the red temple of Tsaparang (*Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 130 ff. and Plates CXXV, CXXXV). The parallelism is such that there can be no doubt the tanka is a contemporary of those frescoes and issued from the same school: in both cases we find the same scenes reproduced with the same details. It is clear that the manner is one and the same, and that a great space of time cannot have passed between the frescoes and the tanka (compare particularly Sujātā milking a cow, the scene of the first sermon, that of the division of relics). The painter of the tanka, even if he does not attain the same grace and refinement as the author of the frescoes, breathes the same artistic atmosphere. The red temple of Tsaparang, as we learn from the history of the Yellow Sect, written by Sañs rgyas rgya mts'o, was built by the wife of Blo bzan rab brtan, king of Guge. The latter was a contemporary of Nag dbaṅ grags pa, the apostle of the dGe lugs pa in Western Tibet and a disciple of Tsoṅ k'a pa (1357-1419).⁴⁹⁾ This allows us to assign the construction of the red temple to the end of the XVth century; therefore our tanka must be a little later.

The four figures which are seen in the throne and represent the four Māra have been dealt with above (see p. 303).

Under the tanka is written:

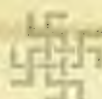
*Pun ts'ogs dge legs bya bas skrun pai sku
mt'a' yas agro bai re ba skon pai gsun
ma lus šes bya ji bžin gzigs pai t'ugs
ša kyai gtso bo de la mgos p'yag ats'al
mañ ga lam; dge'o.*

"I bow my head to the loftiest among the Śākya: his body was born by having done perfect good; his word fulfills the hope of innumerable creatures; his spirit sees, according to truth, all that can be known. May it be of good omen and well."

TANKA n. 15 (Plate 29).

This tanka, of an extremely fine design, represents the Buddha in the act of calling upon the earth to witness his attainment of enlightenment. Draped in his monastic robes, he is seated on a lotus blossoming from its stem; around him the leaves bend in delicate curves, between which figures of lions and lamas peep. The god's image is lined on two sides by two parallel rows of eight Buddhas, arranged one above the other, as on the small pillars of a throne. Further up, near his shoulders, two lamas in the midst of their disciples; another eight Buddhas on the halo and in the background. On the planes of the frame enclosing the Buddha's head, eight *mc'od rten*. At the root of the stalk of the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, the donors. Around, tiny figures of the Buddha, in the same pose as the large central image.

Here then is represented the heaven of the *bhadrakalpa*, i. e. the Buddhas of the cosmic age in which we are living; it is one of the most frequent motifs in Tibetan iconography and decorates with tiny frescoes the walls of many ancient temples which I have illustrated more than once in *Indo-Tibetica* (on the Bhadrakalpa see: Taishō, vol. XIV, p. 1; WELLER, *Tausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa*).



In this painting is found an uncommon arrangement of the central figure's frame: instead of the usual spaces and the choirs in a circle, the whole design is contained in a hexagram, which on the sides of the Buddha's head develops through geometrical levels. Consequently the throne on which the Buddha is regularly seated and which serves as a background, is in the present case reduced to a mere ornamental motif. The small pillars on the sides, following a pictorial tradition which appears in several other Guge paintings, are used by the painter to contain delicate miniatures; the upper part of the throne disappears with its Garuḍa and its Nāgas, making room for the representation of eight *me'od rten*; on top, instead of the Garuḍa, another image of the Buddha. The painter has stylized the throne to such an extent, that it has lost all its character, becoming but an ornamental pretext which, developing in a geometrical sense, gives this central part of the tanka the appearance of the rose in the centre of some Persian carpets. When our eyes, from a certain distance, encompass the entire tanka, this likeness to a carpet is so striking, that we naturally think of a conscious intention on the artist's part.

TANKA n. 16 (Plates 30, 31).

A figure of the Buddha, seated on a throne, towers between the two Bodhisattvas who assist him; the god carries on his left hand a vase, and his right is in the *mudrā* of the gift. Above, on top of the throne, a small figure of Śākyamuni, to show the identity of the two persons' nature. On the right and left, as if crowning the god's head, nine on each side, the eighteen Arhats, in whose series are included Dharma-tala and Hva-šan, represented below (on this series see tankas nn. 126-131).

On the pillars flanking the throne, eight on each side, sixteen figures: eight Bodhisattvas below and eight Buddhas above. On

the upper edge the 35 Buddhas of the confession of sins. To the right and left of Śākyamuni's figure, two masters surrounded by their disciples: the one on the left is recognizable as Kun dga' sñin po; hence we must conclude that the tanka was painted in Sa skya pa circles. Under the throne the figures of the donors. From his draperies and *mudrā*, the god may be identified as Bhaiṣajyaguru, a double of the Buddha interpreted as the god of medicine; the transposition is rather ancient. As in other similar cases, it is probably due to the fact that a title frequently attributed to the Buddha as the physician of human passions, the unfailing healer of the ills of saṃsāra through the medicine of the Law, *vaidyārāt*, *sarvavyadhipramocaka*, as the *Lalitavistara* calls him, took on with time some consistence, and became a personage by itself. Dharmagupta and Hsüan Tsang in the VIIth century, and I Ching in the VIIIth translated a *sūtra* dedicated to Bhaiṣajyaguru, in which the figure of this hypostasis is already defined. Bhaiṣajyaguru and his heaven appear in this *sūtra* modelled on Amitābha and the Sukhāvatī; as the monk Dharmākara took the vow of attaining supreme enlightenment in a pure land, where pain was not known, and where those who reach it live in eternal bliss, so in the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūryaprabhārājasūtra* this Buddha's land is said to be like the Sukhāvatī (*yādṛṣam sukhāvatīlokaḍbātus tādrṣi*, p. 10). This land was attained by virtue of his twelve initial *prañidhāna*. The fact that this pure land or heaven is localized in the East caused this god to receive as his attributes some of Akṣobhya's qualities, because Akṣobhya presides over the East: the land and the god have the colour of the *vaiḍūrya*, i. e. they are dark blue like lapislazuli; this is well known as Akṣobhya's colour.

Hence it is clear that the two Bodhisattvas on the god's sides can only be Sūryavairocana and Candravairocana, the chief Bodhisattvas



among the eight of his cycle. These eight Bodhisattvas appear in front of the dying who have invoked the god with a burning faith, and obtain for them too what is granted to Amitābha's devotees, rebirth on a lotus flower in the Vaidūryanirbhāsa heaven. These then must be the eight Bodhisattvas represented, four on each side, on the pillars flanking the throne; the other four figures above them are the eight Buddhas, i. e. the cycle of the seven gods of medicine, to whom was added Śākyamuni. The *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhāsūtra* is not yet acquainted with the list of the seven Buddhas, but the list is in I Ching's translation; it was born perhaps out of the multiplication of the god, invoked for seven days running with seven images; each image, in its turn, is surrounded by seven lamps. Thus we have seven times seven, forty-nine, as the book must be recited forty-nine times, according to the Bodhisattva Trāṇamukha's prescriptions, contained in the same sūtra, while a seven days' fast is recommended. These numbers, seven and forty-nine, perhaps put us on the right way to understand the meaning of the cycles. In fact, according to dogmatics, the state of intermediate existence, *antarābhava*, *bar do* lasted seven or forty-nine days (*Abhidharmakośa*, transl. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, vol. III, p. 51). And the sūtra does confirm our hypothesis, for it teaches that one of the main objects of its recitation is precisely to recall the conscious principle of the deceased from Yama's kingdom, where it has been led by the Yamadūta and where he has a direct vision of the rewards and punishments for the good and evil deeds done during his life (*tasya vijñānam punar api pratinivartteta svapnāntaragata ivātmānam samjānīte*). To this essential purpose, in course of time another was added which at the end gained the upper hand, namely the desire to be freed from disease and untimely death. Thus the purpose of being freed from incumbent peril and of reviving those already dead by one

of the nine untimely deaths, has overshadowed what seems to me the initial character of this cycle, I mean the desire of obtaining the protection of the conscious principle during the intermediate existence. This is shown by the fact that the book must be recited and the Buddha invoked after death, near the corpse (*yamapurūṣair ākarsamaṇasya ca tasya kalevare mañcaśayite vijñānam yamasya dharmarājasyagratām upanīyate*, p. 14). If this interpretation of mine is correct, some connection should exist between the cycle of the seven Buddhas of medicine and the Tibetan *Bar do t'os grol* (concerning which see tankas nn. 116-117).

TANKA n. 17 (Plates 32-35).

It represents one of Tibet's commonest and most venerated divinities: this special aspect of sPyan ras gzigs, having eleven heads, generally goes by the name of *bCu gcig ṣal, Ekādaśamukha*; it is very often identified with its other similar form called *p'yag ston spyan ston* "a thousand hands and a thousand eyes,, which also has eleven faces and whose multiple hands are almost certainly desumed from the first type.

This plurality of heads, arms and eyes naturally has its meaning; it is the translation into visible symbols of the omnipresence of the god's compassion; in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* the god is already called *samantamukha*, "he whose face is turned towards every point,,. And in reality what do eleven heads symbolize except the four points of space, the four intermediate points, the centre, nadir, zenith, namely the synthesis of space?⁵⁰⁾

Hence we must not see in Avalokiteśvara's eleven heads an influx of Rudra;⁵¹⁾ we must rather admit that both iconographic types are derived from the same conception and from the same intention to translate into visible forms the omnipresence of a divine force.

In Japan the Shingon sect makes a clear distinction between Avalokiteśvara, with a thousand hands, coming in the first place, and Avalokiteśvara with eleven faces, the fourth

of the six kinds of Avalokiteśvara, each of which is related to one of the six kinds of beings that can be saved by him in a particular manner (see H. B. CHAPIN, *A study in Buddhist iconography*, OZ, 1932, p. 37, n. 4).

The liturgy dedicated to this god is very rich and complex, the greatest Tibetan masters having written about him; I quote for instance: *aP'ags pa t'ugs rje c'en po žal bcu gcig pa p'yag ston spyan ston grub brñes dge sloñ dpal mo lugs keyi dkyil ak'or c'en por ajug ciñ dbaṅ bskur bai c'o ga bde legs kun abyun; aP'ags pa ... lugs keyi sgrub t'abs smyun bar gnañ bai c'o ga dañ bcas a p'an bdei snañ ba*, both of Blo bzañ bskal

bzañ rgya mts'o, seventh Dalai Lama (complete works, vol. ca).⁵²⁾

These books have tried to give a symbolical interpretation of the images, to read into them a diagram and a plan of mahāyānic dogmatics. So, for instance, according to the *Bla ma spyan ras gzigs rgyud sde rgya mts'o sgrub t'abs dños grub kun abyun*, by mK'as grub sañs rgyas ye šes, the eleven faces have a precise symbolism which can be summed up as follows: the faces are eleven inasmuch as they represent the *c'os sku*, *dharmakāya* and the ten *p'ar p'yin*, *pāramitā*. They are divided as follows, beginning from the lower ones:

3 faces symbol of <i>ži</i> , pacifying rites	central	white	covetousness pacified
	right	green	every mental perturbation pacified
	left	red	anger pacified
3 faces symbol of <i>rgyas pa</i> rites intended to develop good qualities	central	green	development of good intentions
	right	red	development of concentration
	left	white	development of gnosis
3 faces corresponding to rites intended to get powers, <i>dbaṅ</i>	central	red	baptism in supreme praxis
	right	white	baptism in supreme gnosis
	left	green	baptism in supreme capability
1 terrific, symbol of terrific rites, <i>drag po</i>	—	blue	free from all obstacles and dangers
1 on the top	—	red	symbol of the <i>c'os sku</i> , <i>dharmakāya</i>

The hands are a thousand because this aspect of Avalokiteśvara corresponds to the essence of the 1000 Buddhas of the *sKal bzañ*, *Bhadrakalpa*.

The two principal hands are joined in the *añjali*, to signify that he is identical with the *c'os sku*, *dharmakāya*, plane of the absolute, and that in this manner his essence is revealed to others.

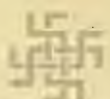
Only the first eight hands have particular symbols; the other 992 being all in *varadamudrā*, the attitude of presenting a gift.

The principal figure, served by his acolytes, is surrounded on his shoulders by the circle of his thousand arms which take the place of the luminous halo; the throne has become flat, has lost all relief, and is turned into an ornamental background, all

except its lateral pillars, on which are painted, eight on each side, sixteen figures of deities. Almost certainly these images represent as many shapes and hypostases of the same god: for instance in Blo bzañ bskal bzañ rgya mts'o's second work, fourteen of them are listed as follows, together with other similar deities:

1. *sPyan ras gzigs*, 2. *aP'ags pa señ ge sgra*, 3. *Yid bžin nor bu*, 4. *Padma gar dbaṅ p'yug*, 5. *T'ugs rje mi gšol*, 6. *Don yod žags pa*, 7. *Ha la ha la*, 8. *Pad ma rgyan*, 9. *rDo rje c'os dbaṅ p'yug*, 10. *Ha ri ha ri la žon pa*, 11. *mGrin sñon*, 12. *sGrol ma*, 13. *Vai dū rya' 'od (sman bla)*, 14. *aJam dpal*.

Around, above, below and in the corners are arranged and displayed figures of masters (*rgyud pai bla ma*) and divinities.



Four divinities deserve to be particularly mentioned here, because they are a necessary part of the complex maṇḍala dedicated to these deities: those placed on the right and on the left of the terrific head, and the other two immediately under the figures of his acolytes. They are, beginning from the lower left hand corner: gSañ bai rdo rje - Guhyavajra - symbol of the Guhyasamāja; then, in the right corner: aJigs byed rdo rje, having a buffalo's head; above: dGyes mdsad rdo rje (Kyai rdo rje) and next K'rag t'uñ rdo rje who in the maṇḍala ought to be found respectively to the East, South, West and North of the central image.

TANKA n. 18 (Plate 36).

Tanka n. 18 represents a Buddha in *bbū-misparśamudrā* and beggar's bowl.⁵³⁾ The god is assisted on either side by Byams pa and aJam dbyaṅs. Around them, unfolding on four sides like a frame, the cycle of the 35 gods of the confession of sins; the 17 Arhats, concerning whom I refer the reader to what will be said on tankas nn. 126-131 the six-armed mGon po, rNam t'os sras and Jambhala. Above, on each side, Tsoñ k'a pa between his two chief disciples, and other lamas, also between two disciples.

In this specimen too the throne has become a mere ornamental motif, serving as a background to the image; the halo almost mingles its arabesques with the embroidery on the Buddha's dress.

The curves of the lotus on which the throne rests are already stiffer and more stylized than in the other specimens; the tanka already belongs to a ripe period of the Guge school.

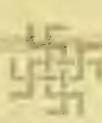
TANKA n. 19 (Plates 37, 38).

In the centre of the tanka towers a vast golden figure of Ts'e dpag med, "the god of endless life"; he wears a necklace, a diadem and a bracelet; a large red scarf,

moved by the wind, plays round him like a luminous halo. He is seated on a throne covered with a green cloth dotted with golden stars. The throne rests on a lotus flower, which winding and multiplying its stalk in flexible curves, emerges from the primordial waters. Above, on the same axis, the figure of 'Od dpag med, "the god of endless light", escorted on both sides by two standing Bodhisattvas.

The back of the throne develops its manycoloured arabesques, which stand out sharply against the dark blue background: animals, flowers, men and monsters, mingle their bright colours in varied harmonies and attain their equilibrium in a wealth of baroque wreaths.

This riot of colours, bright yet so cleverly blended that the eye delights in them without becoming tired or dazzled, is the greatest merit of the present tanka; as to drawing, there are many other paintings more delicate. Nevertheless the figures of the monks and ascetics, radiant in their rich draperies, or naked after the Yogin's manner, are full of a nervous life, some being represented in a motionless state of ecstasy, others in the violent poses of exorcism, all intent on defeating that elemental world out of which evil and sin spring with a sudden terror. The inscriptions accompanying the figures are largely obliterated; we can only read the names of the two first lamas below, on the right of the onlooker: aJam dbyaṅs c'os rje, and above brTogs ldan pa.⁵⁴⁾ Above, two on each side of 'Od dpag med, four Indian ascetics may be recognized by the topknot which Sādhus, and in Tibet Yogin of the bKa' brgyud pa sect, wear to this day, and by the red band they wear across their chest; that band is called *sgom t'ag* (*yogapatta*) and is used to hold the limbs firmly, for in some difficult postures of yoga they are distorted and contracted to such an extent that, if they were not confined it would be impossible to hold the pose continually for a certain time.



On the upper left-hand corner of Ts'e dpag med, all blue inside a halo red as a burning fire, stands gSañ ba ḍus pa (Guhyasamāja) clasping his śakti, Akṣobhya's esoteric and secret form; his mystical meaning and the liturgy which, wisely practised, leads up to him, are explained in the tantra bearing precisely the title of Guhyasamāja.

The greatest interest of this tanka is perhaps to be found in the scenes represented below and on the left. On the right we see the usual deities, yellow Jambhala, the god of riches, who will grant his blessings to those who had the painting made, mGon po Nīla-daṇḍa and the six-armed protector (mGon po).

On the left we see, inside a large open tent, a personage seated on a throne; a red throne, with back and sides, like the one of lacquered *papier mâché*, on which the abbot of Hemis sits to his day when officiating in solemn ceremonies, a good piece of Kashmiri work of the XVIIth century. Round him, three other personages in smaller proportions, gradually diminishing; they all wear Tibetan clothes: coats, and the first one a tunic with very long sleeves; they also wear turbans like Panjabi Moslems. Behind the most important personage we see two attendants, wearing hats similar to those worn by Yarkandis; one supports a canopy and the other waves a fly-whisk. On the left an attendant carrying an object I am unable to identify, and a second attendant with a bow and a quiver of arrows. Other personages in the background and on the margin. In front of the chief personage we see a man dressed after the Persian fashion, with ample sleeves, belt and turban who, having put water into a jar he carries in his right hand, is pouring into it with his left something not clearly discernible: the water springs out of the jar on all sides.

I have no doubt that the personage seated on the throne is a king of Ladakh: the umbrella and the fly-whisk, used in the Indian manner, point him out as such. Who this

king may be, it is not easy to tell, as there is no inscription: the tanka has been found in the monastery of Ba sgo, which was enlarged and enriched by Señ ge rnam rgyal. For this reason I think that precisely this king may be represented; in this case the three personages seated on his right would be his three sons bDe ldan rnam rgyal, Indra bhūti rnam rgyal, bDe mc'og rnam rgyal. This takes the tanka back to the XVIIth century, as this king lived between 1590 and 1645.

TANKA n. 20 (Plate 39).

It represents once again a subject very frequent in Tibetan painting, of which we have various noteworthy instances in the present collection: Amitābha's heaven, the Sukhāvātī (cfr. tanka n. 13).

This tanka, in whose wavy clouds Chinese influence can already be perceived, comes from the aBrug pa school, as we see from the caps of the lamas represented on each side of the Buddha, on a level with his head. But we find here a detail which is missing in other representations of the same subject in this collection: under Amitābha's great image there is the figure of a god in the act of descending towards an imploring being. This is Amitābha's well known descent: the god leaves the serene contemplation of his bliss to answer the call of believers who invoke his grace at the point of death. In his past lives, before becoming a Buddha, he had in fact taken this solemn vow:

"O Bhagavat, if those beings who have directed their thought towards the highest perfect knowledge in other worlds and who, after having heard my name, when I have obtained the Bodhi (knowledge), have meditated on me with serene thoughts: if at that moment of their death, after having approached them, surrounded by an assembly of Bhikshus, I should not stand before them, worshipped by them, that is, so that their thoughts should not be troubled, then, may



I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge,, (SBE, vol. XIX, pp. 15, 45).

This theme of the descent from heaven into the presence of a devotee who invokes the god with earnest faith, is outlined in Indian canonical literature, as already hinted for instance by the *Ta chib tu lun* attributed to Nāgārjuna where Amitābha comes down from his heaven to assist his devotee in the hour of death and appears to him (Taishō, XXV, p. 127); but it has been best defined and vastly developed, both theoretically and artistically in China, since the times of one of the greatest masters of the Pure Earth schools, as Shan tao 善導 was. But in Tibet this representation is very rare.

In Tibet the main theme, discussed in liturgy and prayers, is not the god's almost paternal and succouring descent, to meet the soul of the pious and lead them to his heaven, but rather, according to the principles of Haṭhayoga, it is the violent projection of the conscious principle, to which human personality is reduced according to Buddhist dogmatics, into Amitābha's heaven.

Out of the god's heart a hook of light is projected, which draws towards itself the devotee's conscious principle, represented by a luminous globe, the size of a grain, residing in his heart; this principle, thus attracted, disappears and is dissolved into the god's heart, with which it is substantially unified; next, it is once again emanated from it, in order to give birth to the new divine incarnation in the centre of the lotus miraculously sprung up in front of the god.

(*bDe ba can gyi žiñ du t'ogs med par ajug pai myur lam* of the Pañ c'en Blo bzañ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an).

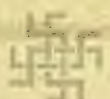
Of course when the believer dies, it is thought, also in Tibet, that by virtue of his *pranidhāna* the god, as it is written in the *Sukhāvativyūha*, appears before him to lead him to salvation. But the episode of the god's descent occupies a subordinate position in art as well as in all Tibetan hagiographical

literature, mostly derived from esoteric texts of late Mahāyāna. This literature is also broken up into different trends, the most important of which, or at least the one most extensively followed, is perhaps that of the Yellow sect, which boasts its descent from Jetāri (to whom in the bsTan agyur are attributed four sādhana and hymns of Ts'e dpag med, CORDIER, *Cat.*, LXVIII, pp. 6-8), whence, through the Lotsāva of Ba ri and the Sa skya pañḍita, it finds an outlet in Tsoñ k'a pa's treatise (*bDe ba can gyi žiñ bkod kyi žiñ mc'og tu abyed pa*) which codifies, by developing the theories of the *Sukhāvativyūha*, Tibetan ideas on the wonders of this heaven. It is therefore not improbable that the iconographic type of this episode, as represented in the tanka, may have been inspired by Chinese models.

TANKA n. 21 (Plates 40, 41).

Žaṅ pa rdo rje⁵⁵) is represented in the centre of the painting, his right hand on a level with his ear, in the attitude iconography assigns to the poet and mystic Mi la ras pa; this attitude is peculiar the bards of the bKa' brgyud pa school. On the palm of his left hand he carries a skull-cap, an indispensable implement of tantric liturgies. The apparel most becoming to Žaṅ pa would be that of the *ras pa*, the rough cotton tunic proper to ascetics addicted to meditation and to the exercise called *gtum mo*, that is belonging to schools which cultivate a certain practice of Haṭhayoga: this practice aims at producing a voluntary increase of the body's temperature, as a sign of having attained a revulsion from the plane of phenomenic existence to the fire of cosmic light. On the contrary Žaṅ pa is represented not as a *ras pa*, but wearing a rich mantle with embroidered hems; the ascetic's band, however, is not missing.

One also notes the difference in the apparel of his two disciples: one of them wears the ascetic mantle, the other a lama's draperies and cap, perhaps to mark the different trends



they followed. In this case also, the throne has become a mere background, its place is taken up by two disciples, although the *Garuda* remains on the heights and the *makara* are still represented on the headings of the two capitals on the sides. All this unfolds like an alien decoration, almost like tapestry ornamented with arabesques, serving as a background to the lama's figure.

All around are pictures of gods and masters, all belonging, as may be seen from the shape of their hats, to the *aBrug pa* school. Among the gods we see in the centre, above, 'Od dpag med, having on his right *sPyan ras gzigs*, near whom is painted *Padmasambhava*; on the right *Grub pai rgyal mo*; on the right-hand corner, *bDag med ma's* dancing figure.

The formulas of invocation which accompany these figures enable us to identify the lamas who surround the group, beginning from *Padmasambhava*, who is enthroned above, near *sPyan ras gzigs*:

Images above, to the left:

P'ag mo grub pa (for *gru pa*)
U rgyan padma abyun gnas
sPyan ras gzigs
'Od dpag med
Grub pai rgyal mo
Ti p'u pa
sKyob pa ajig rten gsum mgon po

To the right:

Yar dgon c'os rje
Zur rus pa
Saṅs rgyas bsod dbaṅ
mk'as grub Saṅs rgyas dpal bzaṅ
p'ul sku Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an

To the left:

spyān mñā' Grags pai abyun gnas
spyān mñā' Rigs ldan
skyes mc'og rGyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ
lo c'en Nam mk'a' grags pa
p'a rgod bSod nams bzaṅ po
mk'as btsun Nam mk'a' bsam agrub

Many of them are well known as the celebrated masters of the initiatic school of the *bKa' brgyud pa*: *Ti p'u pa*, for instance, is the lama into whom was transferred the conscious principle of *Dar ma mdo sde*, the son of *Marpa*, when he fell off his horse and died. He then became the master of *Ras c'un rdo rje*. The story goes that on this occasion *Mar pa*, being unable to find another body into which to transfer the soul of his son, used the body of a dove who had just died; the dove, in which *Dar ma mdo sde's* conscious principle had found an abode, obeying the ascetic's command flew to India, crossing the Himalaya, exactly on time to enter the body of a young Brahman, newly deceased, and settled therein, recalling him to life. This was *Ti p'u*.

P'ag mo gru and *Grags pa abyun gnas* I have mentioned more than once in the course of this book.⁵⁶⁾

The figures of the deities and masters at the top of the paintings are enclosed between small pillars, of the same type as those which frame the statues in *Gyantse* or *Tsaparang*; the horses, standing on their hind legs, on the sides of the figures, and the *makara* which lean alternatively on them, are the only things left of the throne, once more reduced to a mere ornamental motif. On the three pillars, figures of deities with their right hands upraised, holding a suspended band.

Below, to the left, the donors, in front of whom the pageant of the terrific deities unfolds; they seem to have come down from their heavenly abodes, riding fantastic animals, to accept their devotees' gifts; among others *C'os bdag ts'e rin mc'ed lia*, "Ts'e rin, with her sisters five in all, lords of the Law,"

The inscription reads as follows:

rnal abyor gyi dbaṅ p'yug / gzaṅ pa rdo rje
yab sras / gsum la ts'e k'rid rgyud pai bskor ba la
bdag nam mk'a' dpal mgon ak'or bcas pa p'yag ats'al
ziṅ skyabs su mc'i 'o skye ba nas ts'e rabs / t'ams
cad du rjes su bzun du gsol.

"I Nam mk'a' dpal mgon with my relatives do homage and take refuge in the lord



of ascetics, g³ṣaṇ pa rdo rje together with his two disciples, surrounded by the masters who have handed down the initiatic secrets concerning life (*Ts'e dpag med*). I pray that, from this birth, they may be favourable to each incarnation „.

TANKA n. 22 (Plates 42, 43).

In the centre Śākyamuni in monastic dress, surrounded by his two disciples, Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra. The Buddha's right hand is in bhūmisparśamudrā, with his left he holds the bowl (*piṇḍapātra*) in which the monks place the food given them as alms. The Buddha is seated on a "lunar „ seat, resting on a lotus flower, which in its turn reclines on a large throne: the latter belongs to the simplest type; the lions usually seen either in the centre or on the corners of this traditional seat of the Buddha and of all divinities, are missing.

On the cloth between the throne and the lotus, an adoring figure in the centre: it represents the earth, rising to bear witness to the Buddha's attainment of enlightenment, after the temptation by Māra.⁵⁷⁾

On high, and above the figures of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, sixteen figures are placed, each in its own halo; they are the sixteen Arhats, represented according to pictorial paradigmata linking this series rather with Indian than with Chinese models.

The Chinese influence predominating over this cycle has not reached these paintings of Western Tibet at India's door (the painting comes from Kanawar) or it has reached them late and in an attenuated manner. On each side of the throne the two supplementary Arhats: on the left the so-called Hvaṣaṇ, in the likeness of an ascetic, with a rosary in his right hand; on the other side Dharma-tala, wearing royal draperies: he is standing, a diadem on his head, in the act of striking with a fly-whisk at tiger placed in front of him.

Below, in the centre, a table on which are seen the offerings presented on the occasion of the consecration of the tanka, by those who had it painted to fulfill a vow. The donor is on the left of the table, accompanied by his wife and family. He is wearing a large turban, as was the fashion in those parts of Western Tibet, which had always remained in commercial relations with India; trading with Kashmir, Almora and even Lahore, where the kings of Guge had a commercial agent, the Tibetans adopted some of the customs of those provinces. Another one of the donors is a monk. They all carry a Chinese cup, in their left or right hand; the other hand rests on their crossed legs. They are represented in the act of presenting their offerings to the deity.

Facing the table, full bags, perhaps containing *zampa*, offered to the monastery; on the other side a pot-bellied Jambhala is seated, holding gems in his right hand and in his left the mongoose from whose mouth precious pearls issue.

The prevailing colours are red and gold; the material is a thick and coarse canvas. The tanka comes from Namgyal, on the extreme frontier of the State of Bashahr with Tibet proper.

The Tanka is evidently later than the others of the Guge school, and shows how, little by little, the Guge style lost its characteristics and, under the influence of other manners, gradually adapted itself to them, almost melting into that composite style which slowly spread all over Tibet.

TANKA n. 23 (Plate 44).

This tanka represents Avalokiteśvara, four-armed, in his well known form as Ṣaḍakṣarāvalokiteśvara, patron of Tibet; he is the merciful god who went down into hell to save the beings hurled therein for their sins. Moved by boundless pity, the god redeemed them and led them to salvation, as the

Kāraṇḍavyūha relates. He is seated on a lotus, emerged from the waters of the samsaric plane, and is surrounded by six Buddhas, standing, each with a special symbol. It is easy to recognize them as the Buddhas who preside over the six forms of existence (*ṣaḍgati*). The reader is referred to tanka n. 115.

This tanka is a late modulation of the Guge style. It comes from Namgyal, in the State of Bashahr.

TANKA n. 24 (Plate 45).

It belongs to the same school and is also a late and provincial echo of the Guge manner: it also comes from Bashahr. It represents a *ḍākinī*, dancing to her own accompaniment with a *ḍamaru* and the human tibia, *rkañ gliñ*, used as a flute; she is the goddess presiding over the practices called *gcod*, i. e. the meditative technique leading the mystic to experience in the "void", of all that appears (see above p. 92). Round the *ḍākinī* unfolds the choir of secondary deities belonging to the same cycle and of masters particularly addicted to the

gcod practices. Below, on the left, the donors; on the right the god of death, which *gcod* precisely defeats and annihilates. Above, assemblies of worshippers, in the act of listening to the preaching Buddha. In the first assembly on the left, below, the listeners are all monks, except one who may be a god; on the other scenes the personages in monastic dress are replaced by Bodhisattvas; in the last picture on the right, below, the Buddha's place is taken by the *ḍākinī*. This entitles us to suppose that in these scenes the painter wished to represent the Buddha's successive preachings, beginning from the Benares sermon, in which Hīnayāna was revealed, up to the one on the *Gr̥dhrakūṭa*, when Mahāyāna was proclaimed, and so forth, up to the successive revelations of the Vajrayāna, the "Adamantine Vehicle", culminating in the secrets of the *gcod*, expounded to the initiated by the *ḍākinī*.

The lotus flower on which the goddess rests is stylistically interesting; round its stalk develop tendrils enclosing in their curves pictures of birds, which recall similar motives of Sassanian textiles.

COMPOSITE STYLE

I - SA SKYA PA AND RÑIN MA PA

TANKAS nn. 25-27 (Plates 46-48).

These tankas belong to a series which probably was more numerous, representing the blama of the Sa skya pa sects, namely the *bla mai rgyud*, or rather, as the picture comes from the Sa skya pa schools, the *Lam abras rgyud* or *lam zab rgyud* "the esoteric school". Every school possesses and hands down a teaching or a particular manner of interpreting and living the Buddhist doctrines, derived from arcane revelations; the continuity of masters and disciples has been compared to a row of lamps, each of which receives light from the one preceding it, and transmits it in its turn to the next. The light has come down from above, from a plane beyond the earth and it irradiates itself by virtue of some forces or of their emanations symbolized by certain deities; through the agency of these deities, thus visualized, man becomes aware of that intricate interplay of divine powers on which he may base his salvation. Every school has its chronicles, which relate the succession of its spiritual leaders and tell how, through their uninterrupted continuity, the first Master's divine inspiration has been preserved, pure and spotless, upon earth. The Sa skya pa school's most famous book is entitled "*De bžin gšegs t'ams cad kyi bğrod pa gcig pai lam c'en gsun ñag rin po c'ei bla ma bgyud pai rnam t'ar*", and, as it is proper in such collections, it does not dwell much on facts and historical vicissitudes, but rather relates at great length the masters' spiritual experiences and their progressive elevations and purifications, which made them worthy of receiving the eternal truths.

The Sa skya pa school maintains that its revelation descends from rDor rje aç'an, first

divine master of nearly all the schools, a symbol of the cosmic consciousness or of the first principle of all things. But immediately afterwards differentiations begin: according to the Sa skya pa, rDo rje aç'an revealed the truth to bDag med ma; by this goddess it was revealed to the great Indian miracle-worker and ascetic Virüpā, whom they consider their earthly tutor; from him the school was propagated throughout the Country of Snows. On each tanka are represented four personages, whose identification is made certain by a brief inscription, which gives the name of each. To fill up empty space and in no perceptible relation to the principal personages, lesser figures of masters and deities are symbolically placed here and there.

In tanka n. 25 the principal figures are:

1. rDo rje aç'an, Vajradhara, on the left, above, divine master.
2. bDag med ma, Nairātmyā, on the right, above, to whom the former revealed the wisdom which sets men free.
3. Virbapa / Virüpā, on the left, below, the Indian siddha, first earthly master.
4. Nag po pa, Kṛṣṇācārya, on the right, below.

In the centre of the tanka Pad ma abyun gnas, Padmasambhava's figure, with both his wives.

Above, in the centre, the Buddha: on the left the small figures represent; A la abad jar (Abalavajra?), Gar bar ri pa (Garbharipā).

On the right: Nag k'rod (Nags k'rod), dPa' bo rdo rje.

Below: illegible, Lu hi pā, Klu grub, Āryadeva.

In tanka n. 26 the principal figures are:

1. rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mts'an, to the left, above.

2. Sa skya paṇḍita, to the right, above.
3. C'os rgyal aP'ags pa, to the left, below.

4. Žaṇ po dpal (for bZaṇ po dpal), to the right, below.

Small figures on the left:

rTsa skya pa.

Can li.

To the right:

Ša kya bšes gñen.

Gagana.

In the centre:

T'a ga pa; sGra... d... žab(s).

Below:

Kotali, Tsa pa li, Vimati, Ńi ma sbas pa, Nag gi dbaṇ p'yug.

In tanka n. 27 the principal figures are:

To the left:

1. rGyal ba grag(s) (rgyal mts'an) pa, to the left, above.

2. Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an, to the right, above.

3. dPal ldan ts'ul k'rim, to the left, below.

4. Buddhaśrī, to the left, below.

Small figures to the left:

Ki la pa.

Ku bu tsa.

Seṇ ge pa ba.

To the right:

Flying monk.

Ka la laṇ ka.

Glin bu mk'an.

Below:

Ma to pa, Ka lan ka, Bha ya ni, Ga na bha da, Ha ya si.⁵⁸⁾

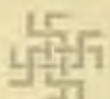
What one notices in these tankas is their unusual shape: they are long and narrow, with cloth only above and below, through the evident influence of China, with which the Sa skya school had long contacts, both political and cultural. Chinese influence is perceptible also in the seats or thrones on which the masters are represented, in a sort of dignified simplicity which neglects to fill up empty spaces and only occasionally places the siddha's

figures against a faintly outlined landscape; rising clouds interrupt with their white masses the dark background of the paintings: the mountains, however, still show traces of the Indian manner.

TANKA n. 28 (Plates 49, 50).

It gives us rather a new representation of Amitābha's heaven.

The influence of the great Chinese compositions, rich in palaces, temples, gardens, has here almost completely disappeared; in its place are introduced long pageants of praying monks and Bodhisattvas, who slowly advance, serene and composed. The painter has drawn his inspiration from the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, in its most elementary scheme: on the upper left-hand corner a monk kneeling before a Buddha seated in a temple. The two inscriptions, one under the Buddha: *saṅs rgyas ajig rten dbaṇ p'yug* - Buddha Lokeśvara, and the other under the monk: *dge sloṇ c'os kyi abyun gnas* - Dharmākara, leave no doubt as to the meaning of the scene: it is the vow, taken by Dharmākara in front of the Buddha Lokeśvara, to become one day a Buddha in the Western heaven. The scene on the right, where a Buddha also appears in a gathering of monks is accompanied by the inscription *t'u pa* (Śā kya t'ub pa - Śākyamuni), *kun dga'* (Ānanda) and *ajam dbyaṅs* (Mañjuśrī); this takes us back to the revelation made by the Buddha to the meeting gathered in the Gr̥dhra-kūṭa, when he told Dharmākara's story: how he had become the Buddha Amitābha, and described the glory of the Western heaven. In the pavilion to the left, under the scenes concerning Dharmākara, Byams pa (Maitreya), at the head of the Bodhisattvas who attended the revelation; to the right a Jam dbyaṅs, further down, on a level with the throne on the left, Sai sñiṇ po (Kṣitigarbha), and on the right Nam mk'a' sñiṇ po (Akāśagarbha); still lower down, almost on the lower corners, Kun tu bzaṇ po and sGribs rnam bsel. In the



centre of the tanka, below, we see a monk praying in front of the tree which, issuing from the cosmic waters, ascends towards the empyrean, passing through higher and higher spiritual planes, symbolized by an Indian master, then by Amitāyuh, next by Amitābha, assisted, on each side, by two acolytes; above, five on each side, adoring goddesses pay homage to the god, who is absorbed in deep meditation. The kneeling monk with his back to the spectator represents suffering humanity, who can find a possibility of redemption only in devotion to the god of infinite light. In the present case his salvation has already taken place; the monk is seated on the lotus flower which represents his spiritual rebirth, his revulsion from the plane of earthly existence. The waters representing the flow of thought and its bivalence have already yielded their fruit: the reborn turns towards the first revelation of gnosis embodied in the master who has pointed out the way and who, by his teaching, has lifted him from the samsaric to the celestial plane.

The tanka comes from the N̄or monastery, but as we see from the dress of the monks represented, who partake in the revelation, being admitted into the choir of the Sukhāvātī, it is derived from a rñiñ ma pa school.

The khatvāṅga and the skull-cap show that the saint to whom the monk turns in prayer, is Padmasambhava in an ācārya's dress.

The pictorial representation of this heaven is not the traditional one.

In these scenes we see almost a reflection of convent life: disciples gathered round the master, processions of psalmodizing monks; the painter has drawn his inspiration from the unpretentious life of convents, his idea of heaven is human and earthly, without any kingly pomp or glory, more composed and contemplating. Here we find greater serenity; in rich compositions whose inspiration is Chinese, our eyes are attracted first by one detail then by another, they pass from one pavilion to the next, they admire gardens and

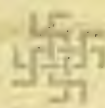
ponds, or the Bodhisattvas' robes, and they become distracted. On the contrary, this tanka breathes an atmosphere of tranquil piety and of devout simplicity, emphasized by its light colours, mellowed by time.

The name of the donor who had this tanka painted is known; it is written in *dbu med* on the outer edge of the picture: he was called Blo gsal rgyal mts'an.

The tanka shows another detail worthy of note: it is crossed by transversal lines which cut across each other, dividing its surface into equal lozenges; I know of no other instance.

TANKA n. 29 (Plate 51).

It takes us back to one of the principal esoteric schools of the "Diamond Vehicle". Surrounded by a flaming halo which gleams red all around him, Kālacakra performs his mystical dance, clasping his *śakti*, and tramples on Śiva's and Gaṇapati's corpses, which their respective mates vainly try to save from being cruelly crushed. The goddess is orange-coloured, the god blue and white, he has three faces and 24 arms, each grasps an instrument which is also a symbol. The Kālacakra is one of the last creation of the Tantric masters, always ready to express through new symbols the inexhaustible wealth of their inner visions; it represents a new aspect of the first principle: the Ādi-Buddha or primeval Buddha, the origin of the mystic pentad. It is therefore an equivalent of the Guhyasamāja and his experiences run parallel to those of that famous Tantra.⁵⁹⁾ This tantric system, having entered Tibet very early, branched off into many schools, and received its first great organization at Buston's hands; later came the Yellow school with Tson k'a pa and his disciples: they centered their hopes of salvation from the samsaric plane round this symbol, which became still more popular. The rñiñ ma pa and the bKa' brgyud pa, though they did not ignore this cycle,



studied it with less interest and depth, giving prevalence to bDe mc'og and to Heruka; the Sa skya pas, preferred the experiences of the Hevajratantra to it, while the dGe lugs pa saw in the Dus kyi ak'or lo, Kālacakra, almost the highest point of Tantric esoterism, and made it the object of a vast literature, both mystical and liturgical.

This tanka was painted by a Sa skya pa, as shown by Kun dga' sñiñ po's image; he is seen, in a white dress, on the right of the tanka, while on the left we see the Sa skya pas' master, Virūpā, of a dark colour, naked after the *siddhas'* fashion.

Above, on each side of a triad looming large in the centre, unfolds the choir of the *ts'ogs žiñ*, the masters to whom the revelations of the Kālacakra were handed down. Then, respectively under Kun dga' sñiñ po and Virūpā, gSañ ba ḁdus pa and Mi k'rugs pa with his *śakti*; below, sGrol ma and Ts'e dpag med; still lower down, two mGon po and finally, on the lowest plane, the donor, a monk, in front of the altar, flanked by Jam-bhala riding on a lion, and by two more terrific deities, the last but one of them is the Žañ blon rdo rje bdud rnam ḁdul.⁶⁰⁾

TANKA n. 30 (Plate 52).

This painting, rather damaged by age, is interesting because of its pleasing colours, in which red and gold predominate. The figure represents Bu ston. So I was assured by the lamas from whom I received it, in Ža lu, where his incarnations succeed each other; but when there are no inscriptions, such identifications always remain doubtful. Buston, often mentioned in this book, is seated on a throne, draped in the sacred robes; in front of him stands a table, also of Chinese style, on which rest the liturgical objects: bell, vajra, skull-cap, plate with ritual offerings (*gtor ma*), phial for consecrated water (*ril ba spyi blug*, *kunḁikā*) and other things. All around are reproduced images of Buston himself, with his hands in

various symbolical attitudes (*mudrā*). Below, the donors, doing homage to a lama seated inside a palace: perhaps one of Buston's incarnations; around, lamas kneeling and praying.

TANKA n. 31 (Plate 53).

It represents mT'iñ gi žal bzañ ma a goddess belonging to the retinue of dPal ldan lha mo (see tankas nn. 170-173 and p. 592).

TANKA n. 32 (Plates 54-58).

It was bought in Sa skya and represents, as was to be expected, the life of an abbot of this sect. His name according to the invocation written under the central figure is: Kun dga' bkra šis. There is no record of him either in the Sa skya genealogies published in that convent or in the large collections of the Sa skya monks' biographies, edited in Derge.⁶¹⁾ But his name is quoted in the biography of the fifth Dalai Lama (*c'a*, p. 42): *Sa skyar gduñ brgyud riñ po c'e ḁag dbañ Kun dga' bkra šis* who was confirmed on his see in the year 1668.

Under the abbot's image we see two kneeling figures, representing the devotees who had the tanka painted; under their figure is written: *bdag šes rab rjes su bzuñ tu gsol* "I, Šes rab, pray to obtain the (Bla ma's) favour,.. Above, on the left, near aDod ak'ams dbañ p'yug ma's figure: *sbyin pai dbañ po ts'e bsañ rjes su bzuñ tu gsol* "the donor Ts'e (riñ) bsañ (grub) prays for (the Bla ma's) favour,.. The abbot wears the typical Sa skya cap; to represent his spiritual descent, above, on the same axis, is painted Sañs rgyas rdo rje ac'añ "The Buddha rdo rje ac'añ (Vajradhara),,, and underneath the image of another Sa skya lama, who might be Kun dga' bkra šis' father, because in this school's office was handed down from father to son. Below we see Gur mgon, the protecting deity of the Sa skya pa schools, between aDod k'ams dbañ p'yug ma, to the

left, and dMag zor ma, a particular form of dPal ldan lha mo.

Above, on the left, gSer c'os ajam nag. On the right rje btsun sGrol ma. Around, within well-defined squares, are represented some episodes of this abbot's life, which would acquire a greater relief if Kun dga' bkra šis' biography had reached us. As it is, though each scene is accompanied by an inscription, it is very difficult to interpret it in a complete and satisfactory manner, and also to find out from which point one should begin to read the story. If we start from the left, the first scene we meet with represents a temple; squads of workmen are repairing the upper part; below monks in ceremonial robes seem to be consecrating it. The inscription leaves no doubts: *Kun bkras nas lha c'en ... ba drug la ñams gso mdsad ts'ul*. "Kun bkra šis repairs the six ... of the great temple (Lha k'añ c'en mo),,, The Lha k'añ c'en mo, "great temple,, is the enormous monastery walled round and built in the middle of the plain to the left of the Grum c'u river which crosses Sa skya. Next, immediately underneath, we see a temple which, to judge from the inscription, is the P'un ts'ogs yañ rtse.

Below: *Kun bkras nas bsam brtiñ dgon pa ñams gso mdsad ts'ul*. "Kun dga' bkra šis repairs the monastery of bSam brtiñ⁶²),,, Underneath, a colourful cavalcade is trotting, nimble and picturesque: the grand lama, surrounded by monks and laymen, follows the horses, led by the reins, which carry on their pack-saddles vases containing ritual objects. This is "Kun dga' bkra šis, who with his retinue is going to Yañ rtse for a divine ceremony,,: *Kun bkras žabs driñ* (for *ābriñ*) *pa dañ bcas lha mc'od yañ rtser p'ebz ts'ul*,,,

Under Gur mgon's figure an empty shrine is seen; in the space in front of it the lama and the monks gesticulating: the inscription thus explains the scene: *C'os k'rir kun bkras nas rab abyams mañ po la sgrogz glen mdsad ts'ul*. "On the throne of the Law Kun dga' bkra

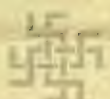
šis preaches the doctrine to many doctors,,. "The Throne of the Law,, is the name of a temple near the banks of the river Grum c'u, before which a large courtyard opens: here, at the appointed times, the monks hold gatherings, to confer the title of doctor of theology and to hold examinations in logic. Next, on the right, we see a monk, in the apparel of Eastern Tibet; he is one of the donors, who had somehow contributed to the great work of reconstructing the decayed and ruinous temples, undertaken by Kun dga' bkra šis. This donor's name is Ts'e riñ bsam grub, near him we see the *gñer* (*pa*), the manager or treasurer bsTan p'un. Below Šes rab p'un ts'ogs, perhaps a son of the former. On the left, Kun dga' bkra šis in the act of pouring out gems in front of Kubera. "*Kun bkras kyi žabs lha bžans mdsad ts'ul*. / Kun dga' bkra šis has images of gods made,,.

The following scenes, representing various moments of the same episode, probably commemorate the construction of some temple by Kun dga' bkra šis' order: "*mdsod pa nas bzo par bka' k'yab gnañ ts'ul* / The treasurer gives the order to build,,. And then: *mdsod spel skya bas gzigs rtog* (= *gzigs rten*) *p'ul ts'ul* "The treasurer sPel skya offers gifts,,. Next: *Kun bloi mdsod pa spel skya gser sku bzoñs* (for *bžans*) *dgos ts'ul bka' sgyur ba*. "sPel skya, treasurer of Kun (dga') blo (gros), proclaims that a golden statue be made,,.

TANKA n. 33 (Plates 59-63).

It contains a biography of Padmasambhava (*Pad ma abyun gnas*) who has often been mentioned in this book.

Although legends concerning him have flourished in great abundance, there is no doubt whatever that he was one of the active propagators of Buddhism in K'ri sroñ lde btsan's times. The great master Śāntirakṣita then reached Tibet, and on his advice Padmasambhava was invited; he is probably identical with Padmavajra or Padmākara.



Since we have already discussed his personality and the reliability of the Tibetan tradition concerning him (see above p. 87) we cannot help referring to the things said above. A few facts must anyhow be recollected here which seem to have some historical consistency and can be taken as an introduction to the explanation of the tanka. Padmasambhava was born in Uḍḍiyāna, that is in the Swat Valley, and after a long sojourn in India, chiefly in Vikramaśilā, which was the greatest Buddhist university, he went to Tibet. The Buddhism he preached was Tantric, certainly not in its noblest or highest form. Padmasambhava perceived that the Tibetan people, not yet refined, rude in its customs, lacked the intellectual maturity required to understand the subtle esoteric doctrines of the initiatic schools; on the contrary it appeared inclined to magic, indeed predisposed to it by the Bon, the native religion, mainly founded on exorcisms. Padmasambhava's principal task was to show that the miracle-working power of Buddhist formulas was much superior to the power of Bon. By thus ably adapting Buddhism to the Tibetan people's psychology, Padmasambhava contributed to its spread in the Country of Snows.

His historical personality, however, was soon extinguished by his myth, and he was magnified to such an extent that he finally came to occupy the place of the supreme mahāyānic deities, and was considered a second Buddha, the embodiment of supreme truth, who had revealed himself for the redemption of all creatures.

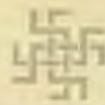
In his successive aspects he is a symbol of the emanation of the Buddha's three planes, namely the physical plane, the verbal plane and the spiritual plane (*Lew bdun ma*, p. 38 b). In Padmasambhava, thus identified with supreme reality, the schools distinguish four shapes: the external or exoteric appearance (*p'yi*) as it is seen by persons not yet purified to the point of discovering his essential nature: the vicissitudes of this manifestation

of Padmasambhava are to be found in his biographies, which tell how he came to Tibet, how he conquered the spirits and forces adverse to Buddhism; in this illusive shape he spent not more than twelve years in Tibet, then he went back to India. Under the esoteric aspect (*nañ*) he is supreme truth, incarnated in various countries: India, China, Khotan etc. It became embodied in various masters for the space of 3600 years; with the object of spreading the faith in Tibet he appeared miraculously out of a lotus flower in Uḍḍiyāna and achieved the conversion of Tibet, vanquishing its demons and living there 117 years; at the end of this period he hid his revelations (*gter ma*) which subsequently were brought to light by his later followers, whom he had inspired.

In his secret aspect (*gsaṅ*) Padmasambhava, essentially identical with Ts'e dpag med in his nature, projected an emanation of himself from the Sukhāvātī in Uḍḍiyāna, and preached the esoteric law to the *ḍākinī* and to the Bodhisattvas in the 24 consecrated places, which represent projections on earth of the heavenly spheres; having then assumed the form of terrific deities, he conquered the evil spirits which infested Tibet, vouchsafing his blessing to all those who were worthy of it, in all times.

In his most secret aspect (*yan gsaṅ*) Padmasambhava is the supreme essence, as it appears to the Buddhas.⁶³⁾

The Yellow sect, on assuming power, tried to oppose the prestige of Padmasambhava, to whom the crowds turned with confidence, invoking his help and protection. The Yellow sect tried to sift tradition and to show its incongruities: Sum pa mk'an po refused to consider Padmasambhava as a second Buddha and wanted to restore his figure to moderate proportions, but he was immediately contradicted and browbeaten by the "red," bKa' rgyud pas, or rNin ma pas, whichever they were. The dGe lugs pas were unable to demolish Padmasambhava's century-old prestige.



Padmasambhava's great popularity with all the schools and centres of Tibet explains why his images are so frequently to be found in temples and in private chapels. His legend, told in books which are very widely circulated, consists of the narrative of his miracles and it is full of thrilling tales about the battles between demons and miracle-working saints, which move the Tibetans to rapture and emotion; to this day these stories are very often sung in religious or social gatherings. Story-tellers, as we have seen in other cases, make use of paintings illustrating the saint's life: they recall to their wondering hearers its main incidents, summarizing his most celebrated biography, the *Pad ma t'añ yig*. But there is an intermediate passage between this bulky and unwieldy book and the pictorial representations or the verbal illustrations of story-tellers: those *gsol aḍebs* or invocations and jaculatories which I have very often mentioned, each of whose stanzas praises the divinity for one of his miracles or virtues; we have already met with a good instance of them when illustrating the tanka representing Śākyaśrī's life. It will therefore be well to translate the best known and most widespread of these invocations,⁶⁴⁾ of Padmasambhava, which is indeed a summary of his biography; we shall place at the end of each stanza the number of the corresponding chapter in the PTY.⁶⁵⁾

1. Honour to the Body of eternal truth (*C'os sku*) 'Od dpag med. He dwells in the dDe ba can's heaven, he, the lord who is unalterable light, boundless splendour of light and gnosis, who, on merely hearing his name, guides on the path of enlightenment.

2. Honour to sPyan ras gzigs, the symbolic Body (*Loñs sku*); he possesses the five certainties (*ñes lña*), he rules over the five mystical families sprung from rNam snañ; in this universe (on which the Buddha Śākyamuni preached) he appears as the supreme lord of the ten stages, and he is gifted with that compassion which draws created beings from the deepest cycle of births and deaths.

3. Honour to Pad ma abyun gnas, magic body (*sPrul sku*). He is the Buddha born out of a lotus, he possesses bountiful glory: he is the adamantine body, free from any kind of affliction, birthless and deathless, and he accomplishes the task of all the victorious of the three times.

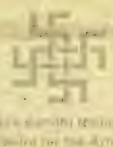
4. I bow before the adamantine body, who is not born, neither will he die; he brings to their fulfillment the thoughts of all creatures ripe for conversion; by different means he places created beings (in the spheres) of bliss; he is truth, self-begotten, and includes within himself the five bodies of the Buddha.

5. Honour to the five mystical families crowned with skulls, magical apparition of the lord 'Od dpag med, who (dwelling) in the marvellous and supreme heaven of the bDe ba can, infused a spirit of good and of bliss into the universal monarch bZaṅ po mc'og (chapp. I-II).

6. Honour to him who manifested himself as the master of the canonical *sūtra* and of the esoteric formulas (*mantra*), namely as Dri med smra and Pad ma skyes bzañ, in the universes called Dri med rtsa, then in magical manifestations having eight names, and as the six masters who convert created beings and accomplish the good of the six classes of beings (chap. III).⁶⁶⁾

7. Honour to him who, by incarnating himself in the five mystical families of rDo rje aḥ'añ c'en po, with the purposes of spreading the lofty and secret teaching of esoteric formulas (chap. IV), caused the supreme vehicle to prosper, after having conquered Rudra by a double system: the one which ties and the one which redeems (chap. VI).

8. Honour to him who, through emanations assumed wherever there are creatures to be converted, causes the rain of the Law to fall, which confers immortality and includes the two teaching (chap. VIII); he to whom, when he was born as the son of King Yul sruñ, the ascetic Nus ldan rdo rje foretold that he would be baptized by a thousand Buddhas.



9. Honour to him who for a long time converted, by teaching the canonical books and the esoterical formulas, the kingdom of sPrin ldan (chap. X) and who put into practice those esoterical formulas; when he was gTsug p'ud ris bzan's and Kun tu ac'an's son, the rivers of the four initiations rained down upon him (chap. IX).

10. Honour to the crowd of the mK'a' agro ma, thick as clouds, in the temple of Heruka which miraculously sprung up in the land of O rgyan, source of the esoterical formulas (chap. XII), to the West of that holy country which is the cradle of the just Law (chap. XI).⁶⁷⁾

11. Honour to him who was born upon a mound of lotuses in lake Dhanakośa of immaculate splendour, after having reflected as an emanation of mT'a' yas (Amitābha) on the three (preliminary) looks upon the places he might be born in (chap. XIV), while king sPyan med, furnished with all (sorts of) riches, distributed his treasures (chap. XIII).⁶⁸⁾

12. King Indrabhūti, who practised the perfection of liberality (chap. XV) having gathered precious gems from the sea, with the desire of benefiting others (chap. XVI), took him (with him), having found him on the road (chap. XVII) and consecrated him upon the throne; honour to him who was called Pad ma rgyal po (chap. XVIII).

13. Honour to him who was worshipped by the dākinī after having caused a great rain of all desirable things to fall as if from a cloud, satisfying all desires; to whom the mK'a' agro ma (of the family) of the Tathāgata addressed a hymn, greeting with worship his magic and symbolic body (chap. XIX).⁶⁹⁾

14. In order to conform to the world's customs, he married 'Od ac'an ma. Honour to him who within the circle of mountains encircling the world, surpassed the glory of the four kings of the four points of the compass.

15. As the master rDo rje sems dpa' had foretold, with the object of being enabled to

abandon his kingdom he underwent various penances (*brtul žugs*). Honour to him who, having thus renounced the world, retired into solitude (chap. XII).

16. Honour to him who taught the mK'a' agro ma the Law while he dwelt (near) the *stūpa* bDe byed brtsegs, in the cemetery of bSil bai ts'al, and who, in the cave bKa' skyon, in the land of lNa len (Pañcāla), after having meditated upon the deities of the rDo rje dbyiñs, saw them in a vision (chap. XXII).

17. Having reached Gau šod and openly practised the twofold system, the one which ties and the one which sets free, he was called Šor ba gžon nu (chap. XXII). Honour to him who in the country of gSal ldan heard the science of astrology from the soothsayer Srid sgrub (chap. XXIII).

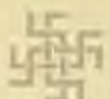
18. Honour to him who in Pad ma can, after having reached the remotest shore of the sea of medicine, as a disciple of aTs'o byed gžon nu (chap. XXIV) learnt grammar and writing in Rāgala from Kun gyi bšes gñen (chap. XXV).

19. Honour to him who discovered all that can be known, and reached the extreme limit of knowledge, feigning to learn (as others do), and who later learnt the potter's art and other crafts from Viśvakarman and other masters.

20. Honour to him who received the name of Su mi tra and Śā kya señ when he was initiated to the (sacred) teaching by Kun dga' bo; from the lofty master Pra bhā ha sti he heard the Yoga-Tantra, and fully realized (their mystical sense) (chap. XXVI).

21. Honour to him who (received the name of) Bodhisattva Su mi tra and reached the extreme shore of that ocean, the rules of life of the Victor's sons, having thoroughly studied the three classes of Tantra of the esoteric formulas, the beautiful words (*legs gsuñ*) spoken by the master (i. e. the sūtra), logic and the teachings laid down by the Buddha in his three revelations (chap. XXVII).⁷⁰⁾

22. Honour to him who was celebrated under the name of Ñi ma 'od zer: when he,



by practising yoga, extended his task of converting all creatures, in Mañ t'os mc'og (Śrāvastī) he questioned (Ānanda) concerning the sūtras of the two teachings (chap. XXVII) and in the country of Potāli he dwelt in the cemetery sKu la rdsogs (chap. XXIX).

23. Honour to him who attained knowledge of the body of eternal ideas, after having obtained the name of lofty rDo rje ac'añ, because he had heard the spiritual doctrines (*sems sde*) of great perfection from the master Kun bzañ in the heaven 'Og min c'en po (chap. XXX).⁷¹⁾

24. Honour to him who was celebrated as Blo ldan mc'og sred; with the practice (of those rules typical of the) Bodhisattva he caused the good of others to prosper, and having come to the land of K'a c'e, he turned the wheel of the Law in the Dākini's assembly, being in the cemetery bDe c'en brdal (chap. XXX).

25. Honour to him who was celebrated as Señ ge sgrogs sgrags, when, having come to Nepal and being in the cemetery Lhun grub brtsegs, he obtained great mastery over the symbolic body, hearing all the Tantras of the Mahāyoga class from rDo rje sems dpa' (chap. XXXI).

26. Honour to him who was celebrated as Padmasambha(va), when, having reached Za hor, he dwelt in the cemetery Lañ ka brtsegs; he asked for himself an (initiativ) name and heard the *spyi ti* Tantra from Kun tu ac'añ in the bKod pa lhun grub (chap. XXXII).

27. Honour to the lord of the holy teaching: he heard the essential books and the Tantra and the secret instructions whose perfection is great, when aJam dpal bžes gñen came to learn the Law from that miraculous incarnation who was dGa' rab rdo rje (chap. XXXII).

28. Honour to him who was celebrated as rDo rje gro lod; having come to the cemetery of Lo ka brtsegs in the country of Li, he heard from the Rigs ldan c'en po the canonical books and the sGyu ap'rul; then he

came to O rgyan (chap. XXXIII) in the (cemetery) Pad ma brtsegs.

29. Honour to him who became perfect (because he had received) the rivers of the four investitures from rDo rje c'os rab in sTug po bkod; in the country of the mK'a' spyod, by virtue of the great "initiation of the act", he put forth the power of the magic body (derived from) the deep baptism (chap. XXXIV).

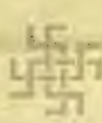
30. Honour to him who was celebrated as T'od p'reñ rtsal; having come to the Sāla country, he dwelt in the cemetery gSañ c'en rol pa, and particularly he was invested by Śrīsimha with skill in science, in the cave dBen skyon, in gSer gliñ.

31. Honour to him who increased good and joy in the world; manifesting himself as an incarnation of Ts'añis pa; as the saint sPyan ras gzigs had predicted, he heard from aJam dpal gžon nu c'e, on the five-peaked mountain,⁷²⁾ all the astrological Tantras (chap. XXXV).

32. Honour to rDo rje drag po rtsal, who having come to the city of bŠan, converted the people by means appropriate to their kind, and in the P'uñ luñ nag po valley conferred various tasks on the Dregs and made many weapons for the bsTan sruñ (chap. XXXVI).

33. Honour to the wonderful dPag yas snañ. He vanquished in Dha na ko ša the mK'a' agro ma (chap. XXXVII) and then, having come to the country of Za hor, obtained from Mandarā, mother of the absolute (*dbyiñs*), the supreme substance (human flesh) of one who will attain salvation within seven births (*skyes bdun*), produced by his power (chap. XXXVIII).⁷³⁾

34. Desiring to consecrate the divine maiden (Lha lcam) (*Lha lcam rab abyuñ bdun par mk'a' nas gžegs*, where *bdun* is a mistake, for *adun*) he came by air (chap. XXXIX). As he had obtained her favour, the king's ministers conceived evil thoughts (chap. XL). Honour to him who caused a great faith to be born in all the people, when, by one of his



marvellous miracles, the flaming fire (into which those ministers had thrown him) was transformed into a lake (chap. XLI).

35. (The king) offered him (then) his kingdom, the maiden the flesh of a body of a person who will attain salvation within seven births, and he, by one of his (miraculous) means routed a great army which was on that country's frontiers (the country of Za hor);⁷⁴ honour to him who, foretelling the ocean of the Law, synthesis of the sacred teachings, set free the subjects of that king and led them to (spiritual) maturity (chapp. XLII, XLIII).

36. Honour to the great possessor of mystical wisdom, Rig ḁsin Ts'e dbaṅ; he obtained the supreme adamant body of his mother's and father's non-duality, through the blessing and favour of ḁC'i med mgon po in Maratika, in the "cave of good omen," (chap. XLIV).

37. While dwelling in gYa' ri goṅ he realized the series of Man dhe bzaṅ mos incarnations and (having caused her to) give up her body (to the wild beasts), he induced her (to follow the path of the) Law. Honour to him, who was the monk dBaṅ poi sde, who having converted Mya ṅan med, caused him to become the great king who ruled according to the Law (C'os rgyal) (chap. XLV).

38. Having come to the country of Be ta, he dwelt in the cemetery of gTsug dgu and, through Klu grub's favour, extracted the book of the gnosis (from the sea). Honour to him, who having come to Sim ha la, was miraculously born as ḁP'ags lha and (according to) the prediction, led the people to (spiritual) maturity and freedom (chap. XLVI).⁷⁵

39. Having come to Bhaṅgala, he converted the haughty king, took his place and protected his kingdom. Honour to him who spread the teachings, divulging the books of the Abhidharma through T'ogs med's brother (Vasubandhu) (chap. XLVII).

40. Having assumed the name of Do mbhi, in the market of ḁBras ldan,⁷⁶ he obtained the mystical revelations (with the body) of one

who will attain salvation within seven births; then, spiritually bringing to maturity and leading to liberation Vināsa, the liquor-seller, he stopped the course of the sun and cured the king (chap. XLVIII).

41. Having gone again to the country of O rgyan, he was thrown by wicked ministers into a flaming fire, but the fire was turned into water and the king trusted him exceedingly. Honour to him who emitted from himself supreme spiritual powers, who realized and explained the synthesis of the sacred teachings to those who might have doubts.

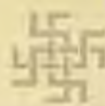
42. Having gone to the country of rŅa t'ub and becoming famous as Sau k'ya deva, he realized mystical powers together with the (śakti) Kālasiddhi and by Hūm ka ra's favour established (bkos) her in the land of mystical perfections (chap. IV). Honour to him who spread the great light of the Law.

43. Having come to the country of K'a c'e, he blessed Dharmabodhi, divine maiden of king Dharma's family. Vimalamitra, marvellous incarnation, was then born. Honour to him who induced the whole kingdom to persevere in the Law (chap. L).

44. Having arrived in the country of Zaṅs gliṅ, he vanquished fifty heretics, by the power of that thunderbolt, the magic formulas of the mK'a' ḁgro ma, which overcome demons. Honour to him who spread the reachings of the Ascetic, after having conquered the son of the king of gSer ldiṅ together with his wife, by virtue of his magic strength (chap. LI).

45. Still honour to him who spread the supreme teachings in Ka ma ru pa, in the countries of Li, Ma ru, La ša, Bru ša, Šam bha la, Žaṅ žuṅ, Ta žig, T'o gar, Ruk ma (chap. LII).⁷⁷

46. Honour to him who caused the teachings to prosper greatly when, rDo rje gdan having been occupied by a king of the heretics named Klui k'yab ḁjug, he miraculously manifested himself as bDe mc'og dus sṅiṅ, and restored again to its former condition all that had been destroyed by fire (chap. LII).



47. In those times, according to the persons to be converted, he assumed different adamantine (initiatie) names, and manifested various emanations (*bkod*) of his body. Honour to him who appeared as Pad ma agro mgon rtsal, dBaṅ p'yug mgon po and Grub pai blo gros.

48. Honour to Pad ma mc'og rtsal, to mK'a agroṅ dbaṅ, mGon po bir va pa, Nag po spyod, K'yeu c'uṅ, mK'a' ldiṅ rtsal, Sa ra ba, Pad ma mia' bdag rtsal.

49. Honour to Pad ma kun tu rgyu, C'ags mc'og rtsal, Pad ma agro bai skyabs, P'rin las mgon, Pad ma don yod žags pa, gZi brjid ap'ro, Pad ma dom bhi pā (chap. LIII).

50. Honour to him who caused the deep and secret Law to rain according to twenty miraculous (*ap'rul*) aspects (literally: names), which are the cause of all human desires having been fulfilled (that is, besides the names already mentioned): Tigs ldan c'en po, Pad ma dkar po, Pad ma ba jra, T'od ap'reṅ (chap. LIII).

51. Having come to Yaṅ le šod, he exorcised Śā kya de vī and the Vidyādhara Lhan gcig p'yag c'en mc'og, dispersed all obstacles and penetrated the lofty secrets of the *gter* (*ma*) of the 18 kinds (chap. LIII).

52. Honour to him who was greeted as the lord of the holy teaching: in Ts'a bai šod he vanquished the four Sa bdag brothers and from the Lord of secrets (*gsaṅ bai bdag po*) he obtained the secret treasure (*gter*) of the deep teaching, and in rDo rje gdan was greeted by Ņi ma seṅ ge (chap. LIV).

53. And especially because the time had matured in which (was to be accomplished) the vow made in preceding lives, K'ri sroṅ ldeu btsan (the incarnation of) aJam dpal, was born in Tibet. Homage to him, who having tested chosen persons of ripe age and lofty descent, agreed to make a (new) preaching of the Law (chap. LIV).

54. Honour to him (i. e. to the king) who granted his Tibetan subjects works, means and instruction, and wishing them to build a temple for themselves, ordered Bi rje to examine

the ground (on which the temple was to stand) (chap. LV, LVI) and then with great joy met the great scholar Ži ba ts'o, whom he had caused to come from Za hor (chap. LVII).

55. Then this great scholar (Ži ba ts'o) according to a preceding prophecy, repeatedly sent messengers to call the ācārya (Padmasambhava) (chap. LVIII). Honour to him who, accepting out of compassion, having come into the country, placated the disturbances of the gods and demons (Lha sriṅ) of Tibet (chapp. LIX, LX).

56. Honour to him who, having come to sTod luṅ caused the divine river (*Lha c'u*) of gŽon to flow forth, and having met the king who ruled according to the Law, with his retinue, on the river's bank in Zur mk'ar (chap. LXI), because (the king did not greet him first), uttering an adamantine song, by the power of his miracle, caused everyone to feel (a deep) faith (in his sanctity).

57. The king knelt with faith, and having repented, built a *stūpa*; as soon as he got to the heart of bSam yas, he placed the lotus of his feet on a golden throne, and having greatly revered him, asked him to bless the ground (upon which the monastery was about to be built). Honour to him who, satisfied (with this), agreed (to the king's request) (chap. LXII).

58. Having established consecrated places (*me btsa*) in important localities, he stored (underground) the treasures (*gter ma*) of the serpents and, on the top of Has po ri, assigned their tasks to the *dregs*. Honour to him who laid the foundations of the wall encircling (the monastery) (on that part of the) land where his shadow fell, and, having ascended to heaven, performed the adamantine dance (chap. LXII).

59. Honour to him who completed (the monastery of bSam yas) resembling a mirage, which had been built by men and non-human beings, working day and night; it was arranged (like a projection of the universe) with (mount) Meru, the four great continents, the

lesser continents, the sun and the moon, well surrounded by the outer wall and by the three temples designed for the nuns (*Jo mo*) (chap. LXII).

60. Honour to him who in *mC'ims p'u*, in the environs of *bSam yas*, thought of vanquishing a *nāgīnī*, while the king and his attendants offered much gold, and by the skill of his thought suspended the bell (in that monastery) (chap. LXIII) and gave its riches into custody (to the *bsTan sruñ*) (chap. LXIII).

61. When, in the course of five years (that monastery) was completed, the great scholar (*Ži ba ts'o*) and particularly the master himself, in the *maṇḍala* of the *rDo rje dbyiñs*, threw flowers for its consecration. Honour to him who showed (how the wonderful monastery) of *bSam yas* (should be honoured) (chap. LXIV).

62. Honour to him who disseminated his infinite merits, by consecrating *K'ra abrug*⁷⁸⁾ *Ra sa*, and other places; he praised the fruitful karmic connexions deriving from the great monastery (of *bSam yas*) and enjoined that it should be worshipped (chap. LXV).

63. Honour to him who showed a great favour when, after the two masters (himself and *Ži ba ts'o*) had rightly brought the temple to completion and alluded to their desire of returning to India, when the sorrowing king begged and requested them to stay, complied (chap. LXVI).

64. Honour to him who began the translation of the *sūtra* and of the formulas (chap. LXX), and while the king ruled according to the twofold law (religious and civil) (chap. LXVII) he invited, according to the prophecy, *Vairo (cana)*, the *lōtsava* of *sKa ba* and the *lotsāva* of *Cog ro*, and they, by studying the art of the *lotsāva*, became experienced scholars (chapp. LXVIII-LXIX).

65. And then, honour to him who laid the foundations of the holy teaching, by propagating for the first time the word of the Ascetic, by assembling 108 *lotsāva* and by

consecrating seven "witnesses",⁷⁹⁾ and five monks (chap. LXXI).

66. Having sent the latter to India to search for the Law, *Vairocana* was the first to obtain the perfect revelation (of wisdom). Honour to him who in *rDo rje gdan* received the ambrosia of the Law from 25 *paṇḍita* (chap. LXXII).

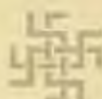
67. And, above all, honour be to *Vairocana*, who having heard from *Śrīsimhala* the deep meaning (of the doctrine) which represents the essence of the perfect mind, and having realized the secret wisdom which makes men swift-footed,⁸⁰⁾ on the point of going back to Tibet told the story (of what had happened to him) in a song (chap. LXXIII).

68. In *Tsan da na gliñ*, having obtained the king's good graces, passing beyond *gCan ap'ran* he arrived in Nepal; speaking with the power of truth, he dispelled the fear of snow. Honour to him who (thus) reached the heart of *bSam yas* (chapp. LXXIV-LXXV).

69. The king invested him with the dignity of royal chaplain; but, as the king gave heed to the deep Law, wicked ministers, being jealous, requested that (*Vairocana*) should be put to death. Honour to him who, when the person designed to replace him (in the execution) was thrown into the water, uttered out of compassion a vow which brought forth its fruit, saving that man from peril (chap. LXXV).

70. And then, when (the king) hid him in a summer-house and heard the Law from him, the queen and the ministers pressingly asked for him. Honour to him who, when the moment came to take his vow, took refuge in *Ts'a bai roñ* and in that place spread the Ascetic's teachings (chapp. LXXVI-LXXVII).

71. *Nam mk'a' sñiñ po*⁸¹⁾ and other five *lotsāva* were sent to the holy country and they heard from the master *Hūm ka ra* the perfect mystical science which causes spiritual maturity and leads towards liberation (by virtue of meditations upon) peaceful and terrific deities.



Honour to them who obtained mystical realization in that science (chap. LXXVIII).

72. dPal señ (ge), having departed first, by reason (of his karma) died on the way: but the king having fallen ill, (the others) arrived, having been sent for by him. Honour to Nam mk'a' sñiñ po through whose grace (the King's) illness was cured, and showed a wonderful miracle.

73. But while the king honoured him and heard the deep Law, the queen and the wicked ministers put obstacles in his way; honour be to Nam mk'a' sñiñ po who was exiled to mK'ar c'u in Lho brag and there gave himself up to ascetic practices, obtaining the supreme mystical attainments (chap. LXXIX).

74. But the king did not succeed in satisfying his desire concerning the Law, and then, being an experienced man, he compromised and proclaimed that both teachings (Buddhism and Bon po) should be (equally) introduced (in the country), and to invite a great scholar (from India) he sent (the lotsāvas) of sKa (ba), of Cog (ro) and of rMa. Honour to them, who arrived in Ser skya (chap. LXXX).

75. Vimala (mitra) who was like the gem among five hundred scholars and ascetics, invited by the king to conform to his (Padmasambhava's) order, speedily came. Honour to him who, having showed the force of his magic powers and having been comforted with many gifts by the king, who put great faith in him, met the king.

76. Furthermore another 108 great scholars of India were invited, like Sañs rgyas gsañ ba etc. and the erroneous Bon po teaching was vanquished, being disputed with force and dialectic. Honour to the great light of the white Law, which then spread widely (chap. LXXXII).

77. Vairocana sent (in Tibet) gYu sgra to hear the Law: the lotsāva, the scholars, kings, ministers became convinced that he was a great lotsāva and sent for him; when he told his story, a great faith was born in everyone. Honour to him who offered the flower of his hymns (chap. LXXXIII).

78. Honour to scholars and to the first among them, the teacher, Vimala and Vairocana, whom the king greatly honoured, putting his faith in them; they, according to his wish, translated, interpreted and recited the canonical books and the Tantra, together with their explanations and commentaries.

79. (The works on) medicine, astrology and all useful sciences (*p'an byed*) were occasionally translated, and the garland of books which complete the Ascetic's teaching were increased; those (books) were revered, invoked and flowers were thrown upon them for consecration. Honour to this increase of happy events and good omens (chap. LXXXV).

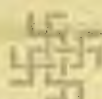
80. Because Nam mk'a' sñiñ po had not wanted to greet the king, the ministers began to persecute him; honour to him who humbled the wicked ministers, showing the force of his magic powers and evoking great magical formulas (chap. LXXXV).

81. The king, remembering the Lotsāva's benefits, founded the feast of the sacred books and built monasteries both for expounding the doctrine and for practising asceticism; he revered them, and imposed religious customs on his subjects. Honour to him who spread the sacred teaching (chap. LXXXV).

82. In bSam yas he placed the gods' images, he graved inscriptions, he caused to be written translations of the sacred books, which are the receptacle of the (Buddha's) word. Honour to the great scholars who, after having received honours, returned each to his place satisfied (chapp. LXXXVI, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII).

83. Then the great scholar (Śāntirakṣita) remained to continue his meditation in the Byañ c'ub gliñ, and the great master at mC'ims p'u in bSams yas. Honour to him who repeatedly bade men meditate on the deep Law and blessed Pad ma gsal who had suddenly died (chap. LXXXIX).

84. After having spoken about the impermanence of all things and revealed the



future (chap. LXXIX), (Padmasambhava) related what had happened and the princesses' preceding lives (chap. XC). Honour to him who briefly explained in what manner the deep secret books (*gter ma*) should be hidden, and (told which are) the characters of those persons (worthy of understanding) the Law set down in the secret books (chap. XCI).

85. Honour to him who filled the king with joy by revealing how (these secret books) would (later) appear in various manners and, at the same time, the signs of the times (in which they were destined to come to light), beginning with *Saṅs rgyas* up to *Pad ma glin* (chap. XCII).

86. Then he arranged the exhortations and instructions for the men (designed) to find the secret books (chap. XCIII). Honour to him who prophesied the most important places of asceticism (chap. XCV) and the skill, the virtues of body, word and spirit, the capacities and the characters of the discoverers of secret books (chap. XCIV) and revealed (the causes) of the sacred teaching's prosperity and decay (chap. XCVI).

87. When the king passed away, during 14 days he kept his death a secret and ruled the kingdom: honour to the divine sons *Mu ne* and *Mu tig btsan po*, who were successively proclaimed kings (chap. XCVII).

88. His favours towards the divine law and the profane law being thus unmeasurable, he announced his intention of going into the land of the *Srin*: then, to dispel the grief of the divine son (of the king), he preached the summary of the sacred scriptures, the *sñin tig*, the way to come (into the world) and to remain (*byon bžugs*) and the liberation. Honour to him who was dowered with great skill in the art of controlling his breathing (*dbugs abyin*) (chap. XCVII).

89. Although the divine son repeatedly tried to retain him, he did not consent, as the time had come for him to convert the *Srin po*. Honour to him who expounded the (sacred) instructions, both summarily and in detail

and vouchsafed an indestructible blessing (chap. XCVIII).

90. Special honour to him who in the upper terrace of the *K'ra abrug* in *gYo ru* convoked a religious council in which he preached the extreme ocean of precepts for the king, his subjects and the 21 *lotsāva* who were present (chap. XCIX).

91. Then, through the power of a miracle, *Mandāravā* herself appeared and celebrated the master's glory and his characteristics, portending good. Honour to him who told the virtues of his body and his esoteric and exoteric testament (chapp. C-CI).

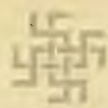
92. Through love for the king, the divine son of lofty perfections was proclaimed king by him, and he predicted his future. Honour to him who satisfied all desires and revealed the advantages instilled in those who will attain liberation within seven births (chap. CII).

93. Honour to him who communicated the secret explanations to the queen *Nān byuñ* in the temple of *bTsan t'añ*; then in *Šel brag* he was questioned by *mTs'o rgyal bkra šis* and by *K'ye'u adren*, and communicated all the instructions in detail (chap. CIII).

94. In that place the king collected *Klu* and the Planets, but he humbled their glory, provoked them, overcame them, wrested the vital force from them: honour to him who conferred upon them the task of protecting the Law in the future and amply spread abroad the upright practice of a holy life.

95. After having made detailed recommendations to the divine son, he said he would go at once into the *Srin's* country; then he was honoured with rich offerings and began his journey. Honour to him who arrived as far as *Zur mk'ar ts'al* (chap. CV).

96. There the king and the ministers, who had come, together with the subjects, to accompany him, begged him to preach the Law to the assembled crowd. Honour to him who, beginning from the pain of the six forms of existence, incited them to follow



the safe Law and explained to them the inner sense of the deep path (chap. CVI).

97. Having gone to Lha ldan he placed there Jo Śā ka's⁸²⁾ statue. Honour to him who, attended by a crowd of king, ministers, priests, physicians, astrologers, scholars and disciples, went on to dPal mo dpal t'an (chap. CVII).

98. When they had come together, he explained the precepts for the meditation on the great Compassionate, and gave particular instructions, in harmony with the mind of each (listener); he also preached amply on general teachings, to be learned then and in the future. Honour to him who (thus) satisfied the minds of all (his listeners) (chap. CVII).

99. Being again requested (to stay) by the sorrowful (king), he did not consent, and on the Guñ t'an pass, having met a crowd of mK'a' agro and ascending with them towards the sky, he sang an adamantine song. Honour to him who consented to give (the Tibetans) (his) indissoluble cooperation (in their destinies) (chap. CVII).

100. The four groups of heroes (*dpa' bo*) looked at the mount he was riding. Honour to him who went to conquer the Srin in the rNa yab continent, to the South-West, through Siṃhala, as swiftly as the lightning on the path of the iridescent clouds⁸³⁾ (chap. CVII).

101. There, at the end of his journey, great lord of magical wisdom, spontaneously formed, he assumed the body of the rakṣa [sa] T'od p'reñ rtsal. Honour to him who accomplishes the good of others, all-per-vading like space, until the circle of births and deaths is exhausted (chap. CVII).

102. In this country of Tibet, in the three times, everywhere protected, Byañs can's incarnation⁸⁴⁾ reached the bottom of the summary of the teachings of that ocean of (the saint's) biographies (the *Padma bka' t'an yig*) with veneration, respect and songs of sorrow. Honour to (this book) which extraordinarily increases karmic merit,,.

The translation of this hymn has not been a vain labour, because we shall have occasion to see that the present tanka, and also the others which represent Padmasambhava's life, are based on the hymn and follow it very faithfully; the episodes depicted in the tanka correspond to those mentioned in the litanies we have translated and follow their lines.

In the present case also the incidents in the master's life can easily be identified, because they are accompanied by brief inscriptions which explain them; but the spelling is so inaccurate that the interpretation becomes difficult, sometimes all but impossible.

In the centre Padmasambhava's solemn figure stands out, represented according to the traditional iconography: on either side, in different apparel, his two wives Mandāravā and Ye šes mts'o rgyal. The story begins above, from the summit of the axis of the tanka: Ts'e dpaḡ med assisted by the usual two Bodhisattvas, a kneeling monk. Next, turning to the left: king In da ḡbo ti (Indrabhūti) in a palace, in the attitude of listening to people who are presenting a request: his subjects, knowing his liberality, turn to him for help and assistance. Only a part of the inscription is visible: *rgyal po t'or cog can la na mo*: "Honour to king T'or cog can,,. On the right is represented Padmasambhava's miraculous birth from a lotus in the centre of the sea: *Sin dur rgyam ts'or* (for *rgya mts'or*) *Pad ma doñ* (for *sdoñ*) *la p'ruñs* (for *k'ruñs*) *pa rañ byuñ ño mts'ar can la na mo*: "Honour to him who was miraculously born from a lotus stalk in the middle of the sea,,. Then the child, on a chariot, is taken to town: *In da ḡbo ti gšan* (for *spyan*) *grāñs*: "Indrabodhi leads him,,. People who have run up to see him, greet him reverently, while from the city spectators lean out. Next comes Padmasambhava dressed as an ascetic, in a cemetery, in the act of overcoming a demon, who is finally vanquished and kneels in front of him; around them, corpses and flowers: to the right the *khaṭvāṅga* and a



burning fire; the picture represents meditation in the cemetery of bSil ba ts'al.

bsil ba ts'al du ga šod [dka' t'ub] mdsad rgyal srid spañs nas der an ter ra ki [ñi] ma 'od zer grags. "In the cemetery of bSil ba ts'al in Ga šod (stanza 17, Gau šod) he performs ascetic practices: abandoning his kingdom, there... He is called Ñi ma 'od zer.

From this it seems we must infer that the painter has followed a reduction of Padmasambhava's biography, different from the one contained in the PTY, according to which the name of Ñi ma 'od zer was assumed by the saint much later, in the cemetery sKu la rdsogs, chap. XXIX.

Next the images of Vajrapāṇi and of a mK'a' agro ma are seen:

Ts'ogs dur p'rod (for k'rod) [spyod pa] mdsad rdo rje p'ag moi ž[al] [gzigs] mam pai va dsra rgyaṇ brañ (for rgya g'ram) du k'ol ts'al [rdo rje dra]g po du grags.

"Practising asceticism in the cemetery of Ts'ogs pa, he had a vision of rDo rje p'ag mo,... the rdo rje rgya gram; he was called rDo rje drag po.

Although in the inscription we can clearly read Ts'ogs, it is evident that we must correct this, according to what is written in the biography contained in RC: *tsub (agyur) ts'al*, which is the name of a cemetery, where he had the vision of Vajravārahī.

Next, opposite a stūpa which stands in the centre of a great city, Padmasambhava confers with a monk; thus is represented the meeting, which took place in rDo rje gdan, with Ša kya bšes gñen (Śākyamitra) (RC, p. 8 b, PTY, chap. XXVI). The inscription is almost illegible. *rgya gar rdo rje gdan du ap'ags pa...* "In rDo rje gdan the venerable,... In the

last picture, which represents the miracle-working saint in conversation with a master seated in a cave, is depicted his meeting with Prabhastin and the time Padmasambhava spent in this scholar's school, to learn some tantric texts.

Brag dmar bya k'yun ts'al du lob pon (for slob dpon) sra (for pra) ba na ti (sic) nas señ ge sgra grogs.

"In the garden of K'yun ts'al in Brag dmar (he studies under) the master Prabhastin and (names) himself *Señ ge sgra grogs*...

Next a layman, in front of three deities, holding in his left hand a cup, which might be a skull-cap, and in his right hand a magical tambourine (*damaru*).

The inscription says: *rig mds(in) (for adsin) gru[b] t'ob mañ poi ca (tsar?) [by]on yo kai c'os la rje [m]ts'an yañ blo ldan (m)cog sred du grags.*

"In the (presence?) of many ascetics and possessors of mystical wisdom... he receives the name of Blo ldan m'cog sred,, (PTY, chap. XXX).

This alludes to the strife between the Bon po and the shepherd, and to the latter's fate, as it is told by PTY, chap. XXX.

Then Padmasambhava in conversation with some monks.

..... (s)mad du byun p'ru (m)ts'an pad ma sam bba[va] grags.

"Wonderful... was celebrated as Padmasambhava ,,,

Follows the image Yab yum of Ts'e dpag med:

Brag p'ub ma ra ti ru ts'e [d]pag med žal gzigs c'i med c'u mños (for dños) grub t'ob.

"In the Ma ra ti cave he had the revelation of Ts'e dpag med and obtained the mystical realization of the water of immortality,,. The episode is told in the PTY and in RC, p. 11 a. The latter book relates that, while Padmasambhava was in the cave, the Rigs gsum having showed him the maṇḍala of Ts'e dpag med, he attained the condition of a Ts'e yi rig adsin (possessor of life's mystical wisdom) and three months later had the revelation of Ts'e dpag med.

Immediately underneath, Padmasambhava embraced by a woman, is surrounded by flames springing up all around them. The inscription says: *Za hor yul byon me p'un su sregs pa [me] p'un ts'o (for mts'o) ru gyur nas bzu (for rdsu) p'ruł tan (for btsan).* "Having arrived in Zahor, and being burnt in the fire, he worked a miracle by turning the fire into a



lake,... The story is told both by the RC and by the PTY (chap. XLI). These books say that once, during copulation with Mandāravā, his enemies excited the mob against him and induced the king to condemn Padmasambhava and Mandāravā to be burnt alive. After many days the fire became extinguished, the flames were changed into a lake, in the middle of which the master and his mate were embracing upon a lotus flower.

Let us turn backwards and slightly upwards: under the lotus sustaining Padmasambhava, we see four seated figures, of gradually decreasing size; their apparel leaves no doubt that the first two are men and the others women: in front of them two tables with crockery and offerings.⁸⁵⁾ This scene has nothing to do with the story and represents the donors, who had the tanka painted. Immediately next to them, the story goes on: some women are approaching a monk, who is represented in the act of speaking.

Man da ra ba la gtañ (?) bai c'os gsuñ ba " (Padmasambhava) explains to Mandāravā the law of liberality,, (PTY, chap. XL). Therefore this scene must precede the other one, where Padmasambhava is condemned to be burnt alive.

The two following scenes are connected: Padmasambhava is represented on a chariot with Mandāravā; further on, in the interior of a palace, two persons kneeling in front of the master. The inscription says:

In ta abo ti byaṇ p'yub (for c'ub) lam la kod (for bkod) [m]ts'an yaṇ pad ma rgyal po gsol. "After having placed (his father) Indrabodhi on the path of enlightenment, he assumes also the name of Pad ma rgyal po,, (RC, pp. 12b, 13a, and PTC, chap. XLIX).

Under the figures of monks and laymen bringing offerings, which probably belong to the scene of the donors, we see a terrific figure, with his right hand uplifted, in the act of exorcising. Although the inscription is illegible, there seems to be no doubt that here is recalled the form of *Señ ge sgra sgrogs* assumed by Padmasambhava when he

destroyed the heretics who wanted to kill him, and then burnt their city (RC, p. 14c). A little further to the right is the figure of p'ur bu, whom Padmasambhava saw in a vision, when, having gone to Prabhāstīn, in India, he received from him the revelation of the Tantra which explained his mystical realizations (RC, p. 15a). Next begins the story of K'ri sroñ lde btsan's invitation to him to come to Tibet to preach the Law; three messengers, a lama with a load on his back, and two laymen, approach Padmasambhava: *mi gsum* "three persons,,; this then is an allusion to Jñānakumāra's mission: accompanied by two servants, he was sent to bring the king's invitation to the saint, while the latter was in Nalandā (RC, p. 18a, PTY, chap. LVII).

Above is represented the meeting between Padmasambhava and the king, both on horseback. Under the king the inscription: *rgyal po k'or (b)cas gsu (for bsu) ba la p'eb* "The king sets off to meet him, with his retinue,,; then a large building, with deities wearing a complete suit of armour; as the inscription says, it is *bSams yas* (in the tanka: *gsam yas*) and precisely *dPe kar gliñ*, for whose consecration the saint had been invited. To the right the master with two other lamas, one of whom is the Bodhisattva (Śāntirakṣita), explains the Law to the king and to a crowd which had collected around them.

bod yul gsaṃ (for bsam) yas su byon na rgyal po rje abaṅs k'or pa byas (for bcas) pa la t'eg pa rna (for sna) ts'ogs kyi c'os k'or [s]kor na bod yul c'os kyi sa aḍsad (for mḍsad) pad ma abyūñ su grags.

"Having arrived in Tibet, after preaching to the king and his retinue the Law of the various vehicles, having made Tibet the country of the Law, he is celebrated as Pad ma abyūñ,,.

Further up, Padmasambhava in a palace is speaking to a woman; underneath: *Ka sta (?) bai c'os gsuñs* "explains the Law...,,. Then still further up, in a temple, Padmasambhava surrounded by monks, *sgra gyur*... "... translates,,.

This picture, then, commemorates the translation of the sacred texts which he undertook (PTY, chapp. LXXXIV-LXXXV).

Padmasambhava is next represented in the act of flying; the inscription is erased. The picture refers to the story alluded to in stanza 58. He is then seen in a cave, performing a liturgical ceremony in the presence of men and women; a person larger than the others is evidently the king:

bsam yas c'in (= mc'ims) p'ur rgyal po rje abans rnam la grub c'en ka (for bka') rgyurd kyi c'o (for c'os) bsuñs (for gsuñs) pa. "Standing in the cave of mC'ims p'u, in bSam yas, he told the king and his subjects the Law of the great ascetic,... this commemorates the preaching of the Law by the master, when princess Padma gsal died (PTY, chap. LXXXIX).

The figure in the act of exorcising, holding up a vajra with his right hand, is therefore the picture of a particular manifestation of Padmasambhava, known under the name of rDo rje gro lod. Follows a series of caves in which the master is seen in various attitudes. As a general gloss explains: *gnas brug rnam [g]ter c'en rbas (for sbas)*, "he hides the great gter ma in the rocks... The places are then mentioned where the miracle-worker, before leaving Tibet, stored underground the sacred books he had revealed. Here are the places named:

ti se gañs [m]ts'o c'en bži la c'ag (p'yag?) rjes "his marks in the four lakes of *Ti se gañs*, Kailāsa,, *Lañ gsum agrus mo šoñs kyid kyi bro ma (?) Mon señ [ge] rdson* "Señ ge rdson in the Mon country,, *Yar (k)luñs šel brag p'ug la* "cave of Šel brag in Yar kluñ...,,

Not only the caves where the sacred books were hidden are mentioned, but also the places consecrated by some personal memory of the saint, like the marks of his hands and feet; the list, by the way, is not complete and partly differs from those contained in the texts.

Next the master on horseback, about to depart, turning back to take leave of the king and of a procession of other people. The inscription is almost illegible: *t'an la t'og tu (?)*

rje abans la ts'e ... bžag pa. "Where the desert begins... to the King and to his subjects life...,, Finally, Padmasambhava in a temple, surrounded by two deities with many heads.

The episodes then follow one another in the same order of another series of tanka on the same subject, which we shall study later; but perhaps they do not follow the text of the PTY so closely; indeed the painter seems to have preferred to follow the biography contained in the RCT, which is briefer, rather than the ampler and more elaborate PTY. The present tanka was certainly part of a series; this we gather from the lack of any reference to the master's last vicissitudes in Tibet and to the incidents of his return to India or of his journey into the land of witches. Furthermore, on the lower margin of the tanka runs an inscription, preceded by the letter *ka*, which has a numeral value and applies to the first element of a series. The inscription is almost illegible:

U rgyan [pa bod] du byon pai t'an yar rla zam bu [bs]tan ma cu gñis sogs bkyis (for kyi) gyug (= bu yug) dan rgyal [dan?] t'og p'ab sogs rna (for sna) ts'ogs ... na ... lho pon (for slob dpon) kyi (b)tul nas gñer nas p'eb so.

"When U rgyan pa came to Tibet the twelve bsTan ma, by a snowstorm, lightning and other prodigies of various kinds (tried to obstruct) and the Master vanquished them ... arrived to ...,,

On the lotus leaf upon which Padmsambhava is seated:

Sin dur rgya mts'o rol pai mts'o gliñ du.
klu rgyal lcog po gnas pai k'an teñs (for steñs) su
Pad ma abar ma bdoñ (for sdoñ) poi rtse la p'ruñ (for k'ruñs)

ran abyon ño [m]ts'ar ... gsol ba adeb

"In the island of the joyful lake in the ocean of carmine,

above the palace where dwells the supreme king of the nāgas

Padma abar ma is born on the top of a (lotus) stalk;

Prayer to him who wonderfully appeared by himself,,



II - OTHER SCHOOLS

TANKA n. 34 (Plates 64, 65).

It represents a Paṇ c'en bla ma, probably Blo bzañ ye šes dpal bzañ po.

On each side are seated two monks bare-headed, resembling Indian monks: they represent his two principal disciples. All around, in every part of the tanka, figures of masters and gods emerge amidst clouds and flowers.

On the top of the painting and on its central axis, Ts'e dpag med between the two Bodhisattvas who are his accolytes: next, two tantric deities: gSañ ba ḍus pa and bDe mc'og.

Below, on each side of the throne, sGrol ma and gDugs dkar mo. Then in the centre a blue mGon po p'yag drug; on the left the same yi dam, white, in the form called mGon dkar yid bžin nor bu.

The proportions of the tanka, which are rather square, and the pains the painter has taken to fill up space, either with images or with floreal patterns, recall archaic types, but the draughtmanship is more mature and the colours are shaded more delicately: red melts softly into pink, green pales into light tints, blue never reaches too high a pitch. I am at a loss to place the school this tanka comes from: it probably was made in Ta-shilunpo (where it was bought), before the Chinese conquest opened up this monastery to livelier influences of the Celestial Empire's art: in the archaism of its forms and intentions we see an echo of native art, as it had been born and had gained force since the XVth century, not yet renewed by foreign influences, which the XVIIIth century brought into Tibet together with the changes in its political scene.

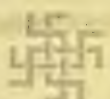
TANKA n. 35 (Plate 66).

It represents a lama who cannot be identified because there is no inscription; above, between two adoring goddesses (mC'od pai lha mo) three ascetics, whose disciple the lama is evidently considered. The fact that under his image we see Padmasambhava between his two wives, leaves no doubt that the master to whom the picture is dedicated belonged to the rÑiñ ma pa or bKa' brgyud pa school. Then two adoring deities and two ascetics meditating in a mountain cave.

TANKA n. 36 (Plate 67).

The tanka represents a goddess, entirely similar to the usual representation of sGrol ma: her right hand is in varadā mudrā, in the left she holds a lotus, but her left hand also lightly holds a vase; around her, twenty similar images of the same goddess. Above, in a palace, Byams pa in *bhadrāsana* and below two Buddhas. The vase is the symbol of Vasudharā, the goddess of riches, but when it is Vasudharā's symbol, it is held in the left hand and ears of corn issue from the vase. The fact that 21 images of the same goddess are represented, reminds us of the cycle of the 21 Tārā (see *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part II, p. 158 ff.); one could therefore think her to be dÑos grub t'ams cad ḅyuiñ ma. Above the head we see the image of a Buddha, i. e. Amoghasiddhi, whose emanation Tārā may be.

But a more accurate determination is possible: Dīpañkara Atīśa, whom Tibetan tradition considers one of the foremost propagators of sGrol ma's cult in the Country of Snows, wrote a hymn dedicated to this



goddess and widely commented upon by Tibetan scholars (see, for instance, *Jo bo lugs kyi sgrol ma gñer gcig sgrub t'abs rjes gnañ dan bcas pa*, in *sGrub t'abs kun btus*, vol. ca, p. 882 ff.). In this hymn, containing brief descriptions of the goddess, she is always imagined in the same form, with her right hand in the attitude of presenting a gift and her left holding a lotus flower; however in her 21 different manifestations, which have different colours, the goddess carries on the palm of her right hand the *bum pa*, the vase, as in our tanka. Hence there is no doubt that the tanka represents Tārā, in her 21 forms, exactly as they are described in Atīśa's above-mentioned hymn.

In course of time Tārā became one of the most popular deities of Tibet, particularly after dogmatics had assimilated Tārā's two principal forms, the white and the green one, to the two wives of Sroñ btsan sgam po, himself the incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs. But Tārā's cult was widely diffused only in the period of the second propagation of the faith. Moreover, we have every reason of supposing this goddess to be of a comparatively late origin: for instance, in epics Tārā is Balin's and Brhaspati's wife, but has no divine character; she does not appear in Buddhist canonical literature; Hsüan Tsang mentions *Ta la Pu sa*, without alluding to the divinity's sex. The first mention we find of Tārā is in the *Ta jib ching* 大日經 *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, translated into Chinese by Śubhakarasiṃha (who arrived in China in 724 and died in 735) and commented upon by I Ching, a pupil of Śubhakarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi, who died in 727; in that text Āryatārā is said to be an emanation of Avalokiteśvara's (Taishō, XVIII, n. 868, p. 7a). Her compassionate nature is already alluded to in the commentary on chap. 5 (Taishō, vol. XXXIX, n. 1796, p. 632 a-b) where her name is related to: *tārā* "pupil...". The same conception is confirmed in the *Ta fang kuang man shu shib li ching* 大方廣曼殊室利經, Taishō, vol. XX, 1101, p. 430. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*,

vol. I, p. 65 calls her *āryāvalokiteśvarakarunā*, outright, and is probably right, because the Mahāyāna offers numberless instances of the process of deification undergone by acts and states of mind of the Buddha and the Buddhas. Avalokiteśvara is the Buddha's compassionate look, diffused over all the points of space to save suffering creatures;⁸⁶⁾ it is the divine look, inspecting the world from the Tuṣita heaven, to find the most appropriate place for the accomplishment of his mission of redemption from sin and pain; it is the look turning down to explore the Hells and pouring out the solace of its pity every time the eyes are turned; thus the anonymous poet of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* exalts it. Tārā is the active power of this pity, the force of compassion saving (*tārāyati*) suffering creatures.

Naturally this initial process does not stop; as soon as Avalokita's active pity was deified, a new process began. She is the Buddha's mother, the Great Mother, gnosis: she was therefore assimilated, in essence, to the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Then, in Vajrayāna Tārā breaks up, is refracted in manifold derived forms; the adoring goddesses of her cycle are considered as many forms of Tārā; we shall thus no longer have a Puṣpā, a Dhūpā etc., but a Puṣpatārā, a Dhūpatārā, and so forth. On the other hand, the identification with the Great Mother just alluded to made it easy to take a further step: Tārā's identification with the adamant essence, the Vajra = Dharmatā = absolute of the Vajrayāna: she then became Vajratārā. Thus her iconography was retouched, to translate into new symbolical forms the aspects conceived by ritual and liturgical compilations. Next the goddess became a centre of attraction for endless mystic intuitions of various date and origin; these, the Indian people's play of imagination connected through analogies often escaping a logical explanation, but not less real. As the triumphant diaspora of Buddhism progressed, forms alien to India became confused and incorporated with the new



goddess gradually causing her primitive character to be forgotten. Such was for instance, the case with the Tārā introduced from Mahācīna; the serene strength of the compassionate goddess was lent to a gloomy deity of vegetation, worshipped by a tribe on the Indian frontier.

Some have assigned to Tārā an original relation with water, almost as if she were a goddess of navigation (HIRANANDA SHASTRI, *The Origin and Cult of Tārā*, MASI, n. 20); this cannot be proved; it is a secondary aspect, water being only one of the perils the goddess saves her devotees from; her relation with water is a consequence of her fundamental character as Avalokiteśvara's compassionate power, which delivers believers from fears of all sorts. We have here not the process one would expect, but its opposite: not an aboriginal goddess of some sort, raised to the rank of Avalokiteśvara's mate or emanation, but the embodiment of a divine virtue, which having taken a certain form, attracts and concentrates in itself manifold other religious intuitions.

This also rules out Tārā's birth outside India, in Tibet or Ladakh, as H. Shāstrī suggests; the villages of Tar in Ladakh, or of Miru, have no relation whatever either with Tārā or with Mount Sumeru.

This assimilation of Tārā to aboriginal deities took place in a second period, when Buddhist missionaries began to preach in lands Śākyamuni's word had not yet reached. There is no doubt that this was the case with Ekajaṭā; there is no reason for disbelieving the *Sādhanamālā* which states that Tārā's cult was taken by Nāgārjuna from the Bhoṭa, provided this Nāgārjuna be taken as the tantric writer, not the great philosopher; that story coincides with the Brahmanic tradition concerning Tārā's origin from Mahācīna and with the statement in the *Svatantra-tantra*, that Nīlasaravastī lives in lake Cholana, West of Mount Sumeru (*op. cit.*, p. 15).

In this case we are confronted with a terrific deity, later assimilated with Ugratārā, one of the

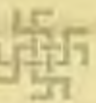
goddesses of the Himalayan regions from which the Indians took for instance, the Lāmā and many other intuitions and liturgies as proved, for instance, by the Yamalatantra and other tantric texts.

Thus Tārā has been reflected in manifold refractions; casual analogies discovered by popular imagination or by the elucubrations of scholars have proclaimed them to be various epiphanies of the same divine force; thus were born her eight forms, her 21 hypostases and the litanies of her 108 names, which are not only epithets and invocations, but lists of the goddess' local aspects.

These convergences of aboriginal cults into Tārā's complex type, although they modified the goddess's primitive character and brought her near to the Magna Mater's endless forms, necessarily took her outside the Buddhist community and introduced her into shivaitic circles. This happened in one of the periods most favourable to the fusion of different religious intuitions: the epoch which saw gnostic schools in full flower and the meeting between Buddhist and Shivaite esoterism, accomplished in the Siddhas' sect.

At that time Tārā migrated into the Shivaite schools: the *Rudrayāmalatantra* mentions her epiphany in the Mahācīna country while Śākta and Śaiva make her the equal of the *devī* and of the power of God.

Many tales were circulated in India concerning Tārā, celebrating her glories for the devotee's edification; nothing has reached us of this hagiographical literature, which was mostly oral, but Tāranātha and other Tibetan authors have transmitted what their Indian masters had told them: thus, to quote an instance, we are informed concerning the general contents of the Indian tradition by the small treatise, already quoted, of the *sGrub t'abs kun btus* and by one of Tāranātha's works, dedicated to Tārā (*sGrol ma rgyud kyi byon k'un's gsal bai byed pai lo rgyus gser gyi p'reñ ba*). The Indian tradition, as usual, referred Tārā's spiritual origin to remote eras: she is a bodhisattva



and became one by virtue of a vow, made in ancient cosmic aeons, in the times of the Buddha rNa sgra, Dundubhisvara in whose presence Ye šes zla, a king's daughter, conceived for the first time the thought of enlightenment. Next, in another cosmic age, in the Buddha Don yod agrub's (Amoghasiddhi's) presence, she is said to have vowed to deliver infinite creatures from pain; a third time, emanating from sPyan ras gzigs' heart, she repeated the same vow. Thus the legend explains, at least, the multiplicity of Buddhas whose emanation the goddess is considered from time to time.

Differently from other gods, Tārā has no authoritative text, whose development and fortunes may be followed. It is true that the legend mentions an extremely vast series of Tantra concerning sGrol ma, revealed to aJig rten dbaṅ p'yug in Potala, in the Bhadrakalpa's times, but in the presence of these fables, we can quote only one text really dedicated to the goddess and to her cult, the *De bžin gšegs pa t'ams cad kyi yum sgröl ma las sna ts'ogs abyun ba*; then come some extracts, like the *sGrol ma la p'yag at's'al ŋi šu rtsa gcig gi bstod pa p'an yon dan bcas pa* (Tōhoku, Cat., n. 438, *bKa' agyur, ŋa*) translated later into Chinese (*ibid.*, Taishō, n. 1108) by Ngan tsang of the Yüan, and a hymn like the *rJe btsun ma ap'ags ma sgröl mai mts'an brgya rtsa brgyad pa*, contained in the same collection (vol. p'a, cfr. Taishō, nn. 1105, 1106, translators Fa t'ien, T'ien hsi tsai) and a *ap'ags ma sgröl ma ajigs pa brgyad las skyob pai mdo* (vol. na, p. 473 - the perils are: lion, elephant, fire, nsake, robbers, water, epidemics, fiends).

The *De bžin gšegs t'ams cad kyi yum sgröl ma las sna ts'ogs abyun ba rgyud* (vol. p'a) is a small tantra in 35 le u, revealed to dGa' ldan; in it Tārā is (as may be desumed from the title itself) the mother of all the Buddhas, she is therefore identified with the Prajñā.

All these works cannot be considered as very old; nor can it be the *Aryatārāmūlatantra* which had been the object of a diligent

study of M. Lalou. This text is in fact in its largest part a copy or an adaptation of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (a third of which has been inserted in it) or of another text from which both derived.

A Tibetan tradition asserts this *mūlakalpa* to be recent; in the colophon it is attributed to Atiśa and is translation to Rin c'en grub (Buston). It is missing in some edition of the *bKa' agyur*. Its connection with Atiśa is interesting; this pandit was a fervent devotee of the goddess and he was responsible, as we saw, for the introduction of the most popular *sādhana*s of the goddess in Tibet.

As many forms of Tārā are listed in it as there are mystical families of the Tathāgata.

All the literature concerning Tārā is thus reduced to hymns and *sādhana* whose authors are well known and who all belong to the esoteric schools of late Buddhism, but only one text dedicated to her can be quoted which is considered *buddhavacana*, revelation of the Buddha.

The image of the goddess has thus been formed very slowly in the religious consciousness of India: she first appeared, shyly and occasionally, in the *Vairocanasūtra*, and little by little she achieved such an individuality as to vie with sPyan ras gzigs. It is clear that her popularity and fortune are a consequence of her character as a merciful and benevolent comforter and helper of every soul in torment. In fact Tārā, in the literature of the *Sādhana* and in India's hagiographic traditions, whose echo has reached Tārānātha's treatise, is invoked above all as the goddess who saves (*tārāyati*) from the perils threatening mankind. But in this case too a contamination has taken place between two different motives: these perils have been understood in a different manner according to the goddess's double nature, such as the Tantric schools were imagining it: on one hand she is *p'a rol tu p'yin pai ŋo bo* "the Prajñā's essential nature", (*Grub t'abs kun btus, ga*, p. 289 b), on the other hand she is



Saṅs rgyas t'ams cas ap'rin las, "representing the Buddha's active power... As the Prajñā' essence, it is her task to deliver from those perils which keep men away from the right understanding of the Law; hence her value is rather theological than esoteric: these then are the eight kinds of perils from which Tārā protects in the Tsaparang temple; I have illustrated them in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 161. In fact such conditions of doubt represent as many obstacles, which preclude an understanding of the Law and are hence a cause of perdition, from which the goddess may guard us. They represent negative qualities like the eight perils (八難) listed in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: birth among invalids, among lepers, animals, Dīrghāyus gods, Uttarakuru, as a deaf or blind man, as a master of heretical schools, before or after the Buddha's appearance.

But by the side of this aspect of hers, there is another one, more living and more easily understandable by the people, which is always anxious for divine comfort in its daily toil: the aspect of a goddess taking an active part in the lives of her devotees and saving them when they invoke her with sincere faith, from all pitfalls and perils.

She then becomes the goddess protecting men from "the eight, or the sixteen perils... The list of these perils is given as follows by Tāranātha, who relates every time, always referring the event to India, how the goddess, having been readily invoked to help, has promptly appeared, delivering her devotee from imminent danger and disaster, and how temples were built in her honour: enemies, lions, elephant, fire, snake, robbers, prison, *piśāca*, sea, epidemic, the king's guards and messengers, conviction, hail and storm, loss of property.

This list is a late one, the outcome of an elaboration which has passed through several moments. The intermediate moment is represented by the list of the eight perils which inspired many of the hymns to Tārā preserved in the bsTan agyur; the first moment is

in the list of the seven perils from which Avalokiteśvara, according to the XXIVth chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, saves those who invoke him or utter his name: fire, rivers, ocean, rākṣasa, sword, demons, prison, thieves.

In the *gāthā* immediately following the prose section, these perils become 12 (in the *Mahābhārata*, II, p. 258, we already find *agni, vyāḷa, roga, rakṣō-bhaya*). Naturally Tibet accepting this tradition with a convert's readiness, has added to it something of its own. The categories rākṣasa and demons have become enlarged, to receive a large number of deities of the native religion, always imagined as harmful and evil: gDon, bGegs, Log par ṣdren pa, T'eu ran, bTsan, rMu, Klu, Sa bdag (see *sGrol dkar yid bžin ak'or loi sgrub t'abs bum c'o ga rjes gnañ gsal byed dan bcas pai skor rnams in Grub t'abs kun btus*, vol. ga, p. 7).

Passing then to liturgic literature proper, we find ourselves, beginning from Ravigupta, on much more solid ground. Indian tradition attributed sGrol ma's initiatic revelation to Guhyaśīla and to Hayaghoṣa, from whom it was transmitted to Nāgārjuna; hence the *sampradāya* develops according to the line: Āryadeva, Rāhula, Jayasena, Dharmapālabhadra the Kashmiri, Nāgamitra, Ravigupta, who himself a Kashmiri, is said to be a contemporary of Candragomin, Sarvajñamitra, Dhanamitra, Tathāgatamitra, Siṃhaladvīpin, Dharmamitra, Śīlarakṣita. The Tibetan school initiated into her mysteries begins with Atīśa (KLOṆ RDOL, *ts'a*, p. 35).

TANKA n. 37 (Plate 68).

It represents rNam par snañ mdsad-Vairocana: white, on the throne, in vitarkamudrā. I have discussed this god at length in *Indo-Tibetica* (particularly in the vol. IV, part I, p. 106). Around, a multiplication of Buddhas.

The tanka was found in the Kaze monastery, Spiti; it evidently comes from some good artistic centre in Central Tibet.



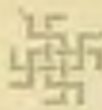
TANKA n. 38 (Plates 69-72).

It represents a monk touching the ground with his right hand, in the posture called *bhū-misparśamudrā*: on his left palm he carries the *bum pa*, a vase for holy water, the attribute of Ts'e dpag med. This is meant to signify the personage's quintessential identity with Ts'e dpag med, the god of infinite life. All around, in a great many pictures, the most important events of his life.

The tanka is illustrated by an inscription running on the outer edges and thence on two parallel bands which cut across the picture horizontally: these two bands are blue and the letters are written in gold. Most of the inscription has been erased, particularly on the right side. The tanka is also a fine specimen of those pictorial legends which were illustrated orally by itinerant monks: it is painted according to the pattern of tankas nn. 9-10 which are undoubtedly older. In this case the painter has got rid of Nepalese models and has translated pictures imported from India into a typically Tibetan interpretation. Therefore this painting stands halfway between a servile imitation of Nepalese models and those brighter and more spacious compositions introduced into Tibet in the XVIIIth century by contact with China. The different pictures are often explained by brief inscriptions: generally the name of the place where the scene develops, or, more often, letters of the alphabet referring to the corresponding paragraphs of the glosses, bearing the same letters. But this is not always the case: for instance the dream-scene in the upper left-hand picture, "explanation of dreams", is connected with the gloss written on the outer left-hand edge, which is not marked by any letter. At any rate these glosses served as a summary guide to the reciter, who pointing out the pictures to his hearers, used then to explain them at length, according to some preexisting literary tradition, concerning the lives of these saints.

But who is the personage represented? This question we must answer, if we are to interpret and understand the single scenes. The inscription does not contain any precise clue to the lama's name; he is vaguely designed as *t'ams cad mk'yen*, the all-knowing. Nevertheless some indications put us on the right path: we read that this lama was ordained by bSod nams grags pa and by Legs pa don grub. Furthermore in the upper right-hand quarter, in the interior of a house, some personages are seen: under one of them is written: *yab rnam rgyal grags pa*, and underneath, lying on a bed, there is a figure whose inscription reads: *yum dpal adsom bu k'rid*. Now the first are the masters who ordained bSod nams rgyas mt'o, third Dalai Lama, and the latter are his parents. There is, as we have seen in our brief excursus on historical literature, a biography of bSod nams rgya mts'o, written by Blo bzai rgya mts'o. It develops the same theme of bSod nams rgya mts'o's preceding incarnations and of the adventurous journeys in the Rākṣasa's country which he then made. The correspondence therefore leaves no room for suspicion and is confirmed by the correspondence of other episodes. This does not mean that the painters have used precisely Blo bzai rgya mts'o's work: from the colophon of this book we know that there were other biographies of the great abbot of aBras spuṅs, by whose merit the Mongols were converted to Buddhism. Still other biographies were certainly written in later epochs. Moreover the tanka is not concerned with the exterior events of bSod nams rgya mts'o's life, but rather with his visions and miracles, the ecstasies during which the eyes of his contemplating soul enjoyed the revelation of heavenly visions. Hence, the *rnam t'ar* which the painters followed represents his esoteric life and his spiritual ascent, like tanka n. 10 dedicated to Tson k'a pa's mystic life, *gsaṅ rnam t'ar*.

Having given, as a preface, these summary explanations, there is nothing left for us to do, for a proper understanding of the tanka, except to transcribe and translate the inscriptions.



On the upper margin:

1. *sva bā*

t'ams cad mk'yen par grags śiñ grub /
 bla ma mc'og gi sprul pa sku //
 ak'ruñs rab mdsad pa rgya mts'o las /
 rnam t'ar bstan bśad mdo tsam bri // 1
 sñon ts'e ston (KA) pa u rgyan du /
 mt'a' yas rigs mc'og sprul pai skus //
 rgyal bu bstan pa adsin žes /⁸⁷
 luñ bstan brñes pa k'yod p'yag ts'al // 2
 de bžin rgyal gi gnas c'en btab /
 t'ub bstan dar žiñ rgyas mdsad nas //
 slar yañ abyon par žal bžes te /
 dga' ldan lhai gnas su gšegs [nas] //
 rgyal ts'ab ajam pa dños dañ mjal /
 ap'ags mc'og nam mk'a' dri med pa // 3
 ajam dpal sñiñ poi bka' bžin du /
 dag pa mk'a' spyod gnas su gšegs //
 de nas bde ba can du byon /
 snañ ba mt'a' yas ak'or bcas (mjal) // 4

2nd line:

kun bzañ spyod pai dkyil ak'or gyis /
 žiñ k'ams rgya mts'o k'yab mdsad nas //
 rñā yab gliñ gi yul mk'ar byon /
 (CA) srin poi rgyal pos bsu ba byas // 5
 ajam mñen dar lam gos lam btañ /
 gos c'en lam nas byon pai ts'e //
 klags ts'ol srin po mgo bži pa /
 k'o ñid 'og nas 'og tu lbuñ // 6
 bar c'ad bdud la rgyal ba k'yod /
 ston pa sañs rgyas dños dañ (C'A) mjal //
 rje dañ jo bos bskor ba des /
 dbu ma gsuñs śiñ bsgom žes gdams // 7
 pad ma 'od kyī žiñ k'ams der /
 c'os skyon sruñ mas bskor bai dbus //
 rje dañ jo boi guñ gžugs pai /
 slo (sic) dpon c'en po pad mai bkas (JA) // 8
 mt'u ldan sruñs ma gñis btud nas /
 slar yañ bod (yul) dbus su soñ //
 sprul skus agro don mdsod cig ces /
 t'ugs dam rgyud bskul k'yod la bstod // 9

3rd line:

de nas rdsu p'rul yid mgyogs kyis /
 skad cig ñid la bod du byon //

abras spuñs (ÑA) dga' ldan p'o brañ du /
 sku gduñs mc'od sar žag gsum gžugs // 10
 bod yul na ri rab rtse na /
 lha rnams rjes su bzuñs (TA) slad gšegs //
 der yañ skye ba sprul pai skus /
 mi rnams myur du skyon bar dgoñs // 11
 de dag skabs su lha rnams kyis /
 sprul sku myur du byon no žes //
 luñ bstan dbugs abyuñ sgra dbyañs ni /
 sñan par sgrog pas sa gži gañ // 12
 k'yad par du yañ yar luñs su /
 žal bži pa yis luñ c'en bstan //
 spyān ras gžigs kyis rta nag tu /
 dgos por dpal ldan lha mos so // 13

Left hand border:

rñal (for mñal) lam gyi bkod pa yin te / de yañ nub
 gcig k'añ pa mun nag can dkar k'uñ c'uñ du yod
 pa gcig gi nañ du p'ebś nas sus kyañ mi t'ar zer
 pai bug pa bye nas de nas yar byon pas dga' ldan
 du p'ebś / rje btsun ajam dbyañs dañ mjal / rten
 gsum mañ pos bug pa na mar byin brlabs gñañ
 de nas gžigs rtsa na, adsam bu gliñ ko ba tsam
 du adug gsuñ slar rdo skas riñ po cig la babs byon
 nas yar gžigs pas steñ gi k'añ bzañ de na druñ
 c'en adug pa la gyab yugs mdsad pas ap'ur nas
 byuñ ste // mc'od k'añ cig tu byon pas dbu
 mdsad bžes mc'od dbyañs ... gyur žiñ adug / de
 nas ñi 'od ak'yil par p'ebś byuñ ste smon lam
 c'en mo adi la lta ba cig yin pa adug gsuñ //

Ibid.:

yañ mts'an ldan ... t'od la gsol ba btab pai nub rñal
 (for mñal) lam du mi cig t'og ka' c'en po la snod...
 c'e ba bkal nas me btoñ ba la ci byed dris pas
 semś can t'ams cad kyī ja t'ug bkol ba yin zer /
 de nas k'añ pa cig gi nañ du byon te t'og bug pa
 cig adug pa la p'yag yi tag mdsad pas steñ de nas
 su yin zer pa la de na su yod na yonś e c'og
 gsuñs pas adi na rdo rje p'ag mo gžugs te da lta
 abyon ma ruñ ño zer pa cig byuñ gsuñ ba sogs
 ño mts'ar c'e ba brjod kyis mi lañ ño.

Upper right-hand inner stripe:

(PA) ñi zla skar mas mdses rañ ñid ljoñ sdon lan cig
 ak'ruñs dgun lo gsum pa las ... c'os sder ...

Right-hand outer border:

...c'e ru bžugs pai ts'e /
 rje dan p'yogs bžii sañs rgyas gžigs //
 re ma ti dan ... abral med /
 gžis k'ar mi dbañ c'en po yis //
 mc'od ciñ dad pas dñul gduñ bžeñs /
 c'os der bu c'os ac'ad po la //
 kva je c'o (for c'os) rje bsod grags pa /
 ña yi rnam t'ar ac'ad dam žes //
 gsuñs ts'e kun gyis abrom rjer ñes /
 slar yañ k'añ gsar goñ du p'ebś //
 ak'rul med ap'ags pai spyod pa mdsad /
 sñon ... gsam (for bsam) mi k'yab //
 t'ams cad ak'yen (for mk'yen) pai rnam sprul du /
 kun la grags šin yoñs su grub pa //

Ibid.:

... tu gnas pas rgyas par mdsad slar yañ dpal ldan
 abras spuñs su p'ebś te dguñ lo rgyad pa la mk'an
 po bsod nams grags pa dan slob dpon legs pa
 don grub las dge ts'ul ñid du rab byon mdsad (TSA)

Lower outer edge:

k'yii loi dbyar ston zla drug tu /
 dgon rtser sku mts'ams mdsad pai ts'e //
 ts'e dpag med mgon rta mgrin sogs /
 t'ugs dam žal gžigs dños grub brñes //
 p'ag loi dbyar ston rgyal du bžugs /
 rtag tu dam pai c'os c'ar p'ab //
 (DSA) dgun dus rtsed t'añ c'os gra c'er /
 lña mc'od c'en moi ts'ogs pon (for dpon) mdsad //
 kun kyi(s) dad pai sar bkod nas /
 btsug (for gtsug) lag k'añ c'en k'ra abrug mjal //
 agro rnams ... ig la mgod (for agod) bžin du /
 dga' ldan p'o brañ ñid du p'ebś (VA) //
 byi pai lo la abras spuñs kyi /
 gdan sa c'en por mña' gsol te //
 mi ajigs señ gei k'ri steñs na /
 t'eg c'en c'os kyi ak'or lo bskor //
 mk'yen pai stobs bcu kun mña' yañ /
 t'un moñ gdul byai dbañ mdsad nas //
 mk'an slob rnams la mña' bai c'os /
 mt'a' dag gsan bai ts'ul yañ bstan //

2nd line:

ts'ogs gñis rgya mts'o yoñs rdsogs kyañ / rtag tu mc'od
 sbyin mdsad pa legs // rgyal du p'ebś des sñon ma

la nub cig rnam (for mnal) lam du žal bži pas
 c'os ap'rul bstan ts'ul ni rje žal nas ... sdiñs na
 adug sar gsuñ rab pa byuñ pa p'yi adi na sñar
 med pai du (for dur) k'rod cig adug zer bltar
 (sic!) p'yin tsa na dur k'rod c'en pos bskor pai
 mts'o nañ c'os abyuñ dmar po cig adug pai nañ
 nas a tsa ra c'en po cig byuñ ba des nañ du k'rid de
 a tsa ra c'un ba cig gis a rag dan c'e ba des bum
 pa nas ja drañs te ña la ts'o ap'rul c'en po cig ston
 rgyu yod de ajigs mi dgos zer nas žal bžii yoñs
 rdsogs bstans ña bskul dgos pa yon ño gsuñ ba cig
 rmi gsuñ / yañ nub cig me tog t'añ na lcags k'ar
 sgo med mer abar ba cig gi bugs nas mi nag po
 cig byuñ ... du byon zer p'yin pas dei nañ mi
 ro c'en po k'a nas k'rag mdsag pai steñ na me
 ajigs pa ruñ ba cig adug rmi ste / c'os rgyal kyi
 ts'o ap'rul du adug gsuñ yañ nub cig dpal ldan
 lba moi ts'o ap'rul žal nas 'od zer spros ste byed
 pa cig byuñ ts'ul rgyas par gsuñs pa.

Lower Inscription:

1st line:

7. de nas dguñ lo bcu ... klañ ... k'os (sic for tso) ap'rul
 bla ... p'o brañ ... smon lam c'en moi mgon du
 byon skal bzañ ... abum p'rag grañs med dge
 adun ts'ogs pai dbus sañs rgyas kun gyi ap'rin
 las ... gañs c'en ... bsod nams ... bsgrub pai ...
 bstan nas ...

2nd line:

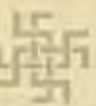
lbun gyis grub par ... kyi rluñ ... mk'an ... 'od dan
 lba rdsas ... c'ar gyis gañ ... rog dan (sic) ldan
 mdsad ... zla ts'es ces p'ra yañ mk'yen brtsei
 dkiyl ak'or na gañ ba p'rin las ... mañ ... ts'od pa
 bžes p'yag adi ...

3rd line:

k'yod ... rje btsun ... skur grags ... bdag gyul c'en ...
 rab ts'ogs bdag ... p'e pa la mi ajigs ... byin ...
 guñ t'añ žiñ [mc'od] rten c'e ba dan gos skui
 (ZA) rab gnas ... bkod bžin bstan ... c'os p'rul.

Left border, below:

(YA) stag lo la ... rgyal du p'ebś rten bžeñs nas sbyin
 sregs mdsad (RA) dbyar dus ts'ad mdo byes gloñ
 rje mt'a' dag bstan pa dan po ni srid ži dpal abyor
 t'ams cad dan lban cig p'ebś šin gžugs pa yis



rab mdsed pad mai dga' ts'al la ñi 'od byug? pa lta
 bur gyur ... skar c'en btab nas gžugs brgya abul
 brgya p'rag skyes su p'ul t'ogs par gyed c'en dpal
 med dan mañ ja ...
 de nas abras spuñs ñid du p'ebś /
 abul dpon nañ so ... //
 rgya abul bsam las adas pa p'ul /
 yos lo smon lam grol rjes su ston pai gos sku c'en
 po bžeñś /
 t'oñ (for mt'oñ) pai don ldan žes byar grags //
 rgyal gyi snags k'an gžal yas nas (šA) /
 bstan pai mña' bdag spyān brañś (for drañś) te //
 dkyil ak'or kun gyi žal p'ye nas /
 dbañ gi c'u bo ma lus ... //
 ts'e dpag med mgon lha dgu ni /
 t'og mar dbañ bskur žal yañ gžigs //
 rje dag dbañ rim ño mts'ar žes /
 c'os skyoñ (?) sruñś mas legs so p'ul //
 yos loi nañ der žal gžigs dan /
 rnal (for mnal) lam ya mts'an ... //

 ... lo bco lña ru
 p'ebś pa abrug lo ts'o p'rul nas
 ... rdo rje sa ...
 ... las gsuñ bkod ...
 ... spyān ras gžigs dbañ sprul pai sku
 bstan pai bdag par mña' gsol nas /
 mi agyur rdo rje ... steñś na (SA) //

On the upper margin:

"Svabhā (Here) is resumed the brief biography, shown to be explained (*bstan bśad*), of the incarnation of the supreme master, celebrated as the "all-knowing". It is taken from the work called "Ocean of his works and his successive lives". Homage to you who, in ancient times, received from the mT'a' yas rigs mc'og, in U rgyan, this prophecy: "O son of the Victors, you will be one of those who preserve the teachings". Thus he founded a great kingdom.

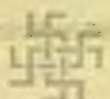
"Then, after having spread the teachings and caused them to prosper (in that place), he accepted to return once more and went to the dGa' ldan: there he met Byams pa in person, who takes the Buddha's place. He

then (under the name) of aP'ags mc'og nam mk'a' dri med, according to aJam dpal sñiñ po's order, went (to the country) Dag pa mk'a' spyod; next he went in the bDe ba can and saw sNañ ba mt'a' yas surrounded by his retinue (1-4).

"After the worlds, vast as the ocean, had been pervaded by the mañḍala of his completely favourable activity, he went to the frontiers of the country of rNa yab where a king of the Srin po came to meet him and laid a light and flexible road made of silken stuff, and a path of silken material. The Srin po who guessed how to harm him and who had four heads, himself fell headlong, lower and lower. You who have vanquished the demons who stood in your way, you visited the master, the Buddha in person; he, having on each side rJe (Tsoñ k'a pa) and Jo bo (Atiśa) told you to preach on the Mādhyamika and to meditate upon it. In the world called Pad ma 'od sat the great master Pad ma, amidst the C'os skyoñ and the Sruñ ma, between rJe (Tsoñ k'a pa) and Jo bo (Atiśa). He said: "After having done homage to the two powerful sruñ ma, go to the central country of Tibet and, through an incarnation, accomplish the good of created beings... Homage to you who were thus incited by the protecting deities (5-9).

"Then through a magic force, swift as magical thought, he went in an instant to Tibet, in aBras spuñś, in the palace of dGa' ldan; for three days he lived in front of the place where the relics are placed. Roaming through Tibet, on the tops of the Ri rab (in aP'yoñ rgyas) all the gods came to show him their favour. There he resolved to protect men speedily by his incarnations; then the gods prophesied that his incarnation would take place at once.

"And the sound of this inspired voice pervaded all the world, echoing. Particularly Žal bži pa made a great prophecy in Yar kluñś, sPyān ras gžigs in rTa nag and dPal ldan lha mo in Dvags po (10-15)...



Left-hand border:

"Unfolding of his dreams.

One night he entered into a dark house, where there was a small window, and having opened a cleft through which it is said that no one could pass, he passed and went upwards to the dGa' ldan, and met rJe btsun aJam dbyaṅs; sacred things of three kinds (deposited there) conferred great graces on that hole, below. Looking down from up there, he said that the aDsam bu gliṅ was as large as a boat; having descended by a stone staircase, he looked upwards and saw a high dignitary, leaning out to beckon to him, fall headlong; he arrived in a chapel where the dbu mdsad... the tea to be drunk during the ceremony and songs. Then the light of the sun descended with a rotating movement, and it was like (the feast of) the great "smon lam... So he said. Then, in a night when he prayed to mTs'an ldan... t'od, he saw in a dream a man carrying a great... into the fire, and then, having asked him what he was doing, he answered that he was boiling a tea-soup for all creatures; then he went into a house and (saw) that above there was a hole; he began to clap his hands, and from above someone said "who is there?,, and he answered: "And who is up there? Have I not come?,, (The other answered) "rDo rje p'ag mo is here, it is not right that you should come thus,,. These and other marvellous things he said. Then he woke up,,.

Upper right-hand inner stripe:

"Himself beautified by the sun, the moon and the stars, on the trunk of the heavenly tree (*ljon sdon* = *ljon śiṅ*, see biogr., p. 16) once he was born. Since he was three years old... in the temple...,.

Right-hand outer border:

"When he went to... c'e, he saw the master and the Buddhas of the four points of space, not severed from Remati; in gZi k'a the prince honoured him with faith and had a

silver mc'od rten made to keep relics. When in the temple, a (monk) was explaining the bKa' gdams pa's secondary texts (*bu c'os*), the Kva je C'os rje bSod namsgags pa... asked whether he could explain the biography; then certainty as regards aBrom (ston) and Tson k'a pa's doctrine was born in all of them. Then he went to K'aṅ gсар goṅ and practiced the ascetics' (*ak'rul med*) noble discipline. With his incarnation, which knows all the infinite things to be known, he became famous among all,,.

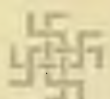
Ibid.:

"Staying in..., once more, enlarging he went to aBras spuṅs; at the age of eight he took monastic vows from bSod namsgags pa and the ācārya Legs pa don grub,,.

Lower outer edge:

"In the year of the dog, in the sixth month summer-autumn, while he was shut up in the dGon rtse, meditating, he had a vision of Ts'e dpag med, rTa mgrin etc. and of his protecting deities. In the year of the boar and in the summer and autumn months, he resided in rGyal, always causing the rain of the Law to fall. In the winter month, in the great monastery of rTsed t'aṅ, he directed the ceremonies on the occasion of Tson k'a pa's birthday, and having disposed everyone in the faith, he visited the temple of K'ra abrug...⁸⁸) the creatures according to the purpose. He then went to the palace of dGa' ldan; in the year of the mouse he was installed in the seat of dGa' ldan; on the throne of the dauntless lion revolved the wheel of the Great Vehicle.

"Possessing the scholar's twelve powers, he ruled over all creatures capable of being converted in the common manner and he showed how the endless parts of the Law are listened to at the masters' school. Although he had filled the ocean of the two accumulations,⁸⁹) he continually made offerings (to the gods). Before arriving in rGyal, one night



he saw in a dream *Žal bži pa* doing many miraculous things: the *rJe* said: "in... *sdiñs* there is a master of the sacred scriptures, and away from here there is an extraordinary cemetery,,; so he said. And so he went and found there was a lake surrounded by a large cemetery, and in it there was a red triangle,⁹⁰⁾ in the middle of which a great *ācārya* was standing, who led him inside; a small *ācārya* brought alcohol and the big one some tea in a pot and said: "I can show great prodigies. There is nothing to fear,,. And he saw in a dream one who said: "It is necessary that I be instigated by *Žal bži pa*'s great teachings,,. One night, in *Me t'og t'añ* (he saw in a dream) a black man issuing from a hole in an iron castle without doors, blazing with fire, who said to him "come hither,,. Inside was a man's corpse dripping blood from the mouth, and upon him a terrible fire. He said that this was one of the *C'os rgyal*'s prodigies. He further said that another night *dPal ldan lha mo* performed a great prodigy, shedding light from her face,,.

Lower inscription:

"Then at the age of ten, on the anniversary of the miracle of (the Buddha's) multiplication ... in the palace ... went to the great feast of the vow ... 10.000 images of the *Bha-drakalpa* ... in the midst of innumerable monks ... the work of all the Buddhas ... the mountain ... merits ... accomplished ... having shown ,,,

Second line:

"Miraculous ... of the wind ... light of the sky ... divine objects ... filled by rain; he did it with ... in the day of the month

in the circle of the scholars ... works ... measure ,,,

Third line:

"you ... *rJe* *btsun* so named ... in great battles ... lord of the circle; not fearing; ... in *Guñ t'añ* ... having consecrated the (*mc'od*) *rten* ... and the image on cloth,,.

Left border (first and second line):

Translation impossible.

Translation impossible.

"In the year of the tiger he went to *rGyal*, had sacred objects made, consecrated them and offered sacrifices,,.

"In summer...

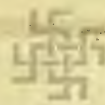
"As regards the first teaching...

"He came with glory of all things, either belonging to this world or to the peace of the spirit, and in the pleasant garden *Pad ma dga'* the sun's light was like ... the great stars were set there, and he offered hundreds of offerings.

"Then he went to *āBras spuñs*, the donor was the *Nañ* so... who gave incalculable gifts. In the year of the hare he had the cloth-tanka made, to be shown during the *sMon lam* feast, called "the one which gives fruit simply by being seen,,. From the pavilion of the Tantric temple in *rGyal* he caused the lord of the teaching to come, and then opened all the Tantras ... all the waters of baptism. He had a vision of the nine gods of *Ts'e dpag* and first of all of the baptism, and was applauded by the *C'os skyoñ* and by the *Sruñ ma*. In this same year of the hare he had a vision and marvellous dreams. At the age of 15, ... in the year of the dragon, prodigies ... adamantine earth ... said ... incarnation of *sPyan ras gzigs* and was invested with the authority of lord of the teachings ... unchangeable of the *rdo rje*,,.

Let us see briefly how these episodes are represented on the tanka: Above the first stripe bearing an inscription, proceeding from left to right: *dGa' ldan*, *Mañjuśrī*, with a sword in his right hand, seated inside a palace; a man leans out and falls on another man, who is looking at him from below; in the interior of a building some monks are gathered; *rnal* (for *mnal*) *lam gyi bkod* "the dream's unfolding,,; the scene refers to the part of the inscription translated above.

Above some figures in a small shrine among the clouds; "*mk'a' spyod*,, "journey through the air,,, refers to the country



where he was incarnated. To the left, lower down, along the edge, a garuḍa, *ṣal gzigṣ kyī ye ṣeṣ k'yūn* "Ye ṣeṣ k'yūn seen in an apparition... Underneath a monk seated in front of a maṇḍala, to his right: *ṣal gzigṣ kyī lba dgu*,⁹¹ "the vision of the nine gods of the maṇḍala of Tse dpag med... To the right of the same scene a monk seated on a throne, "*saṅṣ rgyas gñis pa snaṅ mdsad rdo rje*...", "sNaṅ mdsad rdo rje equal to a second Buddha... Above a Buddha in the midst of disciples and masters; *gos sku* "the tanka on stuff...", alludes to the tanka on stuff which bSod nams rgya mts'o caused to be made; near these words the letter: *la* refers the reader to the corresponding paragraph of the inscriptions. To the right, below, monks working on a building. A seated monk among the lama perhaps represents the consecration. Above a Buddha amidst his disciples, in a palace: "*o rgyan yul*...", "Orgyan's country...", alludes to his preceeding incarnations, like the scene which immediately follows on the right: *rgyal sras mt'a' yas dri med*, "the Bodhisattva mT'a' yas dri med... Above, in the centre, a pavilion with Byams pa: "*dga' ldan*...; the letter *k'a* refers to the corresponding paragraph of the inscriptions. Underneath, a monk kneeling in front of an apparition: "*yar luṅ*...", refers to a vision which had appeared in Yar klunṣ; lower down, a little to the left, a monk in a temple among his disciples, "*dga' ldan p'o bran*...", "the palace of dGa' ldan...", refers to the paragraph *na* of the inscription. To the right of Byams pa's image, a bodhisattva kneeling in a pavilion: *dga' ldan aḡam dpal sñiṅ po*, Tson k'a pa's incarnation. More to the right, above: bDe ba can "the Sukhāvātī... In the right hand corner a monk between two disciples and the Buddha: the letter *c'a* refers to the corresponding paragraph of the inscriptions. Lower down, one under the other, two small pictures follow, which show the interior of two houses; above: *yab rnam rgyal grags pa*: below, under the figure of a person lying down, *yum dpal rgyal ḡdsom bu*

k'rid, "The mother dpal ḡdsom bu krid... Underneath: *bla ma spre bo*, "the master sPre bo... On the left side, between the two inscriptions, two temples; in the smaller one the eleven-headed sPyan ras gzigṣ, in the larger one an image of Śākyamuni, to which many monks are doing honour: *lba sa*. Underneath a procession of monks carrying "Byams pa's", image on a chariot. Still lower down another temple, with monks in front of an image: *guṅ t'aṅ*; the letter: *Ja* refers to the inscription.

Underneath, on the left, a lama among four disciples, letter: *a*; on the right a lama, in a temple, lifts his eyes towards some visions; dGon rtse (*ts'a*).

Right side, between the two inscriptions: above, a view of ḡBras spuṅṣ and his seminaries: *ḡbras spuṅṣ sṅags k'aṅ - lba k'aṅ goṅ*; *ḡdu k'aṅ c'en po*.

Underneath, inside a shrine monks making offerings; *dga' ldan p'o bran*; the letter: *ba* refers to the inscription.

Three lamas in front of an image: *rje legs don pa*, bSod nams grags pa bla gñis, the Dalai Lama's two masters. The third represents bSod nams rgya mts'o in the moment of adoration. The pageant which follows under his installment, *Ser la* "the same in Se ra... Below a temple, with images and monks: *gsam yas*, i. e. bSam yas. In the space under the second inscription, from left to right, a large temple with a lama seated on a throne and around him lamas presenting offerings; the letter *dsa* refers to the corresponding inscription.

Below, in a triangular frame, a seated lama, surrounded by images of deities; this refers to the vision described in inscription above. Further up, in a temple, two adoring monks on each side of an image of the Buddha of K'ra ḡbrug;⁹² then two monks on horseback; underneath the same in a temple, among many lamas; the letter: *ra* refers to the inscription. The scenes which follow represent episodes which have occurred in dGa'



ldan: *dga' ldan rtse rje sku rin po c'e*, "the precious image of the rJe Tson k'a pa in dGa' ldan rtse,,; *rnam sras p'o brañ: rNam t'os sras' palace; dga' ldan p'o brañ: dGa' ldan's palace.*

Towards the lower right-hand corner, in a temple, an image of the Buddha standing: *rDsiñ c'i* (viz. *rDiñ ji* in 'Ol k'a). Above, laymen kneeling opposite some monks: 'Ol k'a. This refers to the honours rendered to bSod nams rgya mts'o by 'Ol k'a princes. On the carpet on which the lotus that the Dalai Lama is sitting on rests, are represented the donors: one of them carries on his hand a wheel, the symbol of kingship: the tanka was found in Luk, it therefore represents princes of Western Tibet.

We may surmise that it was painted when the spiritual ties between Western Tibet and the Yellow Church were still strong and the royal family had not ceased to hold its sway over the country; this in fact seems to be the conclusion to be drawn from the presence of a personage with royal insignia. We cannot help thinking of aJig rten dbaṅ p'yug pad ma dkar lde who in the year 1555 went to pay a visit to bSod nams rgya mts'o. So there are good reason for supposing that the tanka was made by order of that prince or of his sons K'ri nam mk'a' dbaṅ p'yug who was another supporter of the Yellow Church.⁹³)

Anyhow the tanka is to be assigned to the end of the XVIth century.

TANKA n. 39 (Plates 73, 74).

In this tanka the central figure is an angry-looking deity, represented in the likeness of a siddha: with his right hand he brandishes a club, his left hand holds, on a level with his breast, a skull-cap full of blood. He can easily be identified thanks to the inscription written under the image:

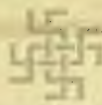
ajigs ruñ stag c'ibṣ btson k'a rnal abyor ts'ul.
 "Manner in which Tson k'a pa, riding a terrible tiger, practised yoga .."

This means that Tson k'a pa is identified with the terrific manifestation (*k'ro bo*) of that mystical plane whose earthly manifestation or projection he is. Besides the terrific manifestation, other liturgies are known, which also meditate upon Tson k'a pa in the form of an ascetic: so, for instance, in the *Bla mai rnal abyor zab k'yad can c'os kyī rgyal po tson k'a pa c'en pos mk'as grub t'ams cad mk'yen pa la gcig brgyud kyī ts'ul du gnañ ba* Tson k'a pa is meditated upon as an ascetic of a golden-red colour, like copper, upon a throne drawn by eight lions; he carries besides the usual attributes, the sword and the book, a skull-cap, as in the present painting; he is imagined with an ascetic topknot, after the yogin's fashion, while the masters of the various kinds of Tantra emanate from him.

Above and below, on the central axis of the tanka, we see two small images of the same master, according to traditional iconography: one floating on clouds and the other upon a throne borne by some deities. In the two upper corners again Tson k'a pa on an elephant to the left, and Tson k'a pa under the form of aJam dpal dbyaṅs, on a lion, to the right; in the two lower corners his two foremost disciples.

These aspects of Tson k'a pa allude to a celebrated vision, or rather to a series of visions which his favorite disciple mk'as grub rje had after his death. One day the latter offered a religious ceremony in his master's honour, and then fell into ecstasy. Then six successive visions of Tson k'a pa appeared to him, namely Tson k'a pa in the form of sambhogakāya, seated on an elephant, seated on a throne, carried by a cloud and finally in the terrific aspect which here towers in the centre of the tanka.

It is clear then that the painter alludes to this particular vision, which on the other hand seems to have been treated fairly often in Tibet: in reality at least two instances of this kind of painting are known; one already published by S. CH. DAS, the first to make known the legend illustrating it (*Buddhist Text*



Society, Journal and text, 1893, Part II, App. II, p. 4) and another one by GRÜNWEDEL (*Weg nach Šambhala*, p. 90).

Around the picture is represented the large family of the Siddhas, grub t'ob, Indian and Tibetan, those masters of yoga we have mentioned above (see tanka n. 8) of whose esoteric tradition Tson k'a pa had been the heir and the interpreter.

Most of the Siddhas represented on this tanka can be identified, because every figure is accompanied by an inscription which gives his name. It appears that the painter was inspired by the biography n. II⁹⁴) of the Siddhas, to which we referred above and which, as we saw, was very popular among the Yellows. The tanka is therefore a pictorial reproduction of that booklet. Beginning from the first line on top, the inscriptions full of mistakes succeed one another as follows:

1st line:

glañ po la c'ibs btson k'a pa. – “Tson k'a pa riding an elephant...”

ña lto za žiñ [dños] grub brñes lu ba pā. – “Lu ha pā (Luhipā) who feeds on fishes and obtains his realization (*Edel.*, p. 21)...”

pad mar rdsus k'ruñs or gyan pai žabs. – “Uddi-yānapāda miraculously born from a lotus...”

nags [kyi] lba mos bdud rtsi p'ul klu sgrub ... žabs. – “Nāgārjunapā gets ambrosia from a forest goddess...”

[dka' t'ub mdsad] byams pa žal gzigs t'ogs med pa. – “Asaṅga made penances and had the vision of Byams pa...”

byo (sic for jo bo) rje ati šai pa mar me mdsad. – “The c'os rje Atiśa Dīpaṅkara...”

lham mk'an dur gnas su ... ma ri pa. – [Ku, as in the text for: Cā] “ma ri pā the shoemaker, in the cemetery...”

señ ge c'ibs btson k'a pa. – “Tson k'a pa riding a lion...”

Line 28:

c'u c'en gyen zlog ñi gzuñ bir va pā. – “Bir vā pā (Virūpā) causes a great river to flow uphill and stops the sun,, (*Edel.*, pp. 28-29).

dom bbe bi ru stag gžon gdañ btiñ brgal. – “Dombhehiru, (Dombhiheruka) mounted on a tiger, crosses the (Ganges) spreading a carpet...”

bram ze rigs la (m)gar (for gar) mk'an sa ra ba. – “Saraha the dancer, born of brahmanic parentage...”

pad ma vajra ... gzugs šin [tog za ba] ... žabs. – “Padmavajra eats fruits...”

dge ts'ul rje mo k'ur gšegs ts'em bu ... – “The novice Ts'em bu pa who walks carrying a nun,, (*Zauberer*, p. 204).

... dge bsñen ts'añs spyod. – “[Nīlapa] the devout layman as a Brahmacārin...”

sta (for lta) steñs mdsad pra (p'ra?) nag po spyod žabs... – “Kṛṣṇācārya casting the exorcist's look...”

dge sloñ lus can sañs rgyas ye šes žabs. – “The incorporated (?) monk Buddhajñānapāda...”

gdol rigs yum bcas ku ku ri pa žabs. – “Kukku-ripā, by caste a caṇḍāla, with his śakti...”

mts'o skyes rdo rje. – “Padmavajra...”

adsu (sic) su ku pa mk'a' gšegs. – “Bhu su ku walking on air...”

ral gri k'yer nas mk'a' gšegs na le ntra. – “Nalendrapā who walks on air, carrying a sword...”

srin poi k'a gnon pad ma ka ra. – “Padmākara overcoming the Srin po...”

šan pai rigs señ žon sin bi pa. – “Sin hi pa, (Simhapā) the butcher riding on a lion...”

ña pai rigs dge sloñ mi na pa. – “The monk Mīnapā, of a race of fishermen...”

ka(?) mk'as mk'a' gšegs rba sa ra žabs. – “Rhasarapā... walking on air...”

4th line:

žin pa p'yag rgya da(ñ) (b)cas t'og tsi pa. – “The peasant Tog rtse pa with his mudrā...”

na ro pa žes rañ gi [bu mo] bsten. – “Naropā uses his daughter (as his śakti)...”

bu smad dañ bcas rdo rje dril bu pa. – “Vajraghaṇṭapā with a woman...”

rgyal rigs lcam bcas in dra bho di žabs. – “Indrabodhi of royal lineage with his mate...”

rgyal rigs mk'a' lbas. – “Ākāśadeva of royal lineage...”



t'e ts'om sel sprin šug(s) can. – “sPrin šugs can solving doubts,, (v. SP, p. 142).

5th line:

t'a ru rigs las srid brgal ka ru pa. – “Karu-pā born in the borderland, who crosses [the ocean] of existence,,.

bram ze rigs rnam t'og brag a na ri ta. – “Anarita of brahmanic descent,,.

bum t'ogs c'os dri ma bkru señ[ge]. – “Señ ge holding a vase washes the stains...,,.

6th line:

rgyal rigs dman spyod abras adru (d?) kan ta pa. – “Kantapā, of royal descent, who lives like those of a low caste, grinding corn,,.

ts'od (for rtsod) rgyal sgrol skyabs can tra go mi žabs. – “Candra-gomin protected by sGrol ma, overcomes in debate (the heretics),,.

dge sloñ spros med ajag spyil bu pa. – “The monk sPyil bu pa, ... a quietist,,.

zla ba bzañ po bram rigs rnal abyor lus. – “Candrabhadra, of brahmanic descent, in an ascetic's body,,.

sgrol dkar byin rlabs rnal abyor kun dga'. – “The yogin Ānanda(vajra) who has sGrol ma's blessing,,.

klu grub dgoñs t'ugs la c'ud mk'as zla ba grags. – “The learned Candrakīrti who learns the meaning of Nāgārjuna's works,,.

7th line:

bram ze rgyal mjal dge bsñen p'ab c'as pa. – “The devout layman P'ab c'as pa, a brahman, who meets the king,,.

.... *spyod mdsad.* – “... practices,,.

til bduñ (for brduñ) sañs rgyas žal mjal te lo pā. – “Telopā who grinds seeds and sees the Buddha,,.

šin t'un t'eg c'en ša kya bšes gñen žabs. – “Śākyamitra the wood picker, the mahāyānist,,.

ña pai rigs la gcer bu ts'am dha li. – “Caṇḍāla the naked, of fisher parentage,,.

8th line:

smad ats'oñ lña brgyar mk'a' gšegs dha ri ka. – “Darika walks on air with 500 harlots,, (Edel., p. 22).

ba lañ skyoñ pa na ga bo dbe žabs. – “Nāga-bodhipā the herdsman,,.

gar mk'an lcam... ša ba ri žabs... – “Šabari with his mate, the dancer,,.

mk'a' gšegs dge sloñ bzañ po pa. – “Bhadra, the monk walks on air,,.

bram rigs dge sloñ bbe pa le ne žabs. – “The monk Bhe pa la na? of brahmanic extraction,,.

t'ug[s] dam žal gžigs ma [mk'a'] gšegs gur dbyañs mk'an ri k'rod ma. – “Ri k'rod ma who sings songs and has had the vision of his protecting deity walking on air,,.

[mai] tri pa rgyud adsin sgra mk'an žabs. – “Sgra mk'an belonging to the school of Maitrīpā,,.

mt'ar agro t'ob ts'ogs brkob kon ta la. – “Kontala going in the borderland digs,,.

rta [mgrin] gžigs gdug aduñ [nam mk'a'] gšegs? tsa[pa] ri. – “Tsa[pa]ri who gets the vision of rTa mgrin and subdues a poisonous snake,,.

9th line:

t'ugs dam žal gžigs sa ra ba žabs. – “Saraha sees his protecting deity,,.

gtam gi ts'od pa las rgyal Je ta ri. – “Jetāri victorious in logic,,.

smad ats'oñ lña brgya mk'a' agro spyod ldiñ bhi pa... – “Bhi pa with 500 har lots goes in the air,,.

rgyan drug gsol dur [k'rod la] mar me lba. – “Mar me lha... in the cemeteries prays to the six ornaments,,.⁹⁵⁾

dur k'rod ša c'en gsol ba si ya li. – “Siyali eats human flesh in the cemetery,,.

agrol gžigs luñ bstan t'ob pa ñi ma sbas. – “Ravigupta has a vision of sGrol (ma) and obtains from her a prediction,,.

[ñi ma zer] la gšegs ñag gi dbañ p'yug rgyal. – “Ñag gi dbañ p'yug, Vagīśvara,⁹⁶⁾ going on the rays of the sun,,.

ats'o byed rigs dge sloñ si ba la. – “The monk Simhala of a family of physicians,,.

10th line:

gdol rigs mar mk'an yum ldan bhir ba pa. – “Bhirbapā, of the caṇḍāla caste, makes butter with his śakti,,.

[sgra] ts'ad luñ rigs la mk'as k'a ma la. –
 “Kam(b)ala, learned in logical sciences and
 grammar,,,

rgyal rigs adul adsin snag(s) ac'an šan ti pa. –
 “Śāntipā of royal lineage, master in the disci-
 plinary rules, exorcist,,,

t'abs šes [rab dgoñs pa rdsogs] gser gliñ pa. – “Su-
 varṇadvīpin (having realized the meaning) of
 gnosis and praxis,,,

k'a ko glañ žon (for gžon) mk'a' la spyod. –
 “K'a ko (for: Koñ ha na) riding the ox,
 travels through the air,,,

bde mc'og žal gzigis sbrul rgyan ku bu rtsa. –
 “Ku bur tsa⁹⁷) has a vision of bDe mcog and
 is decorated with a snake,,,

dpal gyi ri skor dka' spyod tan da pa. – “Tantipā
 practises asceticism round the Śrīvaparvata,,,

rgya mts'o gliñ la dka' t'ub señ ge pa. – “Sim-
 hapā practises asceticism in an island in
 the sea,,,

pi wañ gliñ sgrog mk'a' gšegs bhi na pa. – “Vi-
 nāpada walks on air playing the flute and
 the viñā,,,

bram rigs zañs mgar rkañ mgyogs rtam pa ga. –
 “rTam pa ga, of brahmanic caste, a copper-
 worker, swift-footed,,,

rgyal rigs sbyañ mdsad sa ga pa. – “Sagapā, of
 royal lineage, who purifies himself,,,

rgyal rigs yum bcas mk'a' gšegs kar ma ka. – “Kar-
 maka of brahmanic lineage, goes through the
 air with the śakti,,,

...byin rlabs... la li lba žabs... – “Lalideva...
 blessing,,,

dgyes pa rdo rje byin rlabs gliñ bu mk'an. –
 “By the blessing of Hevajra Gliñ bu
 mk'an,,,

ša ba ri pa [rdo rje gdan du] t'ugs dam gzigis. –
 “Šabari pa (in the text: Sa ra bu) living in
 Bodhgayā sees his protecting deity,,,

u rgyan dur gnas pa rus sbañ pa. – “Kacchapā
 who is in the cemetery of Uḍḍiyāna,,,

p'ag mo byin brlabs dsa lan dha ra. – “Jalandhara
 who obtains P'ag mo's blessing,,,

gdol rigs t'ags mk'an pa yum bcas t'a ga pa. –
 “T'a ga pa the weaver of caṇḍāla caste, with
 the śakti ...,,,

Last line near the donor:

bram rigs yum ldan lo gi ta žabs. – “Lohitapā
 of a brahmanic caste, with his mate,,,

mts'an mc'og mk'a' gšegs dbarmakīrti žabs. –
 “Dharmakīrti, of great renown, goes through
 the air,,,

dkar spyañ ... gzigis lba ... – “white wolf ...
 sees,,,

gzigis lta gi bye po mk'an gru rje. – “mK'an
 grub rje had the vision,,. This refers to the
 story alluded to above.

... par du byed po sgom c'uñ ... (rgya) mts'o ...
 pai gzigis ... a lña. – “He who did ... was the
 sGom c'uñ ... rgya mts'o ... saw ...,,,

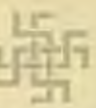
žin bkod [bris] par mk'an rdo [rje]. – “The
 painter was rDo rje ...,,,

skod rgyal sral bal po t'ug(s) rje c'en po. –
 “sKol rgyal sral, the Nepalese, the great
 compassionate,,,

TANKA n. 40.

A choir of Grub t'ob (see tankas nn. 8
 and 39) which surrounds rDo rje ac'an, the
 symbol of supreme truth and essence, assisted
 by two mK'a' agro ma. Beginning from the
 farthest lower corner on the left and moving
 upwards we see:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Kal pa pa bzañ | 15. aBu su ku pa |
| po | 16. Ku ka ri pa |
| 2. Si ka li | 17. mTs'o skyes rdo |
| 3. Pag ka pa | rje |
| 4. illegibile | 18. Sañs rgyas ye šes |
| 5. Nag po spyod | 19. Kan to pa |
| 6. Mar me mdsad | 20. no inscription |
| 7. Aryadeva | 21. no inscription |
| 8. Nag po rdo rje | 22. T'og[s] med |
| 9. Bhi rva pa | 23. illegibile |
| 10. Lo ki pa | 24. illegibile |
| 11. Indra bho ti | 25. Zla ba gra(gs) |
| 12. Sa ra ha | 26. — |
| 13. Klu sgrub | 27. illegibile |
| 14. rDo rje dril bu | 28. illegibile |
| pa | 29. Blo bzañ po |



TANKA n. 41 (Plate 75).

This tanka represents a four-armed deity; his two principal hands are in the mudrā called *būm mdsad*; the right hand brandishes the vajra and the left grasps a noose. He is trampling on a lifeless corpse, and emerges from a flaming halo; he has a terrific aspect; his head is crowned with skulls; a large snake is wound round his neck and shoulders as a scarf. This image corresponds to GRÜNWEDEL's BM, fig. n. 136, and is there called Nīlāmbara. But P'yag rdo rje gos can, Nīlāmbara Vajrapāṇi is regularly represented with two hands, according to a celebrated sādhana of Atīśa's. The aspect here reproduced is that of P'yag na rdo rje abyūṅ po ṇdul byed, Bhūtaḍāmara, also called gDul dka' abyūṅ po ṇdul mdsad pai mt'u stobs ṇp'ul byūṅ gsaṅ bai bdag; "he is of a blue colour, with one face and four hands; his two principal hands are in the mudrā called *būm mdsad*, in his other right hand he brandishes the rdo rje of lightning, to strike his enemies and the demons; his left hand threatens enemies and demons, in the threatening mudrā, and holds a noose. He is gnashing his three round and rough-hewn teeth... „

His ornaments are eight snakes, Nor rgyas etc.; round his waist a tiger-skin belt. With legs wide apart, he tramples on gŽan mi t'ub and other ṇByūṅ po (see dPal p'yag na rdo rje abyūṅ po ṇdul byed sgrub t'abs, in sGrub t'abs kun btus, vol. ga; cfr. *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 138, p. 1). (Cfr. on this god: B. BHATTACHARYA, *The cult of Bhūtaḍāmara*, Proc. and Transact. V1th All India Or. Conference, 1933, pp. 349-370).

On the god's head is seen Mi bskyod pa's figure. Round him develops the cycle of his maṇḍala: we see two ṇJig rten skyoṅ lha, on their traditional mounts, and the eight nāgas.

On the first line above, rNam par snai mdsad.

TANKA n. 42 (Plate 76).

It represents the cycle of the Arhats, accompanied by the kings of the four points

of the compass. We shall speak at greater length about this cycle when illustrating tankas nn. 126-131 and we refer our readers to that part of this work.

In both tankas are represented 18 Arhats, namely the 16 traditional Arhat and besides Dharma-tala and the Hva šaṅ, according to the Chinese iconography and manner.

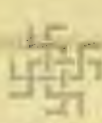
TANKA n. 43 (Plate 77).

Not identified; above Byams pa in dGa' ldan heaven, between two masters: to the left Milaraspa in the act of reciting his songs, to the right sGrol ma; underneath, in the centre, mGon po between two other terrific deities.

TANKA n. 44 (Plate 78).

The tanka represents Tārā, in her manifestation well known by the name of Śyāmā Tārā, in Tibetan sGrol ljaṅ, green Tārā. The two hands are one in the attitude of presenting a gift, and the other in the attitude of protection. In her left hand a lotus; on one side the image of Ral gcig ma, of a blue colour, with the skull-cap and the knife with handle in the form of a rdo rje; on the other side Mārīci, of a yellow colour.

The goddess is seated on a lotus, resting in its turn on a throne; throne and image are placed in the interior of a heavenly palace. Above, to signify the goddess's spiritual descent and the mystical plane to which she belongs, there is a small figure of Amitābha: this form of Tārā is his emanation. Along the outer edges of the tanka, various manifestations of the same goddess or images of kindred deities. Six figures below, and two more on a level with her shoulders, signify the Tārā's eight forms, invoked by devotees to ward off the eight deadly perils: fire, water, thieves, etc. (see tanka n. 36). The goddess, always in the same mudrā, touches with her right hand the head of a man who has run to her for aid; behind her, symbols of teh



perils: the elephant, the tiger, the demon etc. Above, on the left, Kurukullā, red, six-armed, between two attendants which are Tārā's secondary forms (see BHATTACHARYA, *loc.*, p. 58), on the right other feminine deities, eight-armed, attended by two acolytes, perhaps Yoñs su smin par byed ma; *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part II, p. 158. Below Vasudharā, six-armed.

On the left another female figure, twelve armed and three-headed, representing therefore sTon ka zla, one of Tārā's 21 forms (see *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part II, p. 158); to the right, under the small images of Tārā who protects from perils, Brahmā with his acolytes on a swan and Me lha on a ram; to the right a two-armed goddess with acolytes, and C'u lha on a *makara*.

THE GREAT TIBETAN MONASTERIES OF THE YELOLW SECT

TANKA n. 45 (Plate 79).

It undoubtedly comes before tankas nn. 55-62/64 and the following: they all illustrate the life of the same personage, Tsoñ k'a pa. But I advise the reader to go over it again, after having read what we say about the great Tashi-lunpo series and its derivations, and this for two reasons. First of all because, when we illustrate that series and the woodcuts which inspire it, we shall have to go into the details of Tsoñ k'a pa's biography, without which painting n. 45 also could not be understood; then because the precedence, in order of time, of tanka n. 45, will thus stand out more clearly. The pictures are more unpretentious, they represent only a few personages: Tsoñ k'a pa, his masters and disciples; landscape and atmosphere are almost completely lacking, whether they be mountain scenery, a monk's cell or chapels in temples. Sometimes the painter does draw the interior of temples, for instance when he recalls the foundation of the sMon lam in Lhasa, or when he outlines the reconstruction of the destroyed or damaged chapel in rDsiñ ji; but they are slight and extremely simple touches; the artist has not yet felt the influences which come from China in the XVIIIth century. There is no attempt at constructing scenes: the narrative is thus broken up in a series of figures which divide into separate groups.

The story begins in the upper left-hand corner, with the sKu abum, i. e. the sKu abum's temple in Amdo, where Tsoñ k'a pa was born; then the pictures follow, which are explained by inscriptions as follows:

tsaṅ (sic, for *gtsaṅ*) *dbus su byon*. – "He goes to gTsaṅ and to dBus,,

c'os luñ du bla dam pa ajal (for *mjal*). – "In C'os luñ he meets the holy master,,

byams c'os gsan. – "he hears the Law of Byams pa,,

gsaṅ p'ur grva skor. – "The seminary of the gSaṅ p'u,,

rtse roñ du grva skor mdsad. – "in rTse roñ he teaches in the seminary,,

rtse c'en du re ada' (for *mda'*) *pa mdo mañ po san* (for *gsan*). – "in rTse c'en he hears from Re mda' pa many sūtras,,

a dkar brag... san (for *gsan*). – "in A dkar brag he listens...,,

yar kluñs ts'ul k'rims par brsñen par rdsogs. – "in Yar kluñs he receives the full vows from Ts'ul k'rims,,

Ža lur... – "in Žva lu,,...

gdoñ du dbu mar aJam dbyaṅs san (for *gsan*). – "in gDoñ he hears the precepts on aJam dbyaṅs, under dBu ma pa,,

rdsiñ aji žig sos. – "in rDsiñ aji he repairs ruined temples,,

rtsa rir ts'o (for *ts'ogs*) *k'or*. – "the *ts'ogs* *a'k'or* (*gañacakra*) in Tsa ri,,

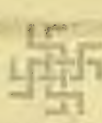
To the right:

sku ts'e rjes ma dga' ldan ru k'ruñs. – "his last incarnation in dGa' ldan,,

dga' ldan btab nas der c'os mañ du gsuñs bdud kyī gyul las rgyal nas mya nañ las aḍas ts'ul bstan. – "after having founded dGa' ldan and having much preached there, having vanquished the demons, it seemed as if he were entering nirvana,,

tsōñ k'a pa dge aḍun grub 'on sde steñ k'ar... – "Tsoñ k'a pa and dGe aḍun grub in 'On sde steñ,,

bu ston rin po c'e la rtsa rgyud gsan. – "From Buston he hears the fundamental Tantras,,



Ra reñ (for *rva greñs*) *dgon du lam rim c'en mo sogs mañ du gsuñ*. – “In the monastery of *Rva greñs* he explained the *Lam rim* and other laws...
... t'añ du re ada'. – “In ... *t'añ Re mda'*...
ra k'a brag legs bśad sogs rtson (for *brtsom*). –
 “In *Ra k'a brag* he composes the *Legs bśad*...
zañs por lam rim žus. – “in *Zañs po* he questions concerning the *Lam rim*... ”

Round the central figure are gathered the principal masters and disciples:

mK'as a grub, Šes rab señ ge, aJam dbyaṅs c'os rje, dGe adun grub, aJam dpal rgya mts'o, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, rGyal ts'ab.

TANKA n. 46 (Plates 80, J).

It represents a seated lama, wearing rich draperies and the cap typical of the Yellow sect; in his right hand he holds a lotus and in his left the wheel symbolizing rule. It is the wheel from which the *cakravartins* took their name, the kings who extended their rule over all the earth. This means that the present lama was not a simple monk, but had political authority; we must therefore think of a Dalai Lama, because Dalai Lamas, besides being invested with supreme ecclesiastical dignity, are also the temporal rulers of Tibet.

A closer approximation is possible, because above the figure we see an image of Padmasambhava, attended by his two wives Mandāravā and mTs'o rgyal. It is well known that the Yellow sect's relations with the sects of the ancient rÑiñ ma pa have not been good, although Padmasambhava is considered throughout Tibet as the greatest apostle of Buddhism in the Country of Snows. But it is one thing to worship Padmasambhava as one of the greatest teachers, and quite another to admit direct spiritual connections with a master who was the fountain-head of a school that the Yellow sect tried to overshadow and to smother by every means.

The Dalai Lama's policy has always undoubtedly been hostile to the “Ancients”, and although it gave an official stamp to

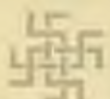
Padmasambhava's biographies, it did not neglect to touch up and manipulate them. Only one Dalai Lama was favourable to the rÑiñ ma pa and particularly devoted to Padmasambhava: the fifth Dalai Lama, a member of the princely family of aP'yoñ rgyas, bound by long tradition to the bKa' brgyud pa school. Among his works, mystical treatises abound, inspired by the rÑiñ ma pa, and biographies of lamas belonging to this sect: an able attempt to bring the Reds and the Yellows together. There is no doubt that the tanka represents precisely the fifth Dalai Lama, *Nag dbaṅ Blo bzañ rgya mts'o*, known in Tibet simply as *rgyal ba lña pa* “the fifth victorious”. Under him, a Dākinī performs a mystical dance, while all around ambassadors and envoys of different countries, Indians, Chinese, Mongols, each in his typical apparel and with well defined features, bring gifts and offerings to symbolize the fifth Dalai Lama's great fame, which had overstepped the boundaries of Tibet, spreading over distant lands.

The Chinese personages represented in the pageant probably recall the embassies sent by T'ai Tsung; the Mongol at his side, presenting gems to him, must be recognized as Gu śrī Khan, the Mongol chief who put an end to the dynasty of the rulers of gTsañ, as we have said in the introductory portion of this book. The tanka published by Hackin in *Asiatic Mythology*, p. 176 bears a great likeness to ours.

To the right, on the extreme edge, the seven gems, a symbol of kingship, and below two dGra lha.

TANKAS nn. 47, 48 (Plates 81, 82).

These two paintings interpret, in a rather different manner, the same subject. They are certainly inspired by the dogmatics of the “Yellow school”, which little by little, through theological subtleties, by painstaking and strained recourse to the scriptures, set



out to prove its founder's divinity. Tsoñ k'a pa was considered the incarnation of a Bodhisattva who, in past ages, took the vow of attaining supreme enlightenment, and for the good of suffering beings was repeatedly embodied, constantly perfecting and refining his nature and his virtues. Thus Tsoñ k'a pa's followers, as soon as his school had firmly taken root, maintained that he was a Bodhisattva, on the same spiritual plane (*t'ugs rgyud gcig pa*) as Mañjuśrī, and in fact he is actually represented with this Bodhisattva's symbols: the book of gnosis on his right and the sword which cleaves ignorance on his left.

Once this assimilation had taken place, it was natural that some legends told by the scriptures concerning Mañjuśrī should be attributed to Tsoñ k'a pa. As one of his greatest disciples, mK'as grub, wrote, followed by other biographers, the reformer, after having vowed to become a Buddha since Śākya-muni's times, when he was the monk Padmai ñaṅ ts'ul, was admitted, as the Bodhisattva aJam dpal sñiṅ po, into the Tuṣita heaven (in Tib. dGa' ldan) over which Maitreya reigns; then, by Vajrapāṇi's advice, he was asked by Byams pa (Maitreya) to carry out his task in the Country of Snows.

In both tankas the figure standing out in the greatest relief is precisely Tsoñ k'a pa's: attended by his disciples, he descends from heaven carried by a cloud which cuts through space and unfolds in ampler and ampler curves as it gets nearer the earth; this cloud starts, leaving a long wake behind it, from the celestial spheres, in whose midst Maitreya occupies the scene, seated on his throne, according to the iconographical tradition, in the Western fashion: from the god's heart a cloud emanates, carrying Tsoñ k'a pa and his two favourite disciples, to symbolize the spiritual and mystical relation between the god and his representative upon earth.

Thus dogmatics, which had laboured and toiled to increase Tsoñ ka pa's prestige and

to prove by documents his divine nature, found its expression in art.

Round this central theme, to fill up empty spaces, the painters draw figures of deities: in tanka n. 48, below, dPal ldan lha mo, the six-armed mGon po, Yi dam of the Yellow sect and gŠin rje, god of death, emerge from the storm-tossed cosmic waters with the rush of primeval forces, in the midst of flames.

In tanka n. 47, above, suspended in the air as if to witness the saint's epiphany, sGrol ma and Šā kya t'ub pa; then, on one side, lower down, rDo rje ajigs byed, Mañjuśrī's (and implicitly Tsoñ k'a pa's) terrific manifestation, and still lower down the figure of the lama who had the tanka painted, kneeling in front of a table loaded with offerings. Last of all comes gŠin rje, the god of death, standing upright on his mount, a buffalo.

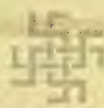
The upper scene of tanka n. 48 shows an unusual landscape, recalling certain peaceful countrysides of Moghul painting, rather than mountain scenery in the Chinese manner, with its clear-cut, geometrical cliffs; it does not represent only events unfolding in the sky, but is like a fanciful marriage of earth and heaven: the persons and the scenes to Maitreya's right and left take us back to a rustic serenity without the display of marvellous trees and palaces, of enchanted lakes, which crowd the scene of other heavens in a sort of baroque exuberance.

TANKA n. 49 (Plate K).

This tanka represents, with a delicate design and a skillfull harmony of colours, the same subject as tankas nn. 47, 48.

In the upper part the heaven from which Tsoñ k'a pa descends between his two disciples; around, a halo of twelve deities, the eight Buddhas of medicine and the four lokapālas.

Below, the *sruṅ k'or* "the protectors,, with gŠin rje, mGon po p'yag drug, Beg tse and a bTsan.



TANKA n. 50 (Plates 83, 84).

It represents, in a newer and more complex form, the *dGe lugs ts'ogs žin*, the *dGe lugs pa*'s assembly or choir. The revelation, handed down by degrees by *rDo rje ac'añ* (he stands in the centre, at the top of the painting) lives again in the lama represented in the centre of the tanka; this lama wears the usual draperies and carries the bowl for alms; his right hand is in the attitude of the explanation of the Law, but framed in an almond, in the middle of his breast, we see the image of that same *rDo rje ac'añ* who, from the extreme apex of the tanka, may be said to represent the ideal theme inspiring the whole scene. Truth is one, it is the inner light of each of us, insofar as we partake of the Buddha's essence, even if we are not aware of it; when we find it again, like a gem hidden in its matrix, it floods us with purest light, mirrored again and again in endless reflections.

In the saint's person that truth shines forth in all its splendour, and all round unfolds the rose of the chosen ones: they have shared the truth with him on equal terms, they have prepared its new revelation. These spiritual choirs, upon which eternal light is reflected, are represented in various manners, the most frequent representation being the one we have often found in these paintings; the saints form a rose converging towards the person placed in the centre of the tanka; whether a god or a master, this figure is a symbol of the light, and, like a sun, diffuses and reflects its rays. Elsewhere, for instance, in the specimen published opposite the front page of GNB, prevails the representation of Sumeru, the cosmic mountain rising towards the highest sphere of spiritual ascent.

In the present tanka the symbolology is different and uses the tree-motif, which we have already mentioned.⁹⁸⁾ The personage to whom the tanka is dedicated is of course *Tsoñ k'a pa Blo bzañ grags pa*, in the form known as *Blo bzañ rdo rje ac'añ*, under

which the supreme truth accessible to the initiate was revealed through the symbol of *rDo rje ac'añ*; in fact in liturgy the mantra used to invoke the master is: *om guru vajradharasumati-kīrti siddhi hūm hūm* (OBERMILLER, *Journal of Greater India Society*, July, 1935, p. 128).

Below, on the right, we see the seven gems symbolizing kingship; round the trunk of the tree two adoring goddesses, the keepers of the four points of the compass; *Brahmā* and *Indra* are immediately above *Śākyamuni* who is surrounded by the sixteen Arhats; the Buddhas placed round the central image are represented, some meditating in ascetic attire, others wearing the *sambhogakāya*'s regal raiment; to the left of the spectator, terrific deities.

In the specimen here reproduced there is no inscription, but it may be read on the corresponding Tashilunpo woodcut; indeed this tanka too is drawn from a model engraved in Tashilunpo and much imitated throughout Tibet. According to the inscriptions, these terrific deities symbolize, beginning from the top, the *brgyud*, the spiritual traditions of the initiatic schools expressed by the various tantra. These traditions are divided, as we have said, into four groups, *Cāryā*, *Kriyā*, *Yoga* and *Anuttara*; each group describes experiences higher than those symbolized in the preceding one. This means that all of these four tantric currents converge in the master who is here represented, and that those very Buddhas to whom the revelations are attributed, or the deities in whose experiences they meet, have blessed him with their inspirations.

Above, over *Blo bzañ rdo rje ac'añ*'s head and under *rDo rje ac'añ*'s image, is the figure of *rDo rje ac'añ* with his *śakti*; all around Indian and Tibetan masters. The small inscriptions of the Tashilunpo woodcut are difficult to read. To the left, first and second line, nothing is visible; 3rd line: *Blo bzañ don grub*; 3rd line, from right to left: *Blo bzañ ajam dbyaṅs*; 7th line: *rDo rje rgyal mts'an*.

To the right above, from left to right; 1st line:; 2nd line: *mK'as grub rje*, *C'os*



rdo rje; 2nd line from left to right: 1) Blo bzañ ye šes, 2) Blo bzañ, 3) Ye šes rdo rje, 4) Sañs rgyas ye šes; 3rd line: Nag dbañ byams pa, 2) Blo bzañ bzod pa.

The construction of this tanka is very interesting. To begin with, we had better leave aside the images on the right and left upper corners; they represent some incarnations of the Pañ c'en lama of Tashilunpo, which we shall meet with later and other supreme masters of Buddhist esoterism. They have an episodic value and have been placed there to fill up empty space, because the convent where the tanka was drawn is the see where those masters succeeded one another. But the whole painting tends towards the tree and the choirs which develop around it. The Hindu gods and the keepers of the four points of space are outside the heaven which forms the centre of the painting, its true theme; they are outside spiritual life, on the samsaric plane, there is no room for them in the tree of life. The latter opens with the image of the Buddha Śākyamuni among the Arhats, because this revelation of truth, in a form accessible to human beings and proportioned to their limitations, has opened up and pointed out to us the way leading from the samsaric to the nirvanic plane. Out of the central rosette, i. e. above, is rDo rje ač'añ, Vajradhara, represented in a double aspect, with his *śakti* as the Tantras of the superior class imagine him, and alone, on the apex of the tanka, as a symbol of the supreme plane, dharmakāya. The rosette represents paradise proper, the spiritual plane where Tsoñ k'a pa teaches the most secret truths of the adamantine Vehicle to the chosen few ascending to those spheres. They are, as we have seen, purely ideal spheres, which cannot be localized in any part of the universe, outside time and space, in the same manner as the preacher himself is no longer Tsoñ k'a pa but the Dharmakāya in person, who according to the spiritual maturity of the initiate as if evoked by them, reveals the eternal

truth, namely his own self, the identity of Essence and of Word. Tsoñ k'a pa carries the vase for alms and stands in *dharmavyākhyānamudrā*, because he shall appear thus one day, on becoming the Buddha Señ gei ña ro "of a green colour, with his right hand in the posture of the explanation of the Law and on his left hand the *piṇḍapātra* full of ambrosia", (*Vai dūr ya ser po*, p. 7, reproducing the theories which dGe lugs pa theology, beginning with aJam dpal rgya mts'o, had elaborated in order to place Tsoñ k'a pa on the same level as the most celebrated figures of Mahāyāna).

Below an inscription may be read, whose spelling is very bad:

Na mo gu ru blo bzañ rdo rje p'yañ gyis rnal abyor rim gañ gyis bris ku skon c'ogs brgyal mts'an la bžeñ pai dge ba agro kun ma lus pai blo bzañ rdo rje p'yañ gi sa t'ob šog.

The correct version, as in the Tashilunpo woodcut, is:

blo bzañ rdo rje ač'añ gi rnal abyor rim gañ gi bris sku dkon mc'og rgyal mts'an lugs bžeñs pai dge bas agro ba ma lus pa blo bzañ rdo rje ač'añ gi sa t'ob par šog.

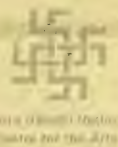
"Honour to the master.

(Here is) the yogic succession of Blo bzañ rdo rje ač'añ whose painting is according to the system of dKon mc'og rgyal mts'an; through the merit accruing from this consecration, may all creatures obtain Blo bzañ rdo rje ač'añ's spiritual plane... This is an important inscription, because it contains the name of the painter who drew it for the first time, i. e. he drew the composition that was engraved in the Tashilunpo monastery and became a model for all the succeeding copies which were derived from it.

I cannot say who this dKon c'og rgyal mts'an may have been.

TANKA n. 51 (Plate 85).

It is another interpretation of the *dGe ts'ogs žiñ*, the dGe lugs pa's spiritual congregation: in the centre Śākyamuni, on the axis,



above, rDo rje ac'an, below Tson k'a pa. All around unfolds the wheel of the protecting gods, in the extreme edges. They are represented in their terrific aspect.

Beginning from the lower left-hand corner – Žaṅ loṅ (i. e. Žaṅ blon) rdo rje sdud (for: bdud) nam aḍul; on the lower edge, to the right P'un ts'ogs rgyal mts'an, who is the donor in front of an altar with gifts; next the seven gems. In the centre, going upwards towards the Buddha's image, one above and over the other, Yul mk'or (for: ak'or) bsrūn, rDo rje ajigs byed, Rin c'en rtsa bai bla ma, Zla med rje (Tson k'a pa), between Paṅ c'en Blo bzaṅ ye šes and rGyal dbaṅ skal rgya mts'o (the seventh Dalai Lama). On the left the following names can be read: Saṅs rgyas ye šes, Nam mk'a' seṅ ge, Ži ba mts'o (for: ats'o), Seṅ ge bzaṅ po, a second Seṅ ge bzaṅ po, rJe dge legs rgya mts'o, Nor bu bzaṅ po, C'os dpal bzaṅ, Ye šes rgya mts'o, Sri ... t'ai mts'an.

On the right: bSod rnams (for: nams) rgya mts'o, sPyil bu pa, Saṅs rgyas dbaṅ, Dam c'os rgyal mts'an, dGe aḍun rgya mts'o, Byams pa c'os ldan, rGyal dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o.⁹⁹

Then in the upper part, beginning from the Buddha's seat on the left and proceeding upwards, the following names or fragments of names can be read: dGe... t'og(s) med? aDul bai sde, Šes rab seṅ ge, ... rgon, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, Jo bo c'en po, gSer gliṅ pa, Sa skya rje.

To the right, always from below upwards: Ts'ul krims aḅar, dGe aḍun ... mK'as grub, mTs'o rna ba, sKar ma rin c'en, aGro mgon, Dri med luṅ pa.

Above, in the two corners, the Arhats, the seven Buddhas, some siddhas, Tilopā, Nāropā.

Among the protecting deities we see, to the left: Mi gyo ba, Ma gcig slab sgrol ma, dPal gsaṅ ba aḍus, Dus kyi ak'or lo, gSaṅ bdag p'yag dor, C'os rgyal gsaṅ ... C'os rgyal.

To the right: P'ag mo, bDe mc'og, rNam t'os bu, sGra (for: dGra) nag, Gur mgon p'yag bži pa, Žal bži pa, Beg rtse.

TANKA n. 52 (Plate 86).

This tanka contains and resumes a celebrated cycle, represented in some sNar t'an woodcuts and in paintings derived from them, as we shall see in the illustration of tankas n. 53 and n. 54. The reader can see what I have there said concerning them; here it is sufficient to recall that the subject of this painting is the Tashilama's incarnations, as may be desumed from the glosses accompanying nearly all the figures of the masters here represented.

On the left, beginning from the top and going downwards:

1. rab abyor, Subhūti.
2. mgos lo (= aGos lo) the lotsāva of aGos.
3. dbyoṅ ton? (gYun ston).
4. so nam ts'ogs blaṅ (bSod nams p'yogs glaṅ).

On the right:

1. rigs ldan, (Kulika Mañjuśrīkīrti).
2. no name, but almost certainly Sa skya Paṇḍita.
3. Mk'as bru (mK'as grub).
4. rGyal ba don grub.

In the centre, above, nameless figures; below, on the left, Legs ldan (Bhavaviveka), on the right Abhaikara (Abhayākara).

It is, then, clear that as the images surrounding the central figure end with rGyal ba don grub, the personage can be no other than Blo bzaṅ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an; hence the painting was done after his death, perhaps at the times of Blo bzaṅ ye šes dpal bzaṅ po. This would date the tanka between the end of the XVIIth and the beginning of the XVIIIth century. Below, dPal ldan lha mo, between Kubera and mGon po.

TANKAS nn. 53, 54 (Plates L, 87).

Both are by the same hand and can be classed among the most sumptuous specimens of Tibetan art, renewed by its contact with

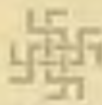




FIG. 90



the style of the Chinese XVIIIth century. They must be assigned to the schools of painting developed after K'ang-hsi had definitely included Tibet in his dominions. The style so clearly Chinese might suggest K'ams schools and painters who had lived under the direct influence of Chinese artists; however, after Chinese hegemony had firmly taken roots in Tibet, the Chinese manner ruled supreme and gave fresh vigour to drooping Tibetan tradition, not only in K'ams, but also in the great monasteries of the Yellow sect. This happened particularly in Tashilunpo or in Lhasa, where political needs made exchanges between Chinese and Tibetan culture more frequent and fruitful. And in fact, on a series of tankas cut in wooden blocks at sNar t'añ, has been found the original which inspired the paintings we are studying and the Bacot collection, preserved in the Musée Guimet and reproduced in *Asiatic Mythology*, figg. 39-40 and table on p. 174 (cfr. R. LINOSSIER, *Les peintures tibétaines de la collection Loo*, Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de R. Linossier, pp. 76-77).

On the schemes of the sNar t'añ woodcuts the painters of both collections have, wisely and faithfully, based the structure of their works. They confined themselves to blending and balancing colours with indisputable mastery: it is difficult to imagine a greater liveliness and freshness of shades.

The comparison with the woodblocks of sNar t'añ, then, enables us not only to identify the place where these tankas were painted and their inspiration, but also to understand their meaning.

They belong to one and the same cycle, in which are represented the Tashilunpo lamas' successive incarnations; only those of Tashilunpo, not those of Lhasa, as stated in *Asiatic Mythology*, p. 171. These incarnations refer to the ancient births of those lamas, both in India and in Tibet: beginning from Subhūti, the disciple to whom the Prajñā-pāramitā was revealed, up to the Tashilamas. The pictorial cycle reproduced in figg. 1-13 contains two more personages, besides those alluded to in *Asiatic Mythology*. The tanka published by STAËL HOLSTEIN (*Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping*, 1932) is a reproduction in synthesis of the same cycle.

As almost always is the case, this artistic representation is derived from a literary source: I am not acquainted with the *sKu p'reñ rim pa ltar byon pa* mentioned by WADDELL, p. 236, but I know the biographies of some of these incarnations, contained in the works of rJe btsun Blo bzai c'os kyi rgyal mts'an, pañ c'en of Tashilunpo (complete works, vol. Ka). They are metrical avadāna and are concerned only with:

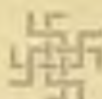
1. Rab abyor (Subhūti), 2. Rigs ldan grags pa (Kulika), 3. Abhayākara, 4. Śa skya paṇḍita, 5. gYun ston.

A literary source, probably the one quoted by Waddell, has served as a base for an article by S. Ch. Das, where the main events in each of these incarnations are summarized.¹⁰⁰⁾

But between the literary cycle thus summed up by Das and the pictorial cycle, there is a certain difference, the Tashilunpo series agreeing with the list of Kloñ rdol bla ma.

INDIAN INCARNATIONS

S. Ch. Das	Tashilunpo series
1. Subhūti	Rab abyor c'e
2. Mañjuśrī-kīrti	aJam dpal grags
3. Legs ldan Jad	Legs ldan
4. Abhayakaragupta	Abhayakarai žabs



S. Ch. Das	Tashilunpo series
5. Khug-pa-lhas-tsi	rTa nag agos lo
6. Saskya Paṇḍita Kungaḥ gyal-tshan	Sa skya pa
7. Yun-ton-rdo rje	gYun ston rdo rje
8. Kha-dub-Geleg-pal-ssan	mK'as grub dGe legs
9. Sonam-chho kyi Laṇpo	bSod nams p'yogs glan
10. Gyal-wa-Ton-Dub	Grub paṇ dbaṇ p'yug
11. Gedundub	Blo bzaṇ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an
12. Pan-chhen Lo-ssan Chhokyi rgyal-tshan	Blo bzaṇ ye šes
13. Lo-ssan Ye-še-pal-ssan-po	Blo bzaṇ dpal ldan ye šes (two types)
14. Panchhen Lo-ssan Paldan-ye-še	bsTan pai ṇi ma p'yogs las rnam rgyal

In the Tashilunpo blocks each tanka is explained by a metrical invocation:

Indian incarnations:

1. Svasti

*bla ma t'ub pai dbaṇ poi spyān śā ru
rab tu byuṇ nas dgra bcom mñon sum mdsad
rgyal c'en bži yis bka' bsgrub rdsu ap' rul gyis
rgya mts'oi klu rnams aduḥ mdsad rab abyor c'e*

"Having taken vows with the Lord of Ascetics who had been his master, he attained the condition of Arhat. He, Rab abyor c'e carried out the command of the four great kings of the points of the compass, and through his miracles converted the nāgas of the ocean,, (fig. 90).

2. *c'os kyi rgyal po lha yi dbaṇ yi ldan gyis
dpal ldan dus kyi ak'or loi dkyil ak'or du
dbaṇ skur rdo rje šugs kyis bka' sgrub pai
rigs ldan kun gyi t'og ma aJam dpal grags*

"aJam dpal grags lofty among all the Kulikas, carried out the command of the adamantine forces, and was initiated into the maṇḍala of the Kālacakra by Lhai dbaṇ ldan, the king who ruled according to the Law,, (fig. 91).

3. *slob dpon klu grub žabs la legs gtud nas
lho p'yogs yul du mu stegs ts'ar bcad de
gsaṇ bdag mñon sum žal gzig bya rog mts'an
bran ak'ol slob dpon c'en po legs ldan žabs*

"The great master Legs ldan žabs bound to his allegiance the god who is called Bya rog,

had a vision of gSaṇ bdag and in Southern India put an end to heretics and met the master Klu grub žabs,, (fig. 92).

4. rin c'en abyūṇ gnas...

*...akyil... mñon sum gzig
gtum c'en ma bā ka las dran mdsad pai
rdo rje gdan pa abhya ka rai žabs*

"Abhayākara of rDor rje gdan, made aware by Mahākāla, had a vision of the maṇḍala ... owing to Rin c'en abyūṇ gnas,, (fig. 93).

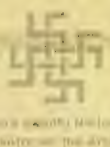
Tibetan incarnations:

5. *a tī śa yi gtsaṇ gi slob mai gtso
gsaṇ ba kun adus (bsgrub?) bšad gtan la p'ab
c'os kyi bstan sruṇs gri gug mgon po bsten
bstan pa rgyas mdsad rta nag agos loi žabs*

"The translator of the aGos clan of rTa nag diffused the teaching, relying on the protector of the Law Gri gug mgon po: he determined the manner of realizing and explaining the gSaṇs ba kun adus, being the first of Atiśa's disciples in gTsaṇ,, (fig. 94).

6. *rje btsun c'en po grags pa rgyal mts'an dan
yi dam brtan pai ak'or loi t'ugs rjes las
mu t'egs ts'ar bcad drag po gdoṇ bži las
p'rin las grogs mdsad sa skya paṇ ḍi ta*

"Sa skya paṇḍita accompanied by his virtues of action, which were derived to him from Drag po gdoṇ bži (the four-faced) put an end to



the heretics with the help of his protecting deity brTan pai ak'or lo and of the (master), the venerable Grags pa rgyal mts'an,, (fig. 95).

7. zur dbaṅ [byams pa] seṅ gei ṣabs btud ciṅ
ajam dpal gšin rje gśed kyi tiṅ ṁdsin kyi
mgon po legs ldan ak'or bcas bran du ak'ol
dregs pa zil gnon gyun ston rdo rje dpal

“gYun ston rdo rje dpal overthrew the Dregs and meditating upon aJam dpal gšin rje gśed, bound to his allegiance mGon po legs ldan with his retinue and bowed at the feet of Byams pa seṅ ge Zur dbaṅ po,, (fig. 96).

8. rje btsun c'os kyi rgyal po tson k'a pas
rdo rje ajigs byed dbaṅ dan gdams [pa] gnaṅ
p'yag drug mgon po bñen sgrub bdun la
lhan žugs bsal mdsad mk'as grub dge dpal

“The learned and ascetic dGe legs dpal restored the sevenfold worship of mGon po the six-armed, he who had received baptism and instruction on rDo rje ajigs byed from rDo rje btsun Tson k'a pa, king of the Law,, (fig. 97).

9. mk'a' agros luṅ bstan bsod nams rin c'en las
ñur smrig rtags bžas (for bžes) ajam pai rdo rje
bsgrubs
dpal ldan lha mos mñon sum žal gzigs nas
bka' bsrūn mdsad pai bsod nams p'yogs glaṅ ṣabs

“bSod nams p'yogs glaṅ protected the teaching: after having had an effective vision of dPal ldan lha mo, he had the realization of aJam pai rdo rje, receiving from bSod nams rin c'en the monk's raiment; there was a prophecy of the mK'a' agro ma concerning him,, (fig. 98).

10. ...kyi rdo rje ṣabs rdul legs bsten nas
k'or lo c'en poi dbaṅ dan gdams (sgrub?)
...kyi gšin rje byin brlabs
mñon sum bran ak'ol grub pai dbaṅ p'yug c'e

“The Great lord of mystic realizations (dGe ṁdun grub) who truly bound to his allegiance... the blessing of gšin rje and realized aK'or lo c'en po's baptism and instructions, leaning on the dust of... rdo rje's feet,, (fig. 99).

11. mk'as grub c'en po saṅs rgyas ye šes ṣabs
legs bsten be ru ka yis byin brlas žiṅ
rnam t'os sras kyi ap'rin las ts'ul bžin du
bsgrub mdsad blo bzaṅ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an ṣabs

“Blo bzaṅ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an accomplished his realization according to the agency of rNam t'os sras, received Heruka's graces and leant on the great scholar and ascetic Saṅs rgyas ye šes ṣabs,, (fig. 100).

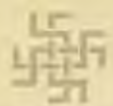
12. mk'an c'en rdo rje ṁdsin pai bka' drin las
rdo rje ajigs byed dbaṅ dan gdams pa t'ob
adod k'ams dbaṅ mo c'os kyi bsrūn mar bsten
blo bzaṅ ye šes ṁdul byai bsod nams žiṅ//
de ltar skyes rabs ñi ma graṅs ldan pai
snaṅ brñan par du slob ak'or p'yi ts'ogs kyi
dad pas bsgrub pai dge ts'ogs gaṅgai rgyun
kun kyaṅ rjes su ṁdsin pai rgyur gyur cig// maṅ ga lam

“Blo bzaṅ ye šes by the favour of the great abbot rDo rje ṁdsin obtained rDo rje ajigs byed's baptism and instructions. He leant on the help of aDod k'ams dbaṅ mo, keeper of the teaching, and was a field of merit for persons ripe for conversion. His lay disciples have caused to be printed the reflections of those suns which are the incarnations (of the lamas of Tashilunpo): may the current of the river of the merits realized by their faith be the cause that all may be favoured,, (figg. 101-102).

13. pad dkar ac'an dbaṅs rigs kyi cod pan dan
rdo rje ajigs byed lbag pai lhar bsten ciṅ
adod k'ams dbaṅ mos rnam bžii las sgrub pai
rje btsun blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye šes ṣabs maṅ ga lam

“The venerable Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye šes ṣabs realized the four kinds of magical works by virtue of aDod k'ams dbaṅ mo; he leant on the help of his protecting deity rDo rje ajigs byed and was a diadem of the initiated in the baptism of those holding the white lotus,, (figg. 103-104).

14. blo bzaṅ ajam dpal rgya mts'o rigs bdag can
dpal ldan rdo rje ajigs byed mñon sum gzigs
lha pe ka ts'aṅs pa p'yin dkar bran du ak'ol
bstan pai ñi ma p'yogs las rnam rgyal ṣabs// maṅ
ga lam



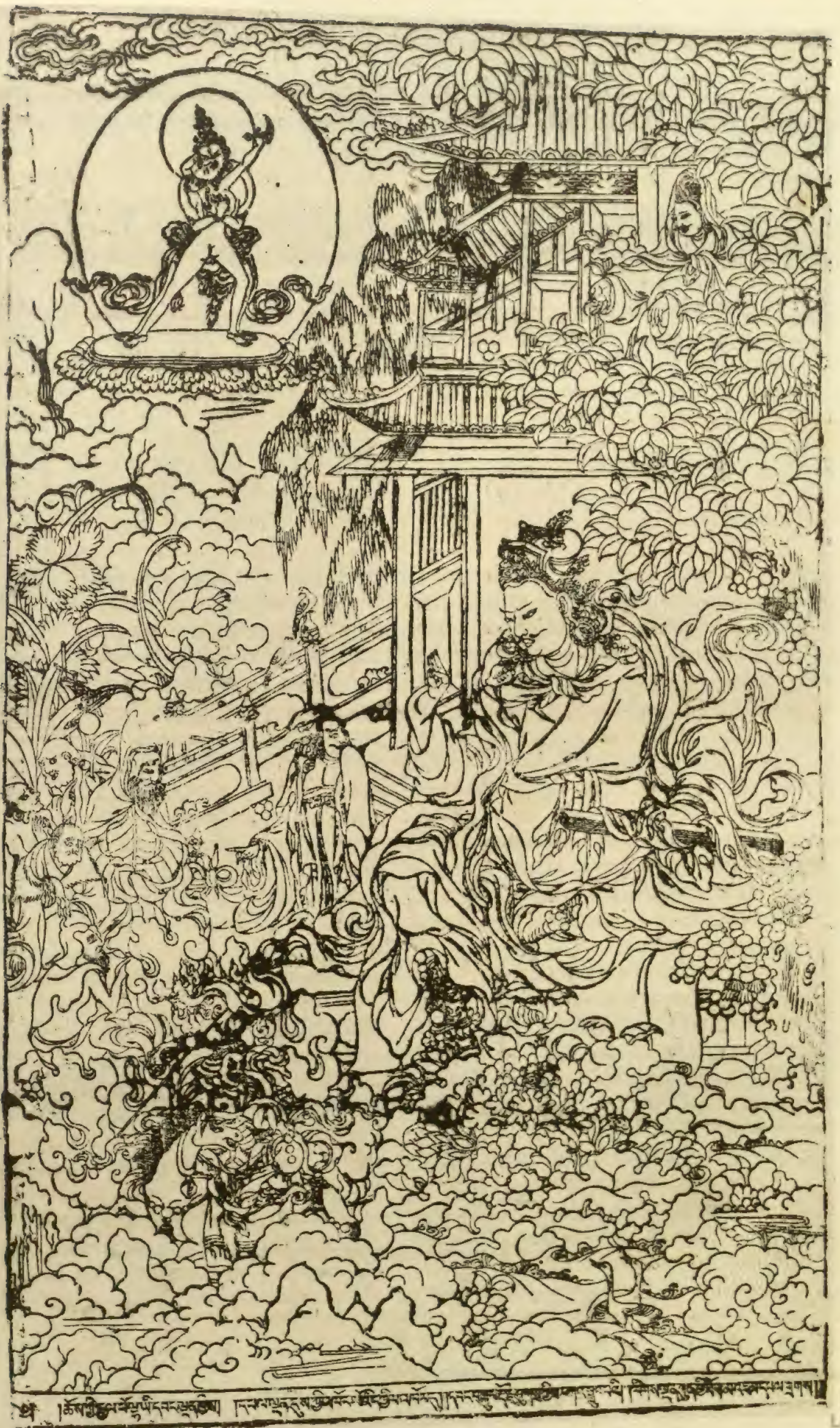
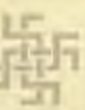


FIG. 91



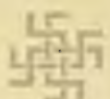
“bsTan pai ñi ma p’yogs las rnam rgyal who had the realization of rDo rje ajigs byed and belonged to the lineage of Blo bzañ ajam dpal rgya mts’o, made obedient to his will lha Pe ka[r], Ts’añs pa and P’yin dkar., (fig. 105).

This list lends itself to certain remarks which may allow us to establish with certainty the date when the woodcuts were engraved. The inscriptions on the bottom of each tanka follow one another, as in a *gsol adebs* or invocation; they begin with the formula of good omen *svasti* and they close, according to established rules, with the other sanskrit word *maṅgalam*, which must be written or uttered at the end of every invocation; now the first *maṅgalam* is to be found at the end of the inscription which accompanies woodcut n. 12, dedicated to Blo bzañ ye šes. This woodcut is known in two different editions, in one of which Blo bzañ ye šes is represented in the apparel proper to the Tashilama, and in the other in a master’s apparel. The inscription, identical in both woodcuts, clearly alludes to the engraving of the series; it is therefore certain that the woodcuts 1-12 included cannot be earlier than the year 1737, in which Blo bzañ ye šes died; the series was then continued also for his successors; thus were engraved also the woodcuts representing Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye šes, who died in 1780, and rJe btsun bstan pai ñi ma, who died in 1854. These three dates 1737, 1780 and 1854 are the *post quem* limit for the engraving of the various woodcuts; of course in this case the inscription closes with the word *maṅgalam*, because the end of the series is considered shifted towards the new ending. Tankas n. 53 and n. 54 as we see when we compare them with the Tashilunpo blocks, represent respectively Abhayākaragupta and Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mts’an.

The scheme of the tankas is the same as that of the Tashilunpo drawings although the painter has broken away from it in some slight detail: in these case he has not copied, rather he has taken his inspiration from his

models with a certain freedom. In Abhayākaragupta’s tanka some personages are missing, and in their place we only find one monk. In the drawing Abhayākaragupta has a large serpent wound round his waist, in front of him a person is kneeling in the act of demanding grace: underneath, prisoners being taken out of their dungeons and scenes of executions; thus is represented the miracle performed by Abhayākaragupta to induce a Caṇḍāla king to renounce the human sacrifices he had undertaken, by causing a serpent to appear, who overcame him and vanquished him. We see then that the painter, although he executed his pictures on the Tashilunpo models, was not limited by their schemes. Certainly he was confronted by a subject bound to a fixed tradition: the personage had to be represented in a particular manner, with features prescribed by long usage and with such symbols and postures as might distinguish him, beyond all doubt, from the other Indian or Tibetan masters which appear in the lamaist pantheon; around him it was necessary to arrange those figures which the inscriptions, drawing their inspiration from a written tradition, specify as his acolytes and comrades. But the painter arranged these figures as he wished, and then pleased himself when he came to the landscape, done in a delicate scale of colours, deftly modulated and brightened by effects of depth and relief. On the lower corner we see Mahākāla emerging from the night of chaos, surrounded by a halo of fire which, as if shaken by a furious wind, breaks up into a thousand tongues of flame. Above a ḍākinī and an ascetic, whose dark skin shows him to be an Indian: he is certainly Rin c’en abyūñ gnas, (Ratnākara) Abhayākara’s master, one of the greatest and most active figures of late Buddhism.

Tanka n. 54 on the contrary representing the Sa skya paṇḍita, follows very closely the Tashilunpo model, which it faithfully reproduces: the lama is in the act of performing



an exorcism; evidently the figure of a dark-skinned Indian yogin, in the lower right-hand corner, alludes to the conversion of the Shivaite ascetic Harinanda, which the Sa skya paṇḍita accomplished in sKyid sroñ near the Nepalese frontier.¹⁰¹) Above, a lama's figure perhaps represents Grags pa rgyal mts'an, and to the left a Jam dbyaṅs ak'or lo brtan pa, Sthiracakra (Mañjuśrī), whose incarnation the Sa skya pa are generally believed to be. Below Drag po, with four faces and four hands, dancing his terrific dance.

TANKAS nn. 55 (Giuganino collection)
56-60 (Plates 88-94, M).

These tankas represent Tsoñ ka pa's life, thus they too are pictorial biographies, the representation of a *rnam t'ar* according to the scheme of certain traditional invocations. Ts'oi ka pa's life, apart from the biographies written by his disciples, already mentioned elsewhere, is known to us even through some summaries like: *rJe btsun tsoñ k'a pai rnam t'ar c'en moi zur adebs rnam t'ar legs bśad kun adus*, which preceds his biography in the edition of his complete works (vol. Ka) and through many litanies (*gsol adebs*).

Our tankas, like those dedicated to Sākyaśrī or Padmasambhava, described above, are therefore illustrated *gsol adebs*, designed both to commemorate the master's life and to represent in a visive form the invocations addressed to him. Hence they are divided into small pictures which unfold like a crown round the central figure, beginning as a rule from below, on the left; every scene is accompanied by an inscription alluding to the episode represented.

Before examining each tanka in detail and identifying the scenes represented, it is necessary to point out that they are bound one to the other and form a series. As we have seen in similar cases, these pictorial biographies are inspired by some well known model. Is it possible to identify the model of the present series or to establish where it comes from? For

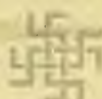
tankas nn. 63-64 our certainty is absolute: in this case the painter has done nothing but copy his model and colour the drawing with great skill and a most delicate touch. I allude to the Tashilunpo woodcuts, consisting of a series of 15 tanka, one in the centre and seven on each side (figg. 106-120); the tankas contain 203 episodes altogether.

We are thus able to ascertain where the model, from which many painters have drawn their inspiration, came from, and also to determine its age. In fact we know the donor of the Tashilunpo series; as in the case of the Avadānakalpalatā or of the 16 Arhats' cycle, Tsoñ k'a pa's legend also was engraved to order for the same patron, C'os rgyal bSod nams stobs rgyas who, as we saw, died in 1747.

As Tsoñ k'a pa's cycle is one of the subjects from which Tibetan painters very often drew their inspiration as the Yellow school prospered and spread, it will be useful to glance at the Tashilunpo woodcuts and to make a list of the scenes they represent. Thus we shall have a summary of the main moments of the master's life, according to the Yellow school's orthodox tradition. This tradition was codified in a work today held in great consideration: *K'yab bdag rje btsun bla ma dam pa t'ub dbaṅ rdo rje ac'an dan no bo dbyer ma mc'is pa ajam mgon c'os kyi rgyal po tsoñ k'a pa c'en poi rnam par t'ar pa t'ub bstan mdses pai rgyan gcig no mts'ar nor bui ap'reñ ba*, of which we have already spoken.

The correspondence between the inscriptions of the Tashilunpo series and the words of this book, when the same episodes are described, is nearly always literal, but this does not mean that the book is the source followed by the artist who drew the tankas, because, as we have said in the chapter on literature, Tibetan writers have generally copied one another; thus from their correspondence we cannot conclude that the author of the Tashilunpo woodcuts had the biography in mind.

This is proved by a passage of the above mentioned biography, alluding precisely to the



Tashilunpo series, which must therefore be earlier than the book; indeed this passage is even more interesting because it contains the name of the artist who drew the woodcuts. In this passage of the biography, Tson k'a pa's meeting with the mk'an c'en C'os skyabs is discussed, and as the sources disagreed on the circumstances of this visit, the author of the biography clears up the difficulty as follows:

"Concerning the meeting with the mK'an c'en C'os skyabs bzan po, the great biography (by mK'as grub rje) is not explicit, but other parallel biographies speak clearly about it. According to the chronological order followed in the pictorial biography painted on canvas by aJam dbyaṅs bžad pa, Tson k'a pa, after he had met the great ascetic, met him once more and then went to Lo ro. After having drawn the scene in which (the master) sees the bsTan rim, by the scholar P'rin las and explains this work, in the first tanka on the left the painter shows how the master, in the mK'an c'en C'os skyabs' school, listened to explanations of the scriptures of the Vinaya, of the Abhidharma, of the Mādhyamika of the Lam rin, of Śa ra pa's instructions on the Bodhicaryāvatāra, on the Blo sbyon's treatises, etc., on other sūtras and Tantric works., (*op. cit.*, p. 132 b).

From this quotation we learn that the Tashilunpo woodcuts are the same alluded to in the biography and that their author was aJam dbyaṅs bžad pa. It is true that there is a small difference between the inscriptions on the tankas and the words explaining the same episode in the original to which the biography refers; but the differences do not go beyond that approximation which is one of the main characteristics of Tibetan writers.

After these premises, having established the age and the author of the Tashilunpo woodcuts, it is advisable, as I said before, to make a list of the episodes and the scenes to which our paintings can be referred and whose relations with this series it will be easy to ascertain.

Central tanka. In the centre the master, on the left and on the right his principal disciples: on the left:

aJam dkar po	Byaṅ sems.
rGyal ts'ab rje	aJam dbyaṅs rje
rje dGe ḍun grub	aDul ḍsin pa;

on the right:

rTogs ldan aJam	Šes rab seṅ ge
dpal rgya mts'o	dPal skyon
mK'as grub rje	Byaṅ sems rdo rje
Šes rab grags	Ts'a lo.

In the four corners, four scenes concerned with Tson k'a pa's preceding lives.

1. *ñon ajig rten k'ams ḍdir ṇaṅ bai (?) 'od du gyur dus rgyal ba dbaṅ poi tog gis rje ḍi luṅ bstan pa.*
2. *ñon bram ze padmai ṇaṅ ts'ul du gyur dus rdo rje gdan du t'ub pa la šel p'reṅ p'ul te.*
3. *mts'o ma ḍdros pai agram du ston pas c'os gsuṅs dus klus ts'ogs duṅ p'ul ba.*

Right:

4. *ston pa gaṅs te ser bžugs dus dbaṅ p'yug lba klu rnams la c'os gsuṅs pa.*

Left:

5. *bya rgod p'uṅ po ston pas rje luṅ bstan ciṅ ts'ogs duṅ (?) skur ba.*
- 5 a. *ston pas ts'ogs duṅ skur ba gaṅs can c'u mts'ams su sbas pa.*

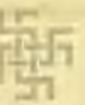
1st tanka: Right (Biogr. from p. 54 up to p. 72):

6. *mdo smad btson k'ar yab klu ḍbum dgei mnal lam du aJam dpal rgya ban glegs bam can daṅ lcaṅ lo can nas p'yag na rdo rjes rdo rje ḍbar ba sku la t'im rmis yum šin mo a c'os la me t'og t'aṅ du šel gyi k'yau daṅ nub kyī mk'a' ḍgros k'rus byas pa rmis.*
7. *jo bo rin po c'e gdan draṅs pa daṅ ṇi zla skar gsum šar pa rmis.*
8. *c'os rje don rin c'en mnal lam du ajigs byed žal gzigs šin rje ḍi luṅ bstan pa.*
9. *yum gyi mnal lam du skye bo rnams kyī(s) rol (mo) mc'od rdsas k'yer nas spyān ras gzigs bsu žes nam mk'a' gser sku ri bo tsam pa ḍk'or bcas bžugs pa lus la t'im pa rmis pa.*





FIG. 92



10. yum gyi t'ugs k'ai šel sgo bye žiñ mk'a' agros k'rus
gsol ba rmis rje t'o reñs ltams par lte k'rab las
tsan dan sdon po ak'ruñs pa.
11. c'os rje don rin ajam dbyañs ril bu gnañ ba.
12. dguñ lo gsum par rol pai rdo rjes druñ du dge bsñen
sdom pa bžes ciñ luñ bstan pa.
13. c'os rje don rin pai druñ du dge ts'ul gyi sdom pa
bžes pa.
14. c'os rje don rin pai druñ du dbañ skur žus pa.
15. mnam lam du p'yag dor dañ jo bo rje dañ mjal.
16. ...bsñen mdsad (biogr., p. 96 a).
17. abri guñ pai p'rin las pa dañ agroggs dbus gtsañ la
p'ebbs pa.
18. c'ab mdor žag bžugs skabs gnas bcu drug dañ mgon
po žal gzigs pa.

2nd, Right (Biogr. from p. 72 to p. 75):

19. dguñ lo bcu bdun par abri k'uñ (sic) du spyān mñā'
rin po c'e la t'eg c'en sems bskeyed dañ p'yag
c'en lña ldan gsan ciñ rdo rje p'reñ kyañ
gsan pa.
20. ts'al pai bla rje dkon mc'og skyabs keyi druñ du...
dpyad la sbyañs pa.
21. sñe tañ du gnas dag skor par c'os gsan pa.
22. bde ba can du bla ma yon ... gñis la p'ar p'yin
gsan pa.
23. klog pai slob dpon gñis keyi druñ du mñon rtogs
brgyan sogs sbyañs pa.
24. ajam rin la byams c'os kun gsan pa.
25. gsañ p'ur grva skor mdsad pa.
26. bde ba can du grva skor mdsad pa.
27. ža lu lo c'en rin rnam la bde mc'og mi tri bcu gsum
gsan pa.
28. snar t'añ du ma ti pañ c'en la c'os gsan pa.
29. sa skyar grva skor mdsad.
30. bzañ ldan du grva skor mdsad pa.
31. (dga') roñ du grva skor mdsad.
32. nam riñs du grva skor mdsad.
33. jo nañ du p'yogs legs par dus ak'or sbyor drug rje
k'rid sogs gsan pa.
34. spyi lbas sar lam rim sogs gsan pa.
35. er grva skor mdsad pa.
36. snar t'añ du lo c'en don bzañ la mñon par mdsod
gsan pa.
37. gnas rñiñ du sgrva skor mdsad pa.
38. ña dbon kun dga' dpal la p'ar p'yin gsan pa.

3rd, Right (Biogr. from p. 75 to p. 87):

39. rtse c'en du re mda' par mñon mdsod k'rid du c'os
gsan pa.
40. ñañ stod bsam gliñ du rje re mda' pas ajug rtsa grel
gsan pa.
41. po ta lar lo c'en byañ rtser c'os agrell gsan pa.
42. skyor luñ du mk'an c'en blo gsal la rgya c'er bgrel
gsan pa.
43. ts'ogs su rab moi t'iñ adsin la bžugs.
44. sku stod la sñuñ gži drag po byuñ bstod (for stod)
luñ p'ur bsñen sgrub mk'as žig gi gram du byon
man ñag ñams su bžes kyañ ma p'an pa.
45. ñur smrig p'ui la la p'ebbs pa.
46. gnas rñiñ du mñon pa kun btus keyi c'os ak'or skor ba.
47. sa skyar re mda' par kun btus sogs gsan pa.
48. bla mai rdo rje rin c'en druñ du rtog gñis gsan pa.
49. sa skya bla brañ šar pai dge bšes las man ñag blañs
te ... ba adon mdsad pas sñuñ dvañs pa.
50. nam riñs su re mda' pa rnam grell gsan pa.
51. sku mts'ams gnas rnam agrell la gzigs rtogs k'yad
par can k'ruñs pa.
52. mał gro lba luñ du bla ma bsod grags las sñags keyi
t'abs sbyoñs gñan ba.
53. bde ba can du po ti mañ por gzigs.
54. snar t'añ du c'os gsan ciñ grva skor mdsad.
55. po doñ du bla ma rje btsun pa c'os gsan pa.
56. lo tsā va rnam bzañ la sñan dñags sogs gsan ciñ
dbyañs can bsgrub pa.
57. sa skyar mdo ...
58. sos guñ t'añ la bžugs pa.
59. druñ du dbyañs can gzigs rje... (sa ?) pan c'en.

4th, Right (from p. 87 to p. 100):

60. rtse t'añ du grva skor mdsad nas sñan pai grags
pas k'yab pa.
61. yar kluñs ts'ogs pai mk'an po bka' bži ts'ul k'rims
pai druñ du bsñen par rdsogs.
62. gdan sa t'el du spyān mñā' grags byañ dañ mjal
legs bšad keyis skyes p'ul p'ag grui bka' abum
sogs gsan ciñ lo c'en nam bzañ la sgrai rig pa
gsan pa.
63. lba k'añ ke 'ur dpon po la c'os mañ du gsuñs pa.
64. ts'al du bka' dañ bstan bcas (gyur) ro cog gzigs
legs bšad gser ap'reñ (rtso)ms pa.
65. lba sar t'ugs rje c'en po druñ du dge bsñen ces dañ
... rtags gnañ pa.



66. bde ba can du sde snod mañ du gsuñs pa.
 67. dbus stod bya yul du p'ar ts'ad [dbu] gsum sogs
 c'os mañ du gsuñs pa.
 68. slar ts'al du legs bšad gser p'reñ gi ap'ro mdsad pa.
 69. bde ba can du legs bšad ser ap'reñ rdsogs par mdsad
 pa.
 70. skyor luñ du ts'al pa mk'as mc'og ye rgyal la dus
 ak'or agrel c'en bšad pa ri mo sogs mk'as pa
 sbyaṅs c'os kyañ gsuñs.
 71. dbyar c'os gsal rgya mts'oi ts'ogs la sde snod keyi bšad
 pa gsuñ pa.
 72. stod luñ mts'o smad du dus ak'or lo sbyaṅs šiñ sde
 snod kyañ gsuñs pa.
 73. bde can du sde snod adsin pa mañ po la gžuñ c'e
 c'uñ mañ poi bšad pa gsuñs pa.
 74. goñ dkar du yañ dus ak'or lo sbyaṅs šiñ sde snod
 mañ du gsan pa.
 75. rigs lña (lba) k'añ du sde snod adsin pa bdun cu
 lbag tsam la p'ar ts'ad sogs c'os mañ du gsuñs pa.
 76. yar klun smon mk'ar du dbaṅ dañ rjes gnañ sde
 snod keyi c'os mañ du gnañ ba.
 77. mon mk'ar bkra šis gdoñ du sde snod adsin pa rnams
 la po ti bcu bdun bšad pa mdsad pa.
 78. [yar klun dkar brag] bde mc'og gi [bsñen sgrub]
 sku mts'ams.
 79. po ta lar rje re mda' par dañ lhan du agro ba mañ
 por legs bšad gsuñ ba.

sth, Right (from p. 100 to p. 117):

80. skyor luñ brag tu dus ak'or sogs mañ du gsuñ ba.
 81. rtai lor snubs c'os luñ du mk'an po grags šes la bka'
 ci rigs gsan pa.
 82. bla ma dbu ma par dbyaṅs can rjes gnañ skabs ajam
 dbyaṅs gsum la gzigs skor.
 83. stag ts'añ rdsoñ k'ar lo c'en skyabs mc'og grags rgyan
 don bzañ ajam dbyaṅs rnams kyis p'ar rtag
 gñis rnam par grel (?) sogs gnañ ba.
 84. abau aba' gñer du re mda' par gsañ adus kyis bšad
 pa gsan pa.
 85. c'os luñ bla ma dbu ma pas lo tsās mdsad ajam dbyaṅs
 la c'os gsan pa.
 86. ñaṅ mk'ris rtsa k'añ yo ga pa mgon bzañ la rdo rje
 dbyiṅs gar t'ig dbyaṅs gsum gsan rmi lam k'yad
 par can rmis pa.
 87. ñaṅ stod du bu la agrel c'en bcu bdun gsan pai c'od
 dpal la dus ak'or gsan pa.

88. ñaṅ stod bde c'en du rin po c'es c'os dpal rje ap'reñ
 bai dbaṅ luñ bšad pa t'ig dbyaṅs sogs gsan pa.
 89. žva lur k'yuñ lhas pai t'ugs kai sñags ap'reñ rmis pa.
 90. žva lur k'yuñ lhas par yo gai dkyil ak'or bcu gñis
 sogs rgyud sde bži dbaṅ bka' mt'a' dag gsan pa.
 91. pa gnam p'ag pa rir rin po c'e c'os dpal la yo gai
 skor gsan pa.
 92. bla ma dbu ma dañ lhan du dga' ba gdoñ du bžugs
 pa.
 93. grol ... lhan du bžugs pa ... slar yañ (?)
 94. gzims k'añ so sor sku mts'ams gnañ ba.
 95. dga' ba gdoñ du bla ma yi dam la gsol ba byer med
 du (byed pas) rje btsun dañ yi dam c'os rgyal
 p'yi nañ gsañ gsum sogs gzigs šiñ ts'e skyoñ
 bka' sdod du kyur pa (?)
 96. lha sai t'og steñ gis lhoi rgya ap'ugs keyi 'og tu
 mc'od pa mdsad par rje btsun gyis luñ (bstan
 pa).
 97. lha sai smo (or sgo?) ... steñ du bla ma dbu ma pas
 gsañ adus keyi dbaṅ rdogs par gnañ ba.
 98. skyor mo luñ du c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.

6th, Right (from p. 117 to p. 123):

99. dpon slob dgu nas bya bral p'ebis pa.
 100. dpon slob t'ams cad kyis bšags sbyaṅ la agrus pa
 mdsad pas sañs rgyas so lña byams mgon
 sman blo sogs kyis(s) žal gzigs pa.
 101. yañ 'ol k'ar bšag sbyaṅ dañ p'al po c'ei nañ gi rgyal
 nas keyi spyod par slobs ts'e ajam dbyaṅs sañs
 rgyas so lña sogs keyi skor ba gzigs.
 102. rdsiñ jii byams mgon ajal (for mjal) mc'od pa
 smon lam mdsad pa.
 103. dvags po sman luñ p'ur bžugs dus ajam dbyaṅs
 la sañs rgyas byaṅ sems kyis(s) skor ba dpag
 tu med pa žal gzigs.
 104. yañ dvags po sman luñ p'ur ajigs byed žal p'yag
 yoñs rdsogs dañ ajam dbyaṅs la pañ grub du
 ma dañ grub c'en brgyad cus bskor ba gzigs pa.
 105. ajam dbyaṅs la sañs rgyas byaṅ sems kyis skor
 bai ajam dbyaṅs keyi t'ugs k'ar ral grii yu ba
 dañ rjei t'ugs k'ar ral grii rtse mo jug pas bdud
 rtsii rgyun babs pai 'od zer ak'or rnams gyi
 agro ba dañ mi agro ba mañ po gzigs pa.
 106. dvags po sman luñ du ts'o ap'rul mc'od la smon lam
 rlabs c'en mdsad par p'yogs kyis sañs rgyas
 nam mk'a' gañ ba žal gzigs pa.

7th, Right (from p. 123 to p. 132):

107. 'ol k'a rdsiñ jir rje btsun gyis gsuñ ltar žig gsos
gyis gsuñ bar rnam la ap'rin las btsol ba.
108. rdsiñ jii žig gsos rab gnas sogs rgyas par mdsad
dus sañs rgyas so lña gzigis pa.
109. rdsiñ jii byams stod bde smon sogs rtsoms pa.
110. lbo brag bra 'o dgon par mk'an c'en p'yag rdor
dañ ajal so sor ajam dbyaṅs p'yag (bži pa)
snañ byuñ ba.
111. bla mai rnal abyor gsañ skabs p'yag rdor rje la
t'im ciñ mk'an c'en la gsañ bdag gis luñ bstan
pa.
112. byams pa la bslab btus žus gsuñs ba ltar rjer žus
pa.
113. mk'an c'en la lam rim sogs sñan rgyud kyis dbaṅ
rjes gnañ gsañ ciñ lha dga' gis žal gzigis byin
gyis rlab pa.
114. ajam dbyaṅs žal gzigis ciñ stod pa ts'añs cod pan
dañ c'os gos sogs rdsiñ jii byams par skur te
gñal du byon.
115. gñal lor p'rin las pai bstan rim spyān drañs par
bsu ba mdsad pa.
116. ... bstan rim ts'ar gcig gsuñs pa.

Donor:

C'os rgyal bsod nams stobs rgyas zuñ vañ la
na mo

1st, Left (from p. 139 to p. 142):

117. gñal gura skor du mk'an c'en c'os skyabs la dul
mñon dbu ma sogs kyī luñ dañ bka' gdams kyī
gdams (pa) ... rdsogs par gsañ pa.
118. gñal gsal rje yar adren du ajam dbyaṅs dañ rnam
sras žal gzigis pa.
119. rtsa ri ma c'en la p'eb pa.
120. rtsa rir bde mc'og gs... ajug ts'ogs ak'or mdsad pa.
121. mo lai rtsar byams mgon žal gzigis ciñ luñ bstan pa.
122. gñal señ ge rdson du dus ak'or sbyor drug sogs
la sbyaṅs šiñ dus ak'or gyi žal gzigis luñ
bstan pa.
123. gñal du dbyaṅs can ma dañ ajam dbyaṅs žal gzigis
nas luñ bstan pa.
124. gser gyi abum par mc'od abul sogs ajam dbyaṅs kyī
žal gzigis luñ bstan pa.
125. gñal gsañ c'uñ skya ser rnam la c'os gsuñ pa.
126. ts'a ts'a abum t'en mañ po btab.

2nd, Left (from p. 142 to p. 156):

127. gñal stod ra groñ du rgyal ts'ab dar ma rin c'en dañ
ajal... adus pai c'os ak'or gñal luñ ra c'en mor
adsugs pai mdsad.
128. dvags po lha sdiñs du ap'ags pa yab sras lñai žal
gzigis šiñ du nañ nas sañs rgyas skyaṅs gyis dbu
mai rgya dpe dbu la žug pa.
129. sñon 'ol dgai mk'ar p'ug du bžugs c'os mañ du gsuñ
pa.
130. ei ti 'ur c'os gsuñs pa.
131. 'ol dgai brag gdon du dgun bžugs pa.
132. rdsiñ jii rjes mc'od pa abul dus rgyal rigs lña nam
mk'a' k'ams gañ gzigis pa.
133. rgyal ts'ab rje la sogs [la] c'os mañ du gsuñ ba.
134. zam k'a nas dbu pañ c'ur ltañs par ñaṅ po sañ šiñ
dgon luñ bstan pa.
135. ñaṅ po mda' mdor dge adun duñ skye bai ts'ogs la
c'os gsuñ pa.
136. po ta lar sde snod adsiñ pa brgya p'rag du ma la lam
rim adul ba sogs c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.
137. dga' ba gdon du sñags byaṅ sems kyī slab bya gsuñs pa.
138. dga' ba gdon du rje btsun re mda' pa dañ mjal ba.
139. rje btsun yab sras gñis kas c'os mañ du gsuñs pa.

3rd, Left (from p. 156 to p. 169):

140. rva sgreñ la p'eb pa.
141. rva sgreñ du yab sras gñis bžugs ste c'os mañ du
gsuñs pa.
142. abri k'uñ la p'eb pa.
143. abri k'uñ du spyān mña' rin po c'er p'yag c'en c'os
drug sogs dge adun rnam c'os gsuñ pa.
144. gnam rtser steñ gi gtsug lag k'añ du c'os rje rnam pa
gsum kyī bstan pai dag t'er mdsad bslab pa
bstan bcos mdsad pa.
145. gži bcu bdun dañ rnam abyed las gsuñs pai ltuñ
pa rnam bšags sdom sogs rgyas par gsuñ pa.
146. rva sgreñ du p'eb mc'od pa p'ul smon lam btab pas
ston pa nas mk'an c'en por žal gzigis jo bos
dbu la p'yag bžag luñ bstan lam rim c'en mo
brtsoms t'añ lha sogs dbus p'yogs gži bdag
rnam adud pa.
147. rva sgreñ du sde snod adsin pa mañ por lam rim
gsuñ ts'e ap'ul kyī mc'od pa dañ smon lam
mdsad pa.
148. lha sar dgon gsar du ts'ad ma rnam agrel gyi gžuñ
don ... gsuñ.



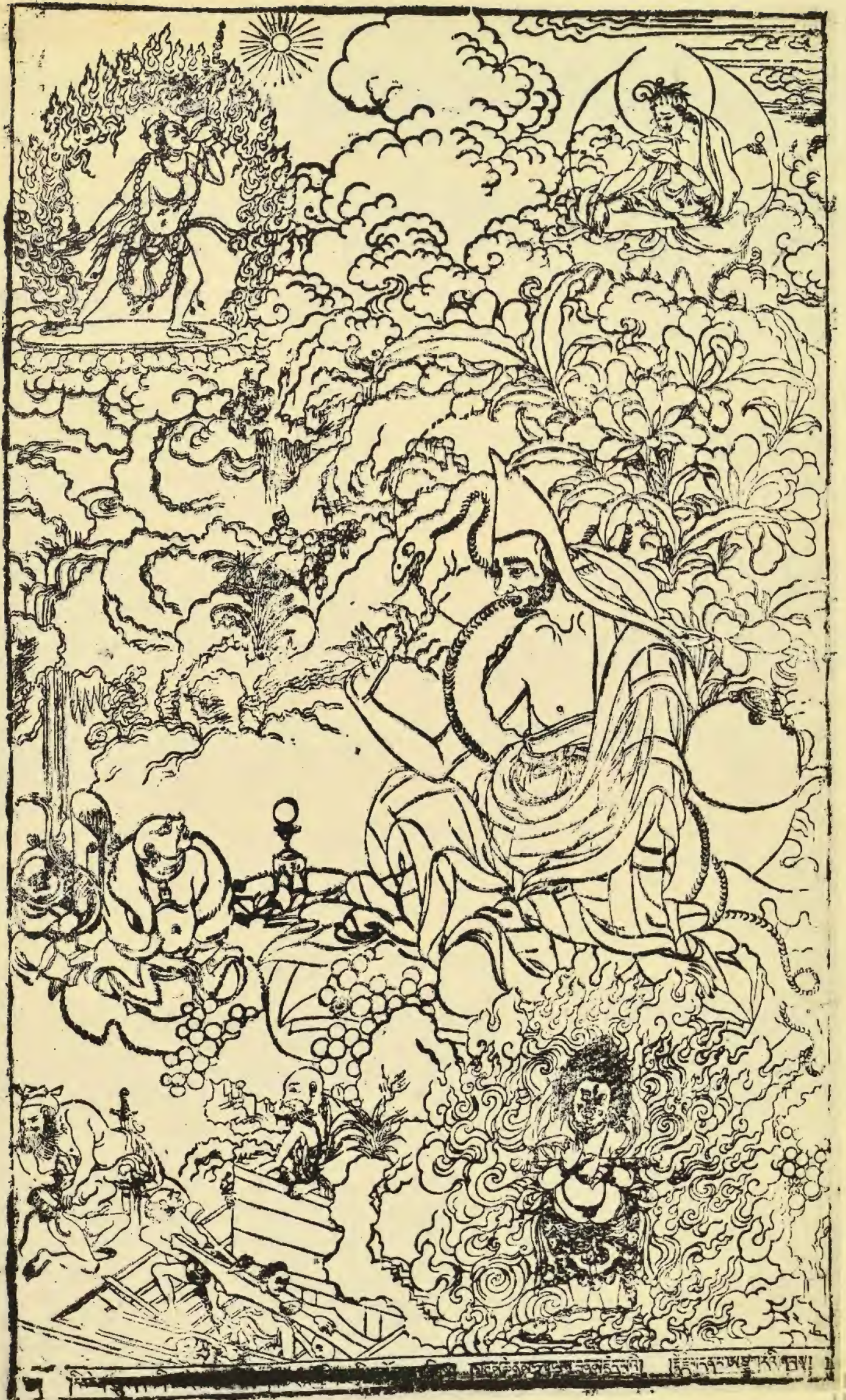


FIG. 93

149. 'on bde c'en steñ du sbyar bžug sde snod adsin pa
du ma la lam rim sogs gsuñ pa.
150. 'od de guñ rgyal lha žol byams gliñ du lam rim dan
(b)skyed rdsogs mañ du gsuñs dpon slob rnams
sku mts'ams dam par bcañ rje btsun gyis žal
gzigs luñ bstan pa.
151. dam pa mañ pos gsol ba btad par rten rgyud sdei
(bžii lam) lus yon's rdsogs ston pai bstan bcos
rtsams, gsañ sñags lam rim sogs kyañ gsuñs.

4th, Left (from p. 169 to p. 216):

152. byañ c'ub luñ du dgun bžugs sde snod adsin pa mañ
por lam rim sogs gsuñ pa.
153. ser c'os sdiñ su ye šes mgon po žal gzigs abral med
du gyur mk'as grub rje dan ajal ba.
154. ser c'os sdiñ kyis nam mk'ar ston ñid ñi šui agreñ
rkañ gi yi ge gzigs pa.
155. ser c'os sdiñ su rgya nag t'ai miñ rgyal poi abul
skyal byuñ ba.
156. se rar (...). šes sogs mdo sñags kyis c'os mañ du
gsuñ pa.
157. skyid smad grum bu luñ du lam rim dan sñags kyis
c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.
158. lha sar žig gsos smon lam mc'od abul bsam mi k'yab
mdsad pa žal gzigs sogs ts'ad las adas ciñ dga'
ldan adebs pai rtag pa žus pa.
159. ri bo dga' ldan žabs kyis ... pai bskor.
160. ser c'os sdiñs su sde snod adsin pa mañ por rtsa še
dan ts'ul k'rims leu lam rim sogs mañ du gsuñ pa.
161. zañs ri p'u c'iñ du spyān mña' bsod bzañ la lam
rim sogs c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.

5th, Left (from p. 216 to p. 229):

162. 'ol dga' bsam gliñ du c'os gsuñs žiñ abul dan ltas ño
mts'ar can byuñ ba.
163. glañ lor ajams dbyañs dkyil ak'or sogs žai gzigs
luñ bstan rmis pa.
164. t'ams cad mk'yen bu ston gyi gsañ adus glegs bam
gnañ ba rmis pa.
165. mar pai bsre ap'ro t'ugs ñes byuñ ba.
166. c'os drug (?) sprul gsum gyis bsre ba skor dgu
la ñes pa brñes pa.
167. gñid dan rmi lam bsre bai bskor la ñes pa mañ po
brñes pa.
168. rta lo dga' ldan du lam rim sgron gsal sogs c'os mañ
gsuñs pa.

169. yos lor byams bžugs (nas) sgom dus sañs rgyas
sogs žal mañ du gzigs pa.
170. sañs rgyas t'ams cad dan mc'og gi (?) dños sgrub
ster bai lha gsum... gi lha gñis... žal gzigs pa.
171. abrug lo sku mts'ams dus sañs rgyas nam mk'a'
k'yab pa rab gzigs dan a va dbu ti yañ gzigs.
172. slob ma bdun bcas bzlab sgom la abad par gnod
byed kyis dam bca' p'ul ba.
173. bzañ po bžugs stañs kyis bžugs par ston par rje
la t'im ciñ bdud aduñ bai tiñ adsin la bžugs pa.
174. ri bo dga' ldan gyi dgon pa adebs par mdsad pa.

6th, Left (from p. 230 to p. 328):

175. 'on bkras šis do k'ar dge adun grub pa dan ajal bai
skor.
176. dga' ldan du bde mc'og gi bskyed rdsogs sogs mañ
du mdsad ciñ ajam dbyañs kyis luñ bstan pa.
177. rtogs ldan pai gñal (for mñal) lam du mc'od rten
la mk'a' agros... k'rus gsol ba.
178. dga' ldan yañs can gyi lha k'añ dan rten bžeñs
mdsad dus bde mc'og gi lha ts'ogs žal gzigs.
179. btsug lag k'añ de rab gnas skabs ajigs byed nam
mk'a' gañ ba lder sku la t'im pa gzigs pa.
180. dga' ldan du c'os kyis ak'or lo rgyun c'ad med par
skor ba.
181. ajug pai rnam bšad brtsams šin gsuñs pa.
182. sde snod adsin pa mt'a' yas la bde mc'og rtsa rgyud
la sogs pa c'os mañ du gsuñ tika mdsad pa.
183. c'os bsruñs la gtor abul dan dbyañs riñs sogs gnañ ba.
184. sde snod adsin pa mt'a' yas gsuñs dus ak'or ajigs
byed sogs gsuñs pa.
185. dga' ldan nas lha sa p'eb's pa.
186. lha sai jo bo mc'od pa dan smon lam mt'a' yas
mdsad pa.
187. stod luñ c'ab ts'an la p'eb's ser sku mañ po c'os
dan byin rñabs gnañ ba.
188. c'u mig luñ gi c'os grvar gsañ adus lha ts'ogs t'im pai
gzigs sñañ byuñ žiñ luñ bstan pa.

7th, Left (from p. 328 to p. 370):

189. abras spuñs su p'eb's skabs ado lii snar aja' gzugs pa.
190. abras spuñs sñags k'añ du rab gnas mdsad.
191. abras spuñs su c'os gsuñs skabs c'os sgrvar aja'
gzugs pa.
192. lha sar jo bo rin po c'ei druñ du luñ bstan pa yun
riñ gnas pai rten abrel smon lam mdsad pa.



193. *c'os sdiñs su gso (sbyon) mdsad žiñ c'os gsuñs skor.*
 194. *brag dkar rdson dpon la snags grva adsugs pai žal lta gnañ ba.*
 195. *gsañ snags mk'ar du rab gnas rgyas par gnañ.*
 196. *de pas brag dkar du byon ba.*
 197. *grub bžir p'ebś nam mk'a' nas ... i sgra c'en po byuñ ba.*
 198. *abras spuñs nas p'ebś dus sa gyo žiñ aja' gzugs pa.*
 199. *dga' ldan yañ pa can du smon lam rgya c'er gnañ ciñ c'os skor la ap'rin las btsol ba.*
 200. *ts'ogs k'añ dbus p'ebś nas bde can smon lam šis brjod rgyas par mdsad pa.*
 201. *gzims k'añ du sñuñ ts'ul bstan pas žva dan gos ber rgyal ts'ab par gnañ žiñ ts'ogs ak'or dan rdo rje bzlas mdsad pa.*
 202. *mñam bžag 'od gsal c'os skur myañ nan adas rdsu p'rul bstan ciñ aja' ts'on dan me tog gi c'ar babs ciñ dag žiñ du gšegs.*
 203. *dpa' bo mka' agros spyān drañs.*

Without number:

bde ba can du rgyal sras kyī ts'ul byuñ ba bde ba can du aJam dpal sñiñ por ak'ruñs pa.

1. In ancient times, in this world, when he was Nan bai 'od, he received from the Buddha dBañ poi tog a prophecy concerning his future destiny (*Vai dū rya ser po*, p. 9; biogr., p. 18 ff.).

2. In ancient times, when he appeared as the Brahman Pad ma nañ ldan in rDo rje gdan, he offered the Buddha a rock-crystal necklace.

3. When, on the banks of lake Ma dros pa (Anavatapta) the Buddha was preaching the Law, the serpents gave him the shell to be blown during religious gatherings.

4. When the Buddha was residing on the Kailāsa, He preached the Law to Īśvara, to the gods and to the nāgas.

5. On mount Bya rgod p'un po, the Buddha foretold his future destinies and gave him the shell to be blown during religious gatherings.

5 a. The shell given by the Buddha, to be blown for collecting the monks, is hidden among the mountains.

6. In Tson k'a, in the lower mDo, his father Klu abum dge saw in a dream aJam dpal as an Indian *bandhe* with a book; from the lCañ lo can heaven (it seemed to him that) P'yag na rdo rje flung a rdo rje and that it disappeared into his body. His mother Šiñ mo a c'os saw in a dream a (white as) rock-crystal child in the Me t'og t'an, and some dākinī, come from the West, who were bathing him.

7. His father dreamt that the Jo bo rin po c'e (of Lhasa) had been led to him by monks and that the sun, the moon and a star had risen in the same moment.

8. The c'os rje Don (grub) rin (c'en) in a dream had a vision of aJigs byed and made a prophecy (concerning the saint who was to be born).

9. His mother saw in a dream some personages carrying musical instruments and liturgical objects; they said they were going to meet sPyān ras gzigs, and a golden image, as large as a mountain, which was in the sky, together with his retinue, disappeared into her body.

10. His mother dreamt that the door of her heart had opened and that the child had been washed by a mK'a' agro ma: so that the Saint should be born in the morning from (his mother's) navel, a sandal stalk issued (from it).

11. The c'os rje Don (grub) rin (c'en) gives him the pills (blessed by) aJams dbyañs.

12. At the age of three, from Rol pai rdo rje, he receives the rules of ordination and the prophecies.

13. Having gone to the c'os rje Don (grub) rin c'en, he received from him the rules of monastic life.

14. Led to the c'os rje Don (grub) rin c'en, he asks for baptism.

15. In a dream he had a vision of P'yag na rdo rje and of Atiśa.

16. He worshipped in order (to obtain the gift of eloquence):

17. Accompanied by an officer of aBri guñ, he went to gTsañ.

18. While living for one day in C'ab mdo, he had the vision of the 16 Arhats and of the mGon po.

19. At the age of 17, in aBri guñ, under the precious *spyān śāa*, he listened to the method of framing the thought of enlightenment according to the Great Vehicle and the great mudrā with its five divisions; he also heard the rDo rje ap'reñ (*Vajrāvali*).

20. Under the noble lama dKon mc'og skyabs of Ts'al, he applied himself to the study of the examination of symptoms (according to the biography: he studied under this master medicine viz. the *Yan lag bgyad* and *P'yag len*).

21. In sÑe t'añ he heard the Law at gNas dag skor pa's school.

22. In bDe ba can he listened to the Prajñāpāramitā under Yon (tan) rgya (mts'o).

23. Under the two masters of reading (Yon tan rgya mts'o and Šar c'os pa) he applied himself to the study of the *mÑon rtogs rgyan*.

24. Under aJam rin he heard all the 'laws' of Byams pa.

25. He goes to the seminary in gSañ p'u.

26. He goes to the seminary in bDe ba can.

27. In Ža lu, at the school of the great lotsāva Rin c'en rnam rgyal, he listened to bDe mc'og's cycle, according to Maitrīpā system and comprising 13 gods.

28. In sNar t'añ he listened to the Law at the school of the Pañḍita Mati.

29. He studies in the Sa skya seminary.

30. He studies in the bZañ ldan seminary.

31. He studies in the dGa' roñ seminary.

32. He studies in the Nam riñs seminary.

33. In Jo nañ, at P'yogs legs pa's school (but the master's name was P'yogs las rnam rgyal) he learns the traditional commentaries on the sixfold yoga of the Dus kyi ak'or lo etc.

34. In sPyi lhas he listened to the *Lam rim*.

35. He studies in the seminary in E.

36. In sNar t'añ he listened to the *mÑon par mdsod* (Abhidharmakośa) at the school of the great lotsāva Don (grub) bzañ po.

37. He studies in the seminary in gNas rñiñ.

38. At the Ña dbon Kun dga' dpal's school (in rTse c'en) he listened to the Prajñāpāramitā.

39. In rTse c'en, at Re mda' pa's school, he listened to the traditional interpretation of the *mÑon mdsod*.

40. In bSam gliñ in Ñañ stod, at Re mda' pa's school, he studied the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, text and commentary.

41. In Potala he listened to the Law and to its commentary under the great lotsāva Byañ c'ub rtse mo.

42. In sKyor mo luñ, at the great abbot Blo gsal's school, he listened to the *rGya c'er* (*vinaya*) together with its commentary.

43. During the holy office he fell into deep meditation.

44. Having contracted a serious illness in his chest (*sku stod* = the upper part of the body) he went to (O rgyan pa), a learned master who meditated in the cave of sTod luñ; although he received instruction from him, he did not improve.

45. He goes to the Nur smrig p'u pass.

46. In gNas rñiñ he preaches on the *Abbidharmasamuccaya*.

47. In Sa skya he listens to the *Abbidharmasamuccaya* from Re mda', etc.

48. Under the master rDo rje rin c'en he listens to (the explanation) of the *br Tag gñis*.

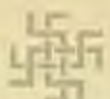
49. From a scholar who was in the bLa brañ šar pa of Sa skya he obtained the explanation of the Tantric formulas, and reciting (the mantra) on the syllabe "ha,, he was healed.

50. At Re mda' pa's school in Nam riñs he learns the *Pramāṇavārttika*.

51. During a period of meditation, while he was looking at the *Pramāṇavārttika* an extraordinary knowledge of its intuitive sense was born in him.

52. In Lha luñ, in the environs of Mal gro, he applies himself to the study of Tantric formulas, at the school of the master bSod (nams) grags pa.¹⁰²⁾

53. In bDe ba can he sees many books.



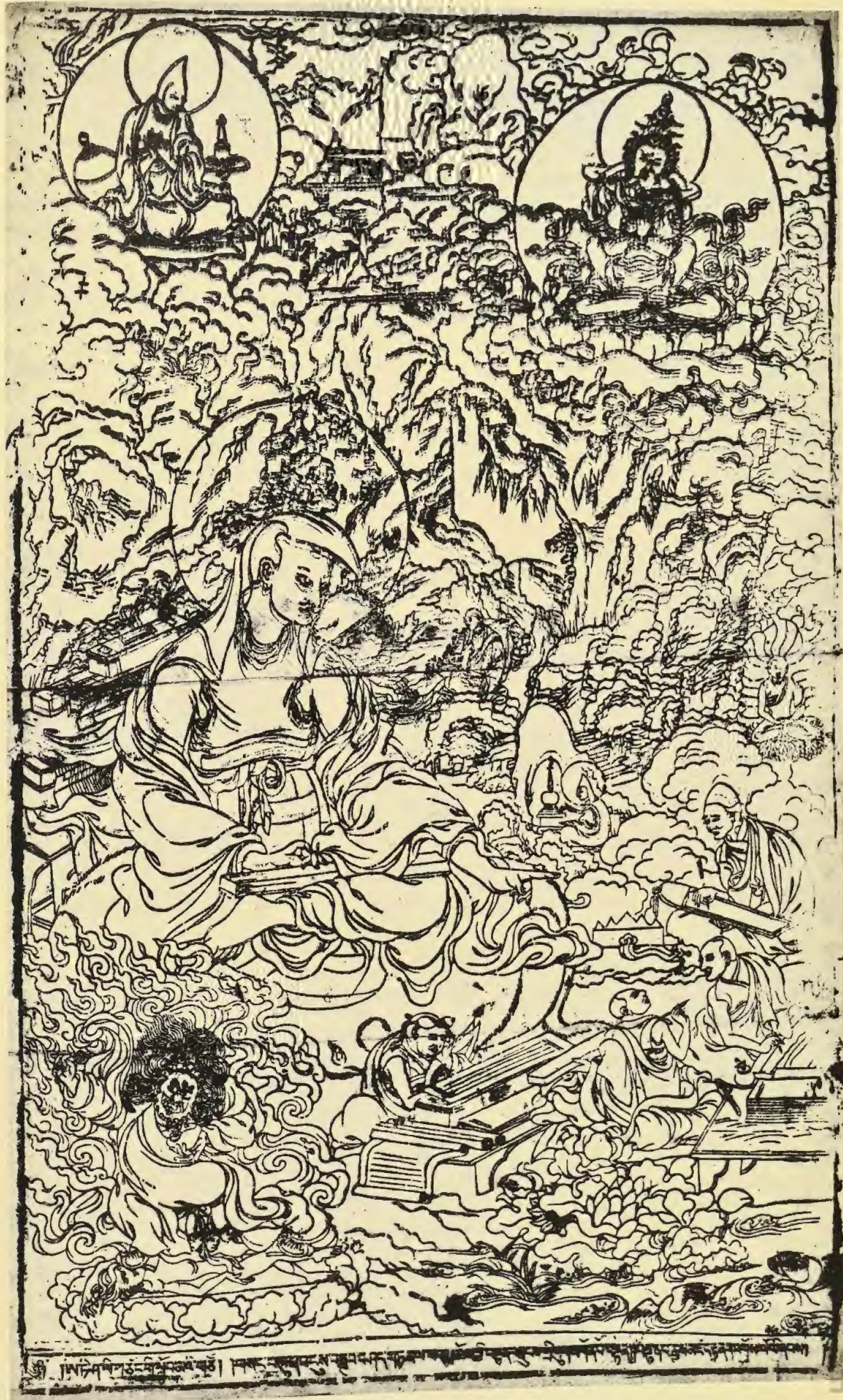


FIG. 94

54. In sNar t'añ he listens to the Law and studies in the monastery.

55. In Bo doñ, under the noble's lama, he listened to the Law (at C'os dbaṅs school).

56. At the school of the lotsāva Nam mk'a' bzañ po,¹⁰³ he learns rhetoric and obtains the realization of Sarasvatī.

57. In Sa skya he [explains] the Sūtras.

58. He resides in Sos (ka) guñ t'añ.

59. Near... he had the vision of Sarasvatī the noble... paṇḍita.

60. Having explained the Law to the monks in rTse t'añ, his fame spread abroad.

61. In Yar kluñs he obtains the complete vows from the Ts'ul k'rims (rin c'en) who presided the ceremony (Šes rab mgon po took part in it as moral preceptor, *las dpon*, and bSod nams rdo rje as esoteric teacher, *gsaṅ ston*).¹⁰⁴

62. In gDan sa t'el he met the *spyān śā* Grags pa byaṅ c'ub; he gave him "the collection of the beautiful words", and he heard the explanation of P'ag mo gru's works; then, at the school of the great lotsāva Nam mk'a' bzañ po he heard (in the biogr., p. 95 b, *Kalāpa* and *Candravyākaraṇa*).

63. Next he explained the Law to the dPon po of Lha k'añ ke 'ur (biogr., p. 96 b, *Ke rur*).

64. In Ts'al (of sKyid šod) he saw the (Tibetan) translations of the bKa' agyur and of the bsTan agyur, and began to write the *Legs bśad gser apr'eñ* (a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, written at the age of 32).¹⁰⁵

65. In Lhasa, in front of the (image) of the Great merciful.

66. In bDe ba can he explains many sacred books.

67. In Bya yul, in the upper dBus, he explains many aspects of the Law, the Prajñāpāramitā, logic and the Mādhyamika.

68. Once more in Ts'al, he continued the *Legs bśad gser apr'eñ*.

69. In bDe ba can he completed the *Legs bśad gser apr'eñ*.

70. In sKyor mo luñ, at the school of the great scholar of Ts'al, Ye šes rgyal mts'an,¹⁰⁶

he became versed in the Kālacakra, in its commentary, in the drawing (of the maṇḍala), and he preached the Law.

71. During the summer retreat, in the gathering of monks convoked by Blo gsal rgya mts'o, he explains the sacred books.

72. In mTs'o smad of sTod luñ he applied himself to the study of the Kālacakra and preached the Law.

73. In bDe ba can he explained many major and minor texts to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

74. In dGoñ dkar he applied himself again to the study of the Kālacakra and explained many sacred scriptures.

75. In the temple dedicated to the five mystical families he explains the Prajñāpāramitā, logic, etc. to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

76. In sMon mk'ar in Yar kluñs he imparts baptism and instructions (to the monks) and preaches on many sacred scriptures.

77. In bKra šis gdoñ, in the environs of sMon mk'ar he explains 17 volumes to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

78. Then in Yar brag in Yar kluñs he retires to meditate on bDe mc'og.

79. Having gone to Potala together with Re mda' pa, he utters many beautiful maxims.

80. In sKyor mo luñ he preaches many sermons on the Kālacakra and other texts.

81. In the year of the horse (when he was 34, 1390) he listens in sNubs c'os luñ to all sorts of texts of the sacred scriptures, at the abbot Grags pa šes rab's school.

82. Under the master dBu ma pa, while receiving instruction on Sarasvatī, he sees three figures of aJam dbyaṅs (corresponding to his three bodies).

83. In sTag ts'añ rdsoñ k'ar the great lotsāva sKyabs mc'og (dpal bzañ po), Grags pa rgyal mts'an, Don (grub) bzañ po and aJam dbyaṅs instruct him on the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *rTag gñis* and the *Pramāṇa-vārttika*.¹⁰⁷



84. In aBau aBar gñer he hears from Re mda' pa the commentary on the gSañ aḍus (lacking in the biography).

85. In C'os luñ he hears the Law from aJam dbyaṅs, dBu ma pa acting as interpreter.

86. In the temple of mK'ris rtsa k'añ (on the frontier between) Ñaṅ (stod and Ñaṅ smad) at the school of the master of Yoga mGon bzañ, he learnt to dance, the manner of drawing the maṇḍalas and the songs (dbyaṅs) connected with the maṇḍalas of the Vajradhātu and he dreamt many dreams.

87. In Ñaṅ stod he listens to the Kālacakra at the school of C'os dpal, who had heard the great commentary in 17 chapters from Buston.¹⁰⁸

88. In bDe c'en in Ñaṅ stod the Rin po c'e C'os dpal explained the rDo rje ap'reñ and he heard from him the way of drawing maṇḍalas, the songs etc.

89. In Ža lu he dreamt of a necklace of mantras in the heart of K'yuñ lha.¹⁰⁹

90. In Ža lu, at K'yuñ lha' school, he heard (the method) of initiation and many instructions on the four kinds of Tantras and on the 12 sorts of maṇḍalas.

91. In P'ag pa ri, in the environs of Pa gnam (biogr.: Pa nam) he heard at the Rin po c'e C'os dpal's school (teachings) concerning the Yogas.

92. Together with the master dBu ma pa, he lives in dGa' ba gdoñ.

93. ... abides together again ...

94. In their cells they meditate separately.

95. In dGa' ba gdoñ he invokes his master as his protecting deity and meditates on him as not different from his own self: then he had the vision of rJe btsun (Mañjuśrī) and of the protecting deity, the C'os rgyal in his exoteric, esoteric and secret form and ... Ts'e skyoñ and bKa' sdod (gŠin rje c'os rgyal).

96. Making an offering under the Southern dome of the upper storey in the temple in Lhasa, he obtained the prophecy from rJe btsun.

97. Over the gate ... of Lhasa the master dBu ma pa conferred on him the complete baptism of the gSañ aḍus.

98. In sKyor mo luñ he explains a large part of the Law.

99. The master and his disciples, nine in all, having ... went to Bya bral.

100. The master and his disciples (in 'Ol k'a) having put great zeal in the ceremony of purification through confession, (Tsoñ k'a pa) had a vision of 35 Buddhas of the confession of sins, of Maitreya-nātha, of Bhaiṣajya guru, etc.

101. When he in 'Ol ka, having accomplished the purification through confession, studied the bodhisattva's practice according to the Avatamsaka (p'al po c'e) he had a vision of aJam dbyaṅs surrounded by the 35 Buddhas invoked during the confession of sins.

102. In rDsiñ ji he visits Maitreya-nātha's image and performs the sacred ceremonies and utters the vow.

103. While living in the cave of sMan luñ in Dvags po, he had a vision of Mañjuśrī, surrounded by numberless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

104. And again in the cave of sMan luñ in Dvags po he had a vision of aJigs byed with all his arms and faces, and of aJams dbyaṅs surrounded by many paṇḍits and siddhas and by the 80 great Siddhas.

105. He had a vision of aJam dbyaṅs surrounded by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and saw that the hilt of a sword was in the heart of aJam dbyaṅs, but the point of the sword was stuck in his heart and a flow of ambrosia was falling from it, whose great light now reached and now did not reach the mouth of the beings present in the assembly.¹¹⁰

106. While he was performing the ceremony of the feast of the great miracle in sMan luñ in Dvags po, he took a great vow, and then he had the vision of the Buddhas in all points of space (hastening there, in such a great number) that they filled up space.

107. In the temple of rDsiñ ji in 'Ol dga', according to rJe btsun's words "repair ruined things", he began to act.



108. When he performs, in rDsiñ ji, the ceremony of consecration and other rites he has the vision of 35 Buddhas invoked during the confession of sins.

109. In rDsiñ ji he composes the hymn to Byams pa and the treatise on the manner of framing the vow in order to be reborn in the bDe ba can.

110. (At 39, in the year 1395) he goes to Lho brag in the Monastery of Bra 'o to meet the great abbot P'yag na rdo rje, and then he had the vision of Byams pa and of four-handed mGon po.

111. While he was hearing (from his master) the method of meditating on the identity between himself and the master, it seemed to him that he was reabsorbed into P'yag rdo rje and the Lord of secrets (gSañ bdag) made a prophecy for the great scholar (P'yag rdor pa).

112. When (his master) told him to ask Byams pa for summary instructions, Tsoñ k'a pa, according to this advice, questioned (the god).

113. He heard from that great scholar the method of meditation (*Lam rim*) and the instructions on the baptism of the Tantras, to be orally transmitted, and then he received the grace of seeing the god who was pleased.

114. Having had a vision of aJam dbyaṅs, he offered to Byams pa's image, in rDsiñ ji, the hymn beginning with the words "Brahma's diadem,, and apparel for the liturgical ceremonies etc., then he went to gÑal.

115. In gÑal and in Lo ro he made the commentary upon the bsTan rim (biogr., p. 132) of the dGe bšes P'rin las pa.

116. For the first time he explained the bsTan rim.

117. In gÑal, in the seminary, he hears the instructions on the theory and practice of the Vinaya, the Abhidharma, the Mādhyamika at the school of the great abbot C'os skyabs.¹¹¹

118. While residing in the (monastery of) Yar adren in gSal rje in gÑal he had a vision of aJam dbyaṅs and of rNam t'os sras.

119. He goes to rMa c'en in Tsa ri.

120. In Tsa ri he performs the *ganācakra* after (the method of) bDe mc'og (tantra).

121. By the Mo la he had the vision and the prophecy of Byams mgon.

122. In Señ ge rdsoñ in gÑal, applying himself to meditation on the Dus kyi ak'or lo and on the sixfold yoga, he had the vision and the prophecy of the Dus kyi ak'or lo.

123. After having had the vision of dByaṅs can ma and of aJam dbyaṅs, he received their prophecy.

124. Having made offering to gSer (bye) gyi abum, he had the vision and the prophecy of aJam dbyaṅs.

125. In sGañ c'uñ in gÑal he preaches to monks and laymen.

126. (In the same place) he makes several tens of thousands of ts'a ts'a.

127. In Ra groñ in upper gÑal he met rGyal ts'ab Dar ma rin c'en and in gÑal luñ ra c'en mo he held a great gathering of monks.

128. In Lha sdiñs in Dvags po he had a vision of the holy master and of his four disciples (Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Buddhagupta, Candrakīrti, Bhaviveka); among them Buddhagupta placed on his head the Indian manuscript of the Mādhyamika.

129. First, residing in the castle of 'Ol dga' he preached on many points of the Law.

130. He preached in E ti 'ur (biogr.: E te 'ur).

131. He passes the winter in Brag gdon in 'Ol dga'.

132. When Tsoñ k'a pa presented an offering in rDsiñ ji, he saw the sky full of Buddhas of the five mystical families.

133. He preaches to rGyal ts'ab and to many others.

134. When his cap fell from the bridge into the water, he prophesied the foundation (in that place) of the monastery of Sañ siñ in Ñaṅ.

135. In mDa' mdo of Ñaṅ po he preached to a gathering of monks and laymen.

136. In Potala he preached to many hundreds of monks, versed in the scriptures, upon various parts of the Law, the Lam rim, the Vinaya, etc.

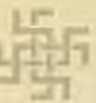




FIG. 95

137. In dGa' ba gdon he preaches on the rules for achieving the thought of enlightenment, and on the mantra.

138. In dGa' ba gdon he met Re mda' pa.

139. Tson k'a pa preaches on the work of Atiśa and of his disciple aBrom ston.

140. He goes to Ra sgreñ.

141. The master and his disciple Dar marin c'en dwell in Rva sgreñ and preach on many aspects of the Law.

142. He goes to aBri guñ.

143. In aBri guñ he preaches to the precious *spyān śā* on the Mahāmudrā and on Nāropā's six laws, and to the monks on the Law (in general).

144. In gNam rtse, in the upper temple, he composed the book of purification of the Law according to the precepts of the three lords of the Law sKyabs mc'og dpal bzañ etc. and also wrote the treatise on practical instructions.

145. He preached amply on the confession of sins, as it is told in the book of the 17 foundations and in the explicative books (*prakaraṇa*).

146. Having entered Rva sgreñs, made his offering and uttered his vow, the master had a vision of the Great Abbot Jo bo (Atiśa), who put his hands on his head; he began to write the method of studying the teachings, and was then venerated by T'añ lha and by all the Sa bdag of dBus (at the age of 46, year water-horse 1402).

147. While in Rva greñs he explained the *Lam rim* to many monks versed in the sacred scriptures, he made a great offering and uttered a vow.

148. (At the age of 48, year wood-monkey 1404) in Lhasa, in dGon gsar he explained the meaning of the *Pramāṇavarttika*.

149. In bDe ba c'en steñ, in 'On, he spent the summer retreat, and explained the *Lam rim* etc. to many monks versed in the sacred scriptures.

150. In Byams pa gliñ (of 'Ol k'a) near 'O de guñ rgyal lha žol,¹¹² he explained the *Lam rim* and the double method: the evocative one and the perfect one; the master and

his disciples, having then retired to meditate (during the winter), had rJe btsuns' vision and prophecy.

151. By virtue of the prayers of some excellent persons (like mC'og dpal bzañ po and others) he composed the *rGyud sde bžii lam kyilus yonś rdsogs ston pai bstan bcos*, and explained the method of the secret formulas.

152. Being in Byaṇ c'ub luñ in winter, he preached about the *Lam rim* etc., to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

153. In C'os sdiñ in Se ra he had a vision of Ye šes mgon po and became identified with him; then he met mK'as grub rje.

154. On the sky above C'os sdiñs in Se ra he had a vision of the letter: a, the foundation of every explanation of the twenty kinds of void.

155. In C'os sdiñs in Se ra arrived those who brought gifts offered by the Emperor T'ai miñ of China.¹¹³

156. In Se ra he preaches on many sūtras and Tantras.

157. In Grum bu luñ in sKyid smad he preached on the *Lam rim* and on the Tantras.

158. In Lhasa (in the year earth-mouse 1408) he repaired sacred buildings in ruins, made offerings and founded the feast of the sMon lam; he had incalculable visions of works beyond human thoughts, and asked for omens which encouraged him to found dGa' ldan.

159. The lord of dGa'ldan regarding ...

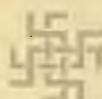
160. In C'os sdiñs of Se ra he explained the fundamental texts of the Mādhyamika (*rTsa še*), the moral rules, the *Lam rim* etc. to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

161. In Zañs ri p'u c'iñ he explains to the *spyān mña' bSod* names the *Lam rim*, etc.

162. In bSam gliñ of 'Ol dga' he explains the law for the offerings and has some marvellous visions.

163. In the year of the ox (1409) he had the vision of aJam dbyaṇs' maṇḍala and received its prophecy in a dream.

164. He saw in a dream the omniscient Bu-ston giving him the book of the *gSañ ba aḍus pa*.



165. By reflecting, he acquired certainty concerning Mar pa's treatises on the *bsre* ¹¹⁴) and the transfer of the conscious principle.

166. He obtained certainty on 9 subjects concerning the *bsre*, derived from the three miraculous manifestations of the six laws.

167. He obtained great certainty concerning sleep, dreams and the *bsre*.

168. In the year of the horse (but in the biogr., p. 220 rightly: tiger 1410) he explained in dGa' ldan the *Lam rim* and the *sGron gsal* (Candrakīrti's commentary on the *Gūhysasamāja*).

169. In the year of the hare (1411), while meditating in front of Byams pa's image, he had many visions of the Buddha etc.

170. He has a vision of two gods ... of three gods giving him the supreme realization and of the Buddhas.

171. In the year of the dragon (1412), while he had retired to meditate, he saw the Buddha's figure pervading the whole space, and also saw Avadhūtī (pā).

172. While he zealously gave himself up to meditation together with seven disciples, (the demons) who had hindered him, promised (to protect him).

173. While he was seated in the *bhadrāsana* posture, the Buddha penetrated into him, and he remained absorbed in that meditation which subdues demons.

174. He found the monastery of Ri bo dga' ldan.

175. In bKra šis do k'a of 'On he met dGe ḍun grub.

176. In dGa' ldan he wrote the treatises on the evocative and perfect method, which are connected with bDe mc'og's cycle, and other treatises, and he received the prophecy from ḍJam dbyaṅs.

177. The blama rTogs ldan pa sees in a dream some mK'a' ḍgro washing a mc'od rten.

178. While he was having chapels and sacred images made in Yaṅs pa can of dGa' ldan, he had a vision of bDe mc'og and of the deities of his heaven.

179. When he consecrated the temple, he had a vision of images of rDo rje ḍjigs byed, so plentiful that they filled up space and were penetrating into the earthenware images (placed in the temple itself).

180. In dGa' ldan he preaches uninterruptedly.

181. He accomplishes the explanation of the *Mādhyamika-avatāra* and explains it (to the monks).

182. He preaches to numberless monks proficient in the sacred scriptures, on bDe mc'og's fundamental Tantras and on other parts of the Law and he writes the commentaries.

183. He dedicates offerings and songs to the C'os bsrūṅs.

184. To numberless monks, versed in the sacred scriptures, he explains the Dus kyi ḍk'or lo, ḍJig byed's cycle etc.

185. He goes from dGa' ldan to Lhasa.

186. In Lhasa he dedicates endless offerings and makes vows.

187. Having gone to C'ab ts'an in sTod luṅ, he gives many gilded images, preaches and bestows his blessing.

188. In the C'u mig monastery he had a vision of the gods of gSaṅ ḍdus' cycle, which disappeared into him and he received their prophecy.

189. While he was going to ḍBras spuṅs a thunderbolt stuck on the edge of his palanquin (*ḍdo li* = *mdo li*, hindi *ḍūli*).

190. He consecrates the Tantric temple of ḍBras spuṅs.

191. While he is preaching in ḍBras spuṅs, a thunderbolt enters into the monastery.

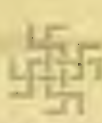
192. In front of the Jo ho of Lhasa's image he uttered the vow, that conditions favourable to a long duration of the Law might prevail.

193. In C'os sdiṅ he made his confession and preached.

194. He assisted the prefect of Brag dkar for the construction of the Tantric temple.

195. He performed the consecration of gSaṅ sṅags mk'ar and amply contributed to it.

196. Then he goes to Brag dkar.



197. Having gone to Grub bži, a great voice was heard from the sky.

198. While he was leaving aBras spuñs, the earth trembled and thunderbolts fell.

199. In Yañs pa can of dGa' ldan he amply contributed to the feast of the sMon lam and in his sermon he conferred spiritual powers (on his hearers).

200. Having gone to the centre of the assembly-hall, he repeatedly uttered the blessings of the Sukhāvātī.

201. Having gone into his room, he showed how men fall ill; then he left to rGyal ts'ab his cap and his vest, he assembled an esoteric gathering and recited the adamantine invocations.

202. Being in samādhimudrā, he seemed to enter in the nirvanic state of the absolute of the pure light, and he displayed miracles: thunderbolts fell along with a rain of flowers, and he entered the pure land.

203. Heroes and ḍakini invite him.

Without a number:

He appears in the bDe ba can as a bodhisattva.

He is born in the bDe ba can, as aJam dpal sñiñ po.

The two scenes refer to the identification with aJam dpal admitted by Tsoñ k'a pa's school.

A comparison of tankas nn. 55-56 with tankas nn. 57, 58, 59 and 61 shows that the latter, although they follow the same biographical patterns and adopt a similar artistic expression do not reproduce the Tashilunpo woodcuts with the same fidelity. This version is more concise, reduced to a smaller number of tankas; therefore in each tanka a greater number of episodes is condensed. Thus, for instance, in tanka n. 58 is represented Tsoñ k'a pa's incarnation in Śākyamuni's time, when, born as a Brahman's son, he offered the Buddha a rock-crystal necklace; this scene was represented, together with other past lives of the master in the central tanka of the Tashilunpo series. For the other episodes, the tankas follows the latter, omitting some incidents or putting several of them together.

On the left mK'as grub rje, on the right rGyal ts'ab.

On the right-hand corner we see Tsoñ k'a pa's house in mDo smad, where the reformer was born, from the Da ra k'a c'e Klu abum dge and from Šiñ mo a c'os or Šiñ bza' a c'os; his father and mother conversing; we read: *mdo smad tsoñ k'ar*. in "In Tsoñ k'a in mDo smad,,.

Immediately underneath, in the centre of a temple, the Buddha's figure and opposite an altar of Tibetan style: on each side two donors in the apparel with which Tibetans represent Brahmans; *rje adi ... bram ze k'yeu k'ruñs nas ston pa la šel ap'reñ p'ul*, "born as a Brahman's son, he offers the Buddha a crystal necklace,,; this represents the incarnation of Tsoñ k'a pa mentioned above. In the small picture which follows, his parents offer the master a scarf, to represent the meeting with Kar ma pa Rol pai rdo rje, which happened when Tsoñ k'a pa was three years old; on the occasion of this meeting he received the name of dGa' sñiñ po. The inscription says: *Kar ma pa rol par dge bsñen kyi sdom*; above, his first meeting with the great lama Don grub rin c'en, who taught him to read and introduced him to the study of some tantric cycles, at the age of three.

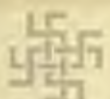
We then pass to his seventh year, when he was consecrated as a monk by Don grub rin c'en and gŽon nu byañ c'ub and was called Blo bzañ grags dpal.

Tsoñ k'a pa on horseback, accompanied by other horsemen, goes to dBus and gTsañ at the age of sixteen. The first place where they stopped on their way to Central Tibet was the monastery of aBris guñ, where at the age of 17 (*c'u glañ*, 1373) he met the lama who was then at the head of the sect, the spyān sñia rin po c'e C'os rgyal, from whom he learnt some texts (Tashilunpo, n. 14); then, continuing his journey, he went to a famous physician, dKon mc'og skyabs of Ts'al, at whose school he studied the various systems of medicine (Tashilunpo, n. 20). This period





FIG. 96



of his life is recalled in the picture immediately above the figure of mK'as grub rje.

Immediately above, we see Tson k'a pa in the act of doing homage in front of two masters whom he had met in bDe ba can (Tashilunpo, 2nd tanka to the right, inscript. 22). Follows the long interview with aJam skya, better known as Nam mk'a' dpaI, a disciple of mDo sde dpaI (biog. of mK'as grub rje, p. 73 b); next, as the inscription says, Tson k'a pa, in the C'os rdsin hermitage, meets the dPaI ldan bla ma bSod nams rgyal mts'an, considered an incarnation of aJam dpaI dbyaṅs. (Biog. of mK'as grub rje, p. 73 b). Tanka n. 59 corresponds, generally speaking, to the second right-hand Tashilunpo tanka. The pictures begin to unfold immediately under the central image and particularly recall Tson k'a pa's visits, while still young, to the most celebrated monasteries of Tibet: Sa skya, Ža lu, and sNar t'aṅ (Tashilunpo, nn. 27, 28), Jo naṅ (in the left-hand corner, recognizable by its famous sKu ṅbum, the gigantic mc'od rten mentioned elsewhere), Roṅ, sPyi bo lhas (Tashilunpo, n. 34), gNas rñiṅ, nn. 36, 37, rTse c'en where the meeting with Kun dga' dpaI happened (Tashilunpo, n. 38).

Above, almost in the centre of the painting, an ascetic probably recalls Re mda' pa's vision of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, who revealed the secret doctrines of gnosis to him; follows the explanation of the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, made to him by the same master in bSam gliṅ of Ņaṅ stod: under Nāgārjuna's figure, the meeting with Blo gsal, which happened in sKyor mo luṅ (Tashilunpo, n. 42).

With these last two scenes we have entered into the subjects which the Tashilunpo series represents in the three right-hand tankas. Then, to the left of the lotus on which the central figure is seated, the visit to the old lama in the Šar pa palace in Sa skya (Tashilunpo, n. 49), next to Nam riṅ.

I have spoken about the main episodes, leaving out the small intermediate scenes; the correspondence with Tashilunpo, as may be

seen, is perfect, but here the action is swifter, many events have been suppressed.

The inscriptions, though they relate the same incident, do not entirely correspond to the Tashilunpo gloss; misspelt words are frequent and prove that the painters did not copy a model, but wrote from memory.

Tanka n. 57 represents episodes partly corresponding to those of the 2nd left-hand Tashilunpo tankas.

Se ra c'os sdiṅs su bžugs gsuṅ... maṅ du mdsad rgya nag t'ai miṅ ṅbul skyal daṅ rgya yul du spyan ṅdren pai...

"While he resided in C'os sdiṅs he preached much and ambassadors of the T'ai miṅ Emperor from China came to invite him to China,, (= Tashilunpo, n. 155).

dvags po lha sdiṅ su p'ebz der klu grub yab sras...

"In Lha sdiṅ of Dvags po (he had a vision) of Klu grub and of his disciples,, (= Tashilunpo, n. 128).

To the right of the central image:

Po ta lar p'ebz "he goes to Potala,,

Lha p'ebz sde snod ṅdsin maṅ po la c'os gsuṅs pa.

"He goes to Lhasa and preaches the Law to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures,,

Underneath: *bla ma rje btsun lha rigs nas p'es* (for p'ebz) *pa aja* (for mjal) *ba ṅdsad* (for mdsad).

rgyal sras gñis daṅ lotsāva skyabs mc'ogs (sic) *dpal bzaṅ po daṅ gsum rnam rtse du p'ebz.*

"He meets the prince of divine descent,,

"The two sons of the Buddha with the lotsāva sKyabs mc'og dpaI bzaṅ, go to rNam rtse,, (Tashilunpo, n. 83).

sde c'en steṅ du dbaṅ grags pa rgyal mts'an pa...

Above sDe c'en he [meets] dBaṅ grags pa rgyal mts'an (Tashilunpo, n. 81).

Also in this case, then, the tanka concentrates and resumes. But the analogy with the Tashilunpo models is self-evident.

TANKAS nn. 61, 62 (Plates 95-98).

These also belong to a representation of Tson k'a pa's life, analogous to those already illustrated, but of a different composition.



To begin with, the great reformer does not occupy the centre of the tanka, but is displaced towards one of the sides; further, he is not represented, as is regularly the case, with solemn draperies and cap, but in the simplest monastic apparel, and bare-headed. Although the two tankas represent the main events in Tson k'a pa's life, the painter, on this occasion too, condenses and summarizes.

The pattern he follows, however, is the same which inspired the author of the Tashilunpo woodcuts, as can be readily seen by comparing the inscriptions explaining the different episodes, in the Tashilunpo specimens, to which I refer the reader in the brief description I am giving here.

In tanka n. 61 the central figure, whose heart is stabbed by a sword issuing from a Jam dpal's heart, alludes to inscription n. 105.

The other principal pictures are:

On the upper right-hand corner, near Tson k'a pa offering a scarf (*gtags*) to Byams mgon of 'Ol ka: *sten abrel* (sic for *rten abrel*) *k'yad par bcan* (for *can*) *rjiñ jir jo bo la dag spyod kyi btag* (for *gtags*) *ts'an mai skyel abul gyi stod pa 'o*, inscriptions nn. 107-108 of Tashilunpo.

Below:

rjiñ jir mt'un skyen (for *rkyen*) *žig gyur dus...* "in rDsiñ ji when there was favourable moment „... *lho brag p'eb* " goes to Lho brag „

Below, on the left:

Señ ge rdson du dus ak'or dpa' gcig žal gzigs ciñ lja (sic) *bzan sta* (sic for *lta*) *luñ stan* (for *bstan*) no, inscription n. 122.

Higher up on the left:

gser bye bum pa la mc'od pa p'ul žiñ der aduñ bai c'os mañ du gsuñs te, inscription n. 124.

Under the central figure:

mñal stod rab groñ dbyar žugs mdsad rgyal ts'ab t'ams cad mk'yen dañ ajal bar p'eb, inscription n. 127.

The conditions of tanka n. 62, where almost all the inscriptions are erased or can only be read with difficulty, prevent the same comparison between the scenes represented and the glosses of the Tashilunpo woodcuts.

TANKA n. 63 (Plate 99).

It comes from the Ki monastery, in Spiti (see FRANCKE, *Antiquities*, I, pp. 44, 47; TUCCI-GHERSI, *The Secrets of Tibet*, p. 38). This monastery is the usual seat of a lama, considered an incarnation of Rin c'en bzan po, the great translator who gave Buddhism a new impulse in Western Tibet and who enjoyed the king of Guge's favour. I have considered him and his works elsewhere at some length, and therefore shall not take up his life once more now.¹¹⁵⁾ But short of any inscription, this identification remains doubtful, neither do I find any scene which might somehow recall similar episodes related in his biography; however in some pictures we notice the presence of Indian ascetics.

TANKAS nn. 64-94 (Plates 100-130).

This series of 31 tankas is the representation in painting of 108 stories contained in one of the most famous books of Tibetan Buddhism, the *Byaṅ c'uḅ sems dpai rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi ak'ri śiñ*, or more briefly *dPag bsam ak'ri śiñ*. This is the title of the Tibetan translation of Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā*.¹¹⁶⁾

This work was written by one of the most famous Kashmiri polygraphists of the XIth century, and completed by the author's son, Somendra, who wrote the last chapter in order to reach the sacred number 108. We shall not dwell on it unduly, as the histories of Indian literature have already dealt with the subject.¹¹⁷⁾

Neither need we go into details here as to Kṣemendra's sources; it is enough to point out that, in the majority of his poems, he follows very closely the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Aśokāvadānamālā* and other similar collections of edifying tales, mostly from the *vinaya* of the various schools. The aim of these tales / *avadānamālā* / is to illustrate, through the adventures of Buddha, of his disciples



and of other characters, in their last life or in preceding lives, the unescapable nature of the law of karma, as well as to justify the injunction of some disciplinary precepts. The story sometimes concerns one of Buddha's former lives, one of those endless incarnations through which he passed, in his hard task of self-discipline, enduring pain and undergoing purification, now as a man, now as a beast and now as a god, with the object of one day attaining supreme enlightenment. In these cases the story cannot be distinguishable from a *Jātaka*; in any case, the ideal link between different episodes is always the figure of the Master, who draws moral conclusions from the tale, whether its hero be himself or another.

Kṣemendra is not an original writer, he does not bring any personal contribution to the poem; indeed the colophon of the book mentions sources used by the author and drawn from India, Kashmir, Nepal, Khotan and China (see CORDIER, *Cat.*, p. 420); in several cases he simply transcribes his models with slight changes. This he does for the tales taken from the *Aśokāvadānamālā* (for instance, I may quote the Padmakāvadāna, as ZINKGRÄF has shown: *Von Divyāvadāna zur Avadāna-Kalpalatā*, Heidelberg, 1940, p. 110) and might be shown for other episodes, for instance the one about Dharmaruci (*Avadānakalpalatā*, vol. II, p. 781 and *Divyāvadāna*, p. 234).¹¹⁸⁾

Living in a period when the light of Buddhism was flickering out in Kashmir, Kṣemendra, instigated by some of his Buddhist friends like Nakka and assisted by the ācārya Vīryabhadra, passed from the metrical summaries of the greatest Indian poems to Buddhist hagiography, thus expressing in his new work that religious syncretism into which the most varied currents of thought flowed and often intermingled, untill Buddhism finally vanished therein. But the present poem, finished in 1052, is not a work of faith; it is rather a touchstone of the author's

abilities as a versifier. He has summarized, in a great variety of metres, but with no intimate feeling, the pious tales used by the great collections of the "Discipline", to prove and convalidate the injunction of rules and precepts. Sometimes he sums up his originals in such a hurried manner that the clearness of his work is impaired; in other cases the same episode is repeated more than once; for instance the Avadāna I and CVII: it reappears with slight variants in CI; the XXXI is a repetition of the story of Kṣāntivādin (XXXIX) (cf. LXXVI and XCVII); the XLVI is the same as the one about Pāpamkara, XXXII; cf. also III and XXIV; XXXV and XLVII.

The present collection lacks a logical link; that is to say that the tales are not used to illustrate, one after the other, the six or ten perfections (*pāramitā*) observed by the Bodhisattva, as a gradual preparation to that moral purity which will make him worthy of supreme enlightenment; nevertheless the author specially dwells upon the perfections of liberality and patience.

The stories generally follow each other in a haphazard manner; the attempt is but rarely noticed to group together cycles centering round the same person or the same event. This is the case for a schematic biography of Buddha or of Devadatta and Yaśodharā; but outside these few instances the author follows no plan.

Nearly always his poems glorify the spirit of self-sacrifice, in a general sense; but the glorification is so exaggerated and out of all human proportion, that it lacks any educational value. It causes surprise, or wonder, but no emotion; it may fire our imagination, but does not reach the heart. For this reason the book, eloquent and baroque as it is, leaves the reader cold and does not thrill with any religious emotion.

The incongruities of the poem, however, cannot rob it of all merit; even though his muse is generally jaded, poetry does sometimes well

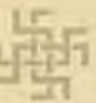
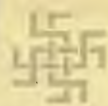




FIG. 97



up in soft verses, vibrating with a warm feeling for nature; they are but flickers which suddenly appear and vanish, but they are sufficient to make up for the carelessness and indifference to poetry of many other pages.

In any case the *Avadānakalpalatā* has had a great importance in Tibet. Translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan by the lotsāva of Šoñ¹¹⁹) at the heyday of Sa skya pas' power, and precisely in aP'ags pa's times, it had a great influence upon Tibetan literature; it represented an unsurpassed model of the poem (*mahākāvya*) for all lengthy poetical works, thus pointing out the way to many Tibetan imitators, who were educating their taste and moulding their works on the rules of the Indian rhetorical treatises and their schemes.

The book was therefore revised and corrected more than once upon the Sanskrit text; it was printed for the first time by C'os skyoñ bzañ po of Ža lu,¹²⁰) inserted into the *bsTan agyur, mDo*, vol. 93, then newly edited by order of Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, fifth Dalai Lama in Lhasa, both on the base of the preceding editions and after an accurate collation with the most authoritative copies existing in Tibet. This collation was made by the lotsāva of aDar, Nag dbañ P'un ts'ogs lhun grub, the translator of *Pāṇinivṛyākaraṇa*.¹²¹)

But the *dPag bsam ak'ri šin* is no less important for its influence on pictorial art; its narrative, being rather schematic and divided into easily recognizable episodes, was well suited to a pictorial representation.

Once more the Tibetans did nothing but follow the example of India, where the Jātaka or the Avadāna had inspired the corresponding pictorial versions of the same tales, precisely because, as a documentation of the unfailing karmic law, they were fitter than other texts to be easily understood and visibly represented. These *avadānamālā* or *Jātakamālā* (such was the name these collections had in the Mathurā canon and kept in the latest versions) soon became a favorite theme with preachers (*dbarmabbāṇaka*); so they passed,

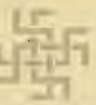
at a very early date, from a literary form to the pictorial representation on the walls of convents, according to a custom which the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins states to go back to the times of the Buddha himself;¹²²) in fact on the authority of this text, we know that on the cloister walls the "garland of birth-stories", (*Jātakamālā*) had to be represented. As many of the paintings of Ajantā are inspired by such collections and according to some scholars directly by the Vinaya tales, so the pictorial representations of the Buddha's former life go back, in Tibet, fundamentally to Kṣemendra's poem: the *Avadānakalpalatā* is represented in the most ancient mural paintings of Tibet, opened up to a new light of culture in the times of the Sa skyas and of the P'ag mo gru pas; it inspires great compositions in rGya, sNar t'añ and Jo nañ. The Kashmiri poet's book is therefore the text that schools of painting illustrate with greatest accuracy.

The series of the tankas which follows is the point of arrival of a tradition which had worked for centuries on the same theme, translating into its lively scenes the brahman writer's canvas.

Our series is derived from woodcuts on 31 wooden blocks, made by the printing-press of sNar t'añ (see f. i. fig. 121); the model became so authoritative that the various representations of *dPag bsam ak'ri šin*, diffused in Tibet, are nearly always inspired by this theme and reproduce it with unvarying fidelity.

Painters added nothing to it, they copied the drawing and only put in the colours; their ability, as usual, is displayed in arranging, combining and matching colours, but the composition and the architecture are based on the scheme of the sNar t'añ woodcuts.

The scenes, once the order of succession of the tankas has been determined, are not difficult to identify, because each episode is accompanied by a brief label which contains the number of the *pallava* (*yal adab*), that is of the chapter of the *Avadānakalpalatā* in which the story occurs. On the woodcuts each



episode is explained by a brief inscription which makes identification its easy; these inscriptions are lacking on our paintings. The series is composed of 31 tankas, the first of which is in the centre, and the others unfold around it, fifteen on each side.

It would be impossible to understand the description of each of the tankas, in which the 108 chapters of the *Avadānakalpalatā* are successively represented, if I did not refer every time to the text of the great poem which is pictorially represented in those scenes; therefore, before beginning to identify the different episodes, it is well to give a brief summary of them. By so doing, we conform to the purpose of these narrative tankas, which, as pictorial tales, are used in the first place to put before the listener's eyes the tales that itinerant lamas tell in fairs and assemblies. Such tales are inspired not by Kṣemendra's work, but by a prose version which, rid of long-winded poetical ornaments, sums up, in its essential elements, the subject of the poem. This prose summary is called (*C'os rgyal dge bai dbaṅ pos byas pai*) *Byaṅ c'ub sems dpai rtogs pa brjod pa mdsad brgya dpag bsam ak'ri šiṅ blun rmoṅs byis pa raṅ ṅid go bde ba*.

The present series then also belongs to the types of pictorial *rnam t'ar* we have already spoken about.

We may now ask when it was drawn. The personalities by whose munificence it was engraved in the convent of sNar t'aṅ are not unknown; one of them at least, Gyur med ye šes rtse brtan, is known. He was the son of P'o lha bSod nams stobs rgyas who died in 1747; we have mentioned him in connection with Tsoṅ k'a pa's life which he caused to be cut in wood in the same convent and we shall meet him again when dealing with the 16 Arhats cycle.

For this reason it is well to place the date of the original drawing of the tankas within the last decade of the first half of the XVIIIth century.

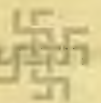
The different stories all unfold around a central figure of a Buddha which is different

on each tanka; the difference appears not so much in the dress and symbols, as in the attitude of the hands (*mudrā*).

CENTRAL TANKA n. 64 (Plate 100).

(*gtso t'aṅ*)

The Buddha is seated on a lotus flower encircled by a rich halo, with a great *nāga* and *kinnara*. Lower down the figures of two standing monks; they represent Śāriputra on the left and Maudgalyāyana on the right. On the right side of the former, Brahmā (*Ts'aṅs pa*) accompanied by his followers and, on the right side, Indra, also with his followers; lower down, to the left, king Bimbisāra (*gZugs can sñiṅ po*) and on the right Prasenajit (*gSal rgyal*); underneath, beginning from the left, king Udayana (*Utrayana*), king Śuddhodana (*Zas gtsaṅ*), Māyā (*Yum sgyu ap'rul ma*) and finally Anāthapiṇḍada (*mGon med zas sbyin*). The triad up above, flanked by deities floating in the sky, consists of Śāntirakṣita (*mGon c'en Ži ba aṭs'o*; on the tanka erroneously *mts'o*), the famous Indian paṇḍita who came to Tibet in the times of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan and, according to tradition, advised the king to invite Padma-sambhava. On his left rje bla ma Tsoṅ k'a pa, on the right aGro mgom c'os rgyal, that is to say aP'ags pa, the Sa skya abbot, Qu-bilai's chaplain. Below Ži ba aṭs'o: Kun mk'yen lia ba c'en po, that is to say Blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o, the fifth Dalai Lama. Two more triads follow on each side; on the left Žo lo [rDo rje] rgyal mts'an, the lotsāva of Šoṅ (so it should be corrected) the translator of the *Avadānakalpalatā*, underneath C'os rgyal dGe bai dpal, and on the right slob dpon Blo gros bzaṅ po (Sumati); on the right: Ža lu lo c'en C'os skyoṅ bzaṅ po, the great translator and grammarian of Ža lu, on the left slob dpon Ni ma dpal¹²³) and on the right Zla bai bzaṅ po, that is to say the C'os rgyal Sucandra king of Šambhala, the place where the revelation of the Kālacakra is supposed to have taken place.¹²⁴)



THE STORY OF PRABHĀSA

Prabhāsa (*Rab gsal*), a wise and powerful king, ruled in Prabhāvātī (*‘Od ldan*). The overseer of the royal chase having showed him a wonderful elephant, captured in the woods, Prabhāsa ordered it to be tamed, and this having been done, wished to mount it on a hunting party. But the elephant, carried away by lust, rushed into the forest and no longer obeyed the goad and his driver’s voice. The king angrily complained to the tamer, who answered: “When a man has fallen a prey to the passion of love, he forgets precepts, discipline and kindness (41). We tamers are experienced in training animals to bodily labour, but not even ascetics can yet train man’s mind to be disciplined,, (43).

Meanwhile, the trainer advised the king to cling to the branch of a tree and to let the elephant go, “because the sinner, when he falls, will surely drag others along with him in his ruin,, (45). The king and the tamer were thus saved, but after seven days the elephant, his fury now over, came back to his chains of his own free will. This caused the king to meditate; he wished to know whether anyone has ever succeeded in mastering his own mind to such a point, that he can turn a deaf ear to the allurements of his senses. As soon as the tamer answered that this is exactly what the Buddhas teach, Prabhāsa, simply on hearing the Buddha’s name, remembered his former life, acquired a divine intuition, untrammelled by the laws of time and space, became a bodhisattva and set forth on the long path which would lead him to the supreme enlightenment. He was to be in fact Śākyamuni.¹²⁵⁾

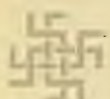
In the tanka we see at the bottom the tamer, who is presenting the white elephant to the king, seated in his palace; then, the same in the act of taming the elephant and of leading

it once more to the king. The king and the tamer on the furious elephant, and then both of them hanging from the branches of a tree and followed by a few persons on horseback. The elephants in the forest. The rest of the story follows on the right side: the king and the tamer return to the royal palace on horseback; the tamer, kneeling before the King, explains that it is easy to tame the body, but much more difficult to master the mind, while persons in the act of receiving gifts represent the generosity of the King, who has vowed to achieve enlightenment and therefore begins to practice the first perfection, which is charity.

THE STORY OF ŚRĪSENA

King Śrīsenā (*dPal gyi sde*), famous for his generosity, reigned in Ariṣṭa; nothing was asked of him that he was not happy to grant, wherefore his ministers greatly feared that his matchless virtue might in the end bring him enemies and misfortunes, because “when we see that another is full of the virtues we lack, who does not become a slave to envy?,, (17). But the king would take no advice “Of what use is life to people destitute of virtue and lacking pity, who can listen with unmoved mind to the tale of other people’s sufferings? (28). Only for this reason the body, which is nevertheless an evil, may be dear to good men; because, somehow, it can sometimes be of use to somebody,, (29).

One day the queen Jayaprabhā (*rGyal bai ‘od*) whom the king loved exceedingly, walking in the woods, was seen by an ascetic, who fell in love with her and, well knowing that the king would not deny him, got one of his disciples to ask her for himself of king Śrīsenā. Mastering his extreme grief, but keeping faith with his resolve never to deny anything that might be asked of him, the king consented. The disciple took the queen to his master, who, his passionate desire being quenched, became conscious of his sin and



prepared to return the queen to Śrīsenā. In the meantime Indra, King of the gods, who always wants to make sure of the sincerity of men who display marvellous virtues, assumed the likeness of a brahmin whose belly had been mauled by a tiger. His six sons, in tears, brought him before the king. Fighting for breath, he said that only Śrīsenā might restore him to life, by substituting his own abdomen for the brahmin's gashed and wounded belly. The king gladly consented, because "fortunate is the man who gives up his body for another's benefit; this body of ours, which every moment is subject to decay, cannot avoid death, even if well protected," (89). His ministers, overcome with grief, protested in vain: the king ordered two of his men to cut off the lower half of his body. And the men, seizing a saw, began to cut the body in two, while the king made no complaint. Having thus had a proof of the king's firmness, Indra, assuming his real form, healed his wounds, and the brahmin returned his wife to the king.¹²⁶⁾

On the tanka this tale is represented immediately next to the other one, in the upper part, and it is explained by a brief title, which points out that the subject is the second *avadāna*. In the first scene the young brahmin goes to the king and asks him for the queen in his master's name; higher up the king leads his wife to obey. The figure on high represents the prince on his throne, taking leave of his wife and entrusting her to the brahmin, while the ministers listen, aloof and grieved. The brahmin departs with the queen. The scene then shifts to the second episode. Indra assumes the appearance of a brahmin whose belly has been mauled by a tiger, and is taken by his sons into the king's presence; having laid down the stretcher, one of them asks the king's help, while the others attend to their father. Two servants cut off the lower half of the king's body. Proceeding to the right, the applauding gods, in the midst of clouds,

admire the bodhisattva's force of character. Turning backwards, the painting shows a conversation between the brahmin and his disciple. On the same plane, but on the left of the central figure, the queen's return.

The small figure of the Buddha, always on the left, represents, according to the title, the revelation, on the Buddha's part, of the story.

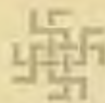
TANKA n. 66 – II right (Plate 102).

AVADĀNA n. 3

STORY OF MANICŪḌA

In the city of Sāketa a son was born to king Hemacūḍa (*gSer gyi gtsug p'ud*) and to his queen Kāntimatī (*mDses ldan*), both devout followers of Buddha's word. They named him Manicūḍa (*gTsug na nor bu*), because he had at the centre of his head a gem by whose light all things were changed into gold. He grew up so generous that no one ever appeared before him without his wish being granted. On advice of the brahman Bhavabhūti (*Srid abyor*) he married Padmāvatī (*Pad ma ldan*), who bore him a son called Padmacūḍa (*Pad ma gtsug*). While bloodless sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods on the birth of his son were being celebrated, Indra to prove the King's virtues, appeared to him in an ogre's form and asked him to appease his hunger; but as an ogre he could only eat flesh and blood.

Manicūḍa was confronted with a terrible dilemma: if he offered the ogre an animal, he would break his vow never to kill a living being; if he refused, he would break his other vow of charity, which he had pledged himself to keep at the cost of his life. Not finding another way out, he offered himself as food to the ogre. Having proved the king's firmness, Indra resumed his own form and praised his unshakeable virtue. But this was not the end of the king's virtuous deeds. Knowing that Manicūḍa had presented a brahman with a rare elephant, the greatest defence of



his power, king Duṣprasaha (*Śin tu bzod dka'*) planned to attack him and deprive him of his kingdom. Moreover a disciple of Mārīci, called Vāhīha, asked of him his wife and son, that they might take care of his old master, and the king unhesitatingly consented, while Duṣprasaha attacked the city to become possessed of the elephant. Maṇicūḍa grieved for his friend's treachery: "affection for good people ends in affection, for the mediocre in disaffection, for evil people in cruel enmities, which ravish life,, (97). Rather than accept war and its painful sacrifice of human life, he went into exile, encouraged to do so by four Pratyekabuddhas, who had appeared in the sky.

"Alas, the mind of those who crave for power is indifferent to another's sufferings and, inclined to do evil, runs only after its own pleasure! How could a drop of pity be found in the cruel hearts of those who, clad in the armour of success, obtain in warfare a glory ending in blood?,, (102).

When Maṇicūḍa had gone into the forest, his ministers went in search of his son Padmacūḍa, who was placed on the throne and succeeded in vanquishing Duṣprasaha. The latter, to expiate his evil actions, underwent endless misfortunes: epidemics and famines afflicted his kingdom. At a loss for remedies, he was reminded of the miraculous gem which flashed on Maṇicūḍa's head; Duṣprasaha, certain that he would not be refused, sent his ministers to ask him for it. In the meantime Maṇicūḍa, roaming in the forest, found his wife picking fruit and herbs for the venerable Mārīci, and arrived just in time to deliver her from savages who were trying to carry her off. Repressing any display of love, he comforted with sober words his afflicted mate, who was about to faint on seeing him thus deprived of his kingly splendour:

"For mortals whose life is unstable as the waves, love with the beloved one is uncertain as a drop of water, slipping from the tip of the leaves of a tremulous lotus,, (144).

"Such glories are as impermanent as a play; they dance for an instant, like lightning that flickers on storm-clouds, tongues of that serpent which is the cycle of births and deaths,, (145). "Enjoyment, in an instant, is subject to the malady of parting; power, like a wedding-feast seen in a dream, fortune and happiness like the flame of a lamp shaken by the wind: thus life goes by in its dance of madness,, (146). "Pity, not fortune, is the prop of all things; religious law is eternal light, not the lamp; glorious actions are beautiful, not youth; good works last, not life,, (147). In the meantime Duṣprasaha's messengers arrived and asked Maṇicūḍa for his miracle-working gem. He unhesitatingly drew his sword and cut it off from the middle of his brain, while all around him wept and implored. While Maṇicūḍa was lying there at death's door, the ascetic Mārīci asked him the reason of his prodigious strength of character and of his boundless love for all created beings: is it because he hopes for a reward in some future life?

"I, o ascetic, the king answered, have no desire of obtaining some reward for myself: I ardently desire one thing only, to be able to help in this life the creatures sunk in the awful sea of existence, so that they may reach the shore,, (181). "If what I say is true, may my body become scatheless as it was before,,. His wound was miraculously healed, and the king was brought back by his ministers to his radiant city.¹²⁷⁾

As we see, the tale is more or less a duplicate of Viśvantara's story. Half of the second tanka is concerned with this tale, which begins in the lower portion, at the centre. In a palace surrounded by a wall stands the throne; on the right the brahman Bhavabhūti offers Padmāvatī in marriage to the youthful king; in the middle the king, happy with his bride, while in front of him his ministers are pouring out alms to beggars; on the left, within the same enclosure, a brahman is asking the king for his wife and his son;



immediately next we see the queen and her son ministering to the ascetic Mārīci, huddled up in a cave. To the right the scene of the sacrifice: Indra, in the shape of an ogre, comes out of the sacrificial fire asking for blood and victims; the king offers himself up, while the queen faints; further up Indra is kneeling before the king, who has come back to life.

Turning again to the right, we see Mañicūḍa receiving the news that the King of Hastinapura is ready to attack him; four Pratyekabuddhas appear and, having extolled the ascetic way of life to him, vanish in the sky. At the bottom, always on this same side, a minister brings the king's son home, that he may assume command of the army and beat back Duṣprasaha. Battle and victory; in the royal palace, represented on the right, peace has been restored. On the left, in the forest, the king finds his wife and lives with her as an ascetic in the hermitage. A little further up we see the arrival of Duṣprasaha's five ministers, who ask the king for the miracle-working gem. The scene of the extraction of the gem follows; the queen swoons, while from the sky the gods admire and applaud.

His ministers and subjects invite the King to return to his kingdom.

AVADĀNA n. 4

STORY OF MĀNDHĀTAR

King Upoṣadha (*gSo sbyon ap'ags*) wandering one day in the forest for his own pleasure, met some ascetics; they offered him consecrated water which conferred the power of begetting offspring. After some time a child, divinely beautiful, issues from the king's cranium; he is named Māndhātara (*Ña las nu*). A more fortunate person was never seen on earth. The seven gems which form the prestige and ornament of the Cakravartin (the emperors ruling over all the world) never left him. Having vanquished the Jambudvīpa, he proceeded to conquer the remaining continents,

into which the earth is divided according to Buddhist cosmography; nevertheless he kept a humane and merciful heart. One day, for instance, having gone into a forest, he noticed with wonder that all the birds there had their wings cut off. Being told by his ministers that this was caused by the curse of some ascetics, whose meditations had been disturbed by the fluttering of their wings, he would not allow such wrathful hermits to dwell in his kingdom, and exiled them. After having conquered all the earth, he proceeded to conquer the skies and his army advanced through space.

The dung of his horses and elephants fell precisely on the ascetics he had exiled. One of them flung a curse which for a moment stopped the army on its way to the conquest of the skies. But Māndhātara appeared and the spell was broken. In this wise the heavens and the gods were brought under his rule, and he reigned over the world seated on Indra's very throne. After many years Māndhātara grew tired of sharing the rule of the world with Indra, and wished to reign alone.

"Lack of exercise kills wisdom, pride fortune, hatred kindness, covetousness glory," (110). Thus, by his wicked and ambitious wish, he was hurled down from the sky. What caused his good fortune and what caused his downfall? His lot had been so fortunate because in the times of the Buddha Vipasyin, in olden times, he had given this saint a handful of beans; great is the power of gifts presented to the Buddhas, but carelessness also bears unwelcome fruits; while making his gift he had absent-mindedly dropped some of the beans on the ground; therefore, the fruits of his good act being exhausted, he fell from the sky and his luck vanished.¹²⁸

This legend is represented very clearly on the tanka; beginning on the left, immediately after the story of Mañicūḍa, we see first of all a Brahman who offers water to the king in the forest; then, following the line of the trees, we see in the king's palace Māndhātara's





FIG. 99

birth: first he is inside his father's body, later he is represented seated near the king; a little lower down follows the episode of the birds who had lost their wings through a curse and roam in the forest; on the right, nearly above the head of the central figure, are painted the seven gems, symbols of kingship, which miraculously appear on Māndhātār's forehead. Higher up, the conquest of the earth and of the sky; the latter is represented by lofty Mount Sumeru, divided into successive tiers; troops of gods, guided by the four rGyal c'en, kings of the four points of the compass, vainly oppose the King's victorious advance. On the top of Mount Sumeru, Māndhātār sits near the King of the gods. On the right of Sumeru, a brief reference to the gift offered to the Buddha Vipāśyin, which had brought Māndhātār such glory. The scene of the fall from the sky is missing.

AVADĀNA n. 5

STORY OF CANDRAPRABHA

In the town of Bhadrāśīlā (*bZaṅ poi brag*) north of Kailāsa, with the assistance of two brave ministers, reigned Candraprabha (*Zla 'od*), who placed liberality above all virtues. Envyng his glory, Rudrākṣa (*Drag poi mig*) conceived the idea of asking him for his head as a gift: if the king refused he would break his vow; should he give it, he would be done away with forever. The city's protecting goddess vainly tried to overcome the impending doom; the king ordered Rudrākṣa to be brought into his presence, and since "only for this the lives of the well-born are honoured, that no beggar who comes before them is disappointed of his hopes," (43), he unhesitatingly consented to the other's request, because "only what has been given in alms is lasting," (56). He then went into the forest uttering the wish that through the good resulting from his sacrifice all created beings might overcome the cycle of their births and deaths, and then cut off his own head to offer it to Rudrākṣa. ¹²⁹⁾

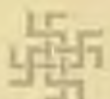
The main incidents of this story are represented in the tanka, on the upper quarter of the right side. We see the gate of Bhadrāśīlā, from which people come out, who have received of the king's bounty the gifts they desired; hence, according to the order of the narrative, we pass directly to the small picture in the centre, where King Candraprabha is seen ruling his kingdom; underneath, people distributing gifts to a brahmin and other beggars; from a thicket the figure of an ascetic appears; it is evidently Rudrākṣa, on his way to the king's palace to ask for his head. Exactly underneath a minister offers the brahman a golden image of the King's head, as an inducement to withdraw his request. We go back to the upper part: the King, granting Rudrākṣa's request, takes off the golden diadem from his head and goes towards the garden, where he ties his head to a branch and lops it off with his sword. Rudrākṣa then departs with the king's head wrapped up in a cloth; higher up, in heavenly glory, Candraprabha is born again as dBaṅ byed lha.

TANKA n. 67 – III right (Plate 103).

AVADĀNA n. 6

STORY OF THE JOURNEY TO VADARADVĪPA

Once the Buddha, having left Magadha with a caravan, met some highwaymen, who let him pass, with the object of robbing the caravan about to arrive. Understanding their intention the Buddha, mysteriously causing a treasure to appear, gave them riches corresponding to the value of the caravan, since they told him that, were they to abandon their calling, they would be unable to subsist. This was repeated six times. At last the Buddha, being invited by them to share their meal, accepted and enlightened their minds to such an extent that they were converted. This offered the Buddha an opportunity of telling them the story of their past lives. In the times of King Brahmadata



(*Tsa'ns byin*), a rich merchant lived in Benares, called Priyasena (*dGa' bai sde*). After his death, his son Supriya (*Šin tu dga'*) made up his mind to collect riches so great that poverty would disappear from the face of the earth; however he perceived that his purpose was quite hopeless, because "fortune is one and those who ask are many, neither is it possible to obtain enough riches to satisfy all who ask,, (45). Having set off for the Country of Gems, to gather great treasures, he met some robbers who were preparing to attack his caravan; he ransomed it six times running, without obtaining, much to his regret, that they should give up their robberies. "Many times I have declared that I would fill up this world with my riches, and now I cannot even satisfy these unfortunate savages (54); cursed be my birth, badly born that I am, lacking as I do the required energy; I know not what to answer and I have broken my pledge,, (55). As he thus lay grieving, a goddess appeared to him in a dream and comforted him: "Nothing exists in this world, not even that which seems difficult to achieve in the fancies of our dreams, which may not be obtained, through perseverance, by strong and resolute men,, (59). The goddess advised him to go to Vadaradvīpa, an island lying beyond seven seas, seven mountain ranges and seven continents. She described the way to it and taught him to avoid the dangers, ogres, and demons which he would meet on his travels. If he is strong and pure, above all pure, he will get to Vadaradvīpa, where he will find treasures enough to fulfill his vow. He followed the advice of the goddess and, loaded with riches, came back in the end to Benares, where he was elected king in the place of Brahmadatta, who had died in the meantime.

The robbers who had invited the Buddha to share their meal were the very same robbers who had stopped and robbed him six times running, on his way to the Country of Gems.¹³⁰⁾

The story is represented on the tanka in a rather fragmentary manner, but two scenes, the

one giving occasion to the Buddha's tale, and the one concerning events of former times, are clearly distinguishable. On the level of the lotus flower on which the Buddha's figure rests, we see, on the onlooker's right, the Buddha preaching; next to this the Buddha followed by monks, distributing gifts to persons with bare busts; evidently the scene alludes, in its main features, to the caravan of merchants travelling in the Buddha's company, which he ransomed six times. On the left, the same robbers doing homage to Śākyamuni and being converted. Under these two scenes, on the sides, the narrative of their past life unfolds. The small picture in the centre, in the lowest part of the tanka, represents, in the interior of a house, the merchant Priyasena with his son Supriya, to whom the story refers. Immediately to the right there is an allusion to the young merchant's generosity. Passing on to the central space, where the sea is represented, we see Supriya asleep and further upwards, in the midst of a cloud, the goddess who, out of pity, shows him the way to Vadaradvīpa and the means of reaching it. Next the adventurous sea voyage is briefly depicted: a victorious encounter with demons and dragons, the mountain on which Supriya, climbing with the aid of a ladder, comes to four cities, where the Kinnarī offer him the desired riches. Going backwards, we see Supriya returning to his country on the miraculous winged horse Bālāha.¹³¹⁾ The story closes with the small picture on the right, on top of the scene, where the returning merchant is seen generously distributing his treasures.

AVADĀNA n. 7

THE STORY OF MUKTĀLATĀ

The Buddha, having come to Kapilavastu, preached the redeeming truth to his own people; Mahānāman (*Miñ c'en*) was present, and when he got home he praised the Buddha's virtues to his wife; she complained that the holy Śākya should be so unfair to women,



only men being admitted to hear his word. Her husband rebuked her, because "equal, everywhere, are the sun's rays; equal the rain from the clouds; equal the look of the Buddha who pities all creatures,, (10), and he took his wife to hear another of Śākyamuni's sermons. She was led into the saint's presence; Ānanda reproached her for having come richly dressed, loaded with jewels; she sent her jewels home and began to listen to the Buddha. While he was speaking, she could not keep her thoughts steady; she saw with envy a shining necklace hanging from the neck of another prince's wife, and, unwilling to cut a poor figure, she ordered her handmaid called Rohitā¹³²) to bring her jewels back. The handmaid, missing half of the Buddha's sermon, went away against her will, but the Buddha, who sees everything, caused her to be killed on the way by a mad cow, so that she died in a state of grace. The handmaid was reborn as Mukṭālatā (*Mu tig ak'ri šin*), the king of Simhala's daughter, dowered with every virtue and beauty. When she had grown up, merchants from Śrāvastī arrived in Simhala; she heard them talking about the Buddha, and sent a letter to the Śākya saint. The merchants went home and, having given the Buddha the letter, received in exchange, for Mukṭālatā, a portrait of himself, mysteriously created by his magic will. Having looked at the image, Mukṭālatā obtained the omniscience of a holy person and sent the Buddha, as a gift, a great treasure of gems. The Buddha told the merchants who had come to Śrāvastī, Mukṭālatā's former life: she had been a handmaid to Mahānāman's wife and had been reborn as a King's daughter in Simhala because in a past existence she had honoured a *stūpa* containing holy relics; but as, through pride, she had neglected, during another birth, to accomplish the religious rites, her preceding life had been that of a slave. "Whatever act, good or bad, man sows on the earth of his life, he shall taste of its corresponding fruits when it is ripe,, (85). This story is represented in the left quarter of

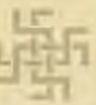
the tanka. At the bottom, on both sides of the label containing the progressive number of the tale, the Śākya prince is telling his wife about the Buddha's sermon; skipping two scenes, we see Śākyamuni in an enclosure representing his convent (*saṅghārāma*); he is preaching to monks and women. Exactly underneath this scene, Rohitā is being killed by the mad cow; we then pass to the central picture on the highest part of the tanka, which represents Mukṭālatā's birth as the daughter of the king of Simhala; on her left three small pictures: a boat on the high seas carries the Śrāvastī merchants; we then see them worshipping an image of Buddha, of the same type as the Tibetan tankas; next, on the extreme corner, Mukṭālatā who, having sent for the merchants, questions them concerning the Buddha; lower down she is giving the merchants a letter and gifts for the Buddha. The caravan is represented by the picture of a horse and of men carrying loads on their backs. Still lower down, the Buddha having his portrait painted to send it to Mukṭālatā.

AVADĀNA n. 8

STORY OF ŚRĪGUPTA

Śrīgupta (*dPal sbas*) lived in Rājagṛha; instigated by a Jaina master, who hated the Buddha, he plotted to kill the Śākya saint, and invited him to his house, pretending he wished to do him honour.

"Vile people, haters of virtue, cannot bear that others should praise the virtuous; what makes good people happy is a cause of wrath to the wicked,, (20). The Buddha would not hear the advice of his monks, who insisted that he should not accept Śrīgupta's invitation. "When a man's mind is sprinkled with that ambrosia, spiritual peace, when he is refreshed by the absence of anger, what harm can fire and poison do to him who hates any tie of the senses?,, (24). Thus, as the Buddha entered Śrīgupta's house, the fire that should have blazed to kill him is extinguished. Śrīgupta, tortured by remorse, begged forgiveness, and



the Buddha, smiling in divine compassion, revealed his past lives to him. Once upon a time, king Brahmadata lived in Benares; walking in the forest with the queen, he heard through a thick group of trees the mournful voice of a peacock. The queen wished to see the bird, and he commanded his men to capture it at any cost and to present it to her. But all efforts were vain and as the men feared to come into the king's presence empty-handed, the peacock, out of pity for them, gave himself up to the king of his own free will. Taken into the royal palace with great rejoicings, he was admired and honoured by all. One day the king went off on a military expedition, and the queen gave herself up to unlawful pleasures. Then, fearing that the peacock, who was endowed with speech, might reveal her guilt to the king, she decided to kill him and gave him poison. But the bird, who was a bodhisattva, did not die and became even more lovely and bright-hued, so that the queen, at the end of her resources, took her own life.

"Passion is poison, a troubled mind is poison, hatred is the supreme poison, but the Buddha, the law, the church and truth, these are sublime ambrosia,, (73). The wicked queen was Śrīgupta.

His past life being thus evoked before him, Śrīgupta repented and was converted: "The sight of good men becomes a cause of great merits, of bliss and of joy,, (77).¹³³

On the tanka the scene occupies the upper right-hand quarter and unfolds starting from the bottom, almost on a level with the lotus on which the central figure is seated. We see Śrīgupta visiting the Jaina ascetic, who advises him to take the Buddha's life; skipping the scene which should immediately follow, a monk speaking to the Buddha with clasped hands represents the attempt of some disciples, who had discovered Śrīgupta's plot, to turn the Buddha from his intention of accepting the invitation. Going back to the picture which is immediately underneath, we see the Buddha who, by his miraculous powers, has

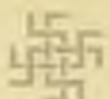
turned the fire into a lotus flower; around him his disciples are praying, full of wonder. Above, Śrīgupta, repentant, asks the Buddha to forgive him. The peacock coming back to life, immediately on the left, recalls the story of Śrīgupta's past life.

TANKA n. 68 – IV right (Plate 104).

AVADĀNA n. 9

THE STORY OF JYOTIṢKA

In the city of Rājagṛha lived the merchant Subhadra (*Rab bzañ*), who preferred the Jainas to the Buddhists. The Buddha once happened to enter his house, and predicted that his wife Satyavatī (*dDe ldan ma*) would soon give birth to a son of great virtues, who, grown in years, would take holy vows and become a Buddhist monk. This was related to the Jaina masters, who, although they knew that the Buddha had spoken the truth, persuaded Subhadra, in order to harm the rival community, that his son would be the cause of his ruin. For this reason Subhadra, full of fears, tried by all means to bring about his wife's miscarriage; as all attempts seemed vain, he led her to a graveyard and there beat her to death. But from the funeral pyre a child came forth; being born out of the flames he was called Jyotiṣka (*Me skyes*). According to the Jainas' advice, Subhadra refused to take the child into his home; king Bimbisāra had him reared, and only later, being threatened by the child's uncle on the mother's side, who was aware of his evil deeds, Subhadra decided to take his son home. On Subhadra's death, Jyotiṣka inherited his great wealth. Bimbisāra was informed of this because the wind brought him by chance some precious stuffs, hoarded in Jyotiṣka's house; they were so rare that the King had never even imagined such tissues could exist. Ajātaśatru murdered Bimbisāra, and hearing about Jyotiṣka's rich treasures, wanted to possess them. Jyotiṣka gave him half his treasures, but as the king insisted, he gave him



seven times over all his wealth, which miraculously reappeared seven times. Jyotiṣka regretted the happy reign of Bimbisāra, comparing his virtues with Ajātaśatru's cruelty: "Truly the wicked man is, against his will, a friend to the good men who have gone before, because the latter's glory shines forth in contrast to the life of the former,, (67). Reflecting in such way on the wickedness of men and on the vanity of all things, he wished to embrace the ascetic life. "Pain is a cause of trouble to fools, but it opens the intelligent man's eyes,, (79). Having divided his riches among the poor, he went to the Buddha and was admitted into the order. The Buddha then told the monks Jyotiṣka's past life; in the times of the Buddha Vipāśyin he was called Anaṅga (Ma bsdams). The Buddha having come to his city, he grieved extremely because his poverty forbade him to receive and honour him with regal celebrations; but Indra, pitying him, put at his disposal through a miracle boundless wealth, by means of which he was able to honour the Buddha as his devotion prompted him to do.¹³⁴⁾

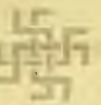
On the tanka the story begins at the bottom, on the right: we see the Buddha, accompanied by his disciples, predicting Jyotiṣka's birth to Subhadra; in the small pictures immediately above, Subhadra's conversation with the Jaina masters, and lower down Satyawati beaten by her husband; on the opposite side (on the left) Jyotiṣka's birth out of fire, while his mother is lying in the graveyard all around, the Jaina masters, overwhelmed with wonder; they are also to be seen in the preceding scene, on the right above, where Subhadra is seen carrying his wife's swathed corpse on his back; guided by the Jainas he goes towards the graveyard. Under the picture of a sea-monster, belonging to another story, we notice two figures walking towards the left: they represent Subhadra taking Jyotiṣka home, after the latter had been brought up by king Bimbisāra. The scene which follows immediately

to the left represents Jyotiṣka adoring the Buddha and the community, for the benefit of his mother's soul; this episode is to be found in the prose version, but is lacking in Kṣemendra's original; on the opposite side is painted the interior of a palace, with many figures; inside the enclosure we see first Jyotiṣka with his wife (?), next Bimbisāra speaking to Jyotiṣka; carried by the wind, Jyotiṣka's precious stuff has rolled itself up round one of the columns of the palace, to the onlookers' great wonder. Follows the gift of Jyotiṣka's riches to Ajātaśatru, and, in the distance, Jyotiṣka, kneeling in front of the Buddha, is admitted into the community. To the right, in smaller proportions, a brief sketch of Jyotiṣka's past incarnation, when with Indra's favour he had offered endless riches to the Buddha Vipāśyin.

AVADĀNA N. 10

REBIRTH

The sanskrit text of the tenth tale is missing in S. Ch. Das and Vidyābhūṣana's edition: it is not a story, but a real sermon, preached by the Buddha in the environs of Campaka. Its subject is the unfolding of life: how the conscious principle migrates from one existence to the next, going through the grim experiences of pain, disease and death, until the truth which ends the saṃsāra for ever is known and meditated upon. This avadāna then is a concise handbook of asceticism, which breaks up, in a certain sense, the continuity of the tales, as it does not belong to some particular life of the Bodhisattva, but is a general treatise on renunciation. It is difficult to represent it in pictures. To the right of the great image of the Buddha, in the centre of the tanka, we see Śākyamuni; some monks are seated in front of him, in adoring attitudes: thus is represented Ānanda's request to the Buddha at Campaka for an explanation of how rebirth comes about. Around this picture, man's childhood and maturity.



STORY OF SUNDARANANDA

This avadāna tells one of the best-known tales of Buddhist hagiographic literature, the story of Nanda (*mDses dga' bo*), sung by Aśvaghoṣa in a long poem.¹³⁵ When the Buddha came back to Kapilavastu and began to beg in his own city, in the midst of a great crowd of people, his nephew Nanda, ardently enamoured of his young and lovely wife, followed him on the invitation of Buddha himself; indeed he used to hold the pot in which the alms were collected. Nanda followed the Buddha with his body, but his mind was always fixed on his wife and he longed to get home. Having arrived before the others in the hermitage, he wished to take leave of the Buddha, who on the contrary detained him with praises of an ascetic's serenity.

"The ornament of age is virtue: of virtue judgement: of judgement serenity: of serenity victory over passion,, (22). In the end he advised Nanda to become a monk. Nanda, in order not to disappoint the Buddha, rather than through heartfelt conviction, put on a monk's robe, but instead of meditating on renouncement, his thoughts were always with his beloved. "We know not through what path passion enters into the mind; like the colour of a piece of glass, even if you wash it, it does not go,, (36). His one desire was to go back to her and in the meantime he broke two promises: the promise he had made her, to come back soon to her arms and the one he had made the Buddha, to lead an ascetic's life. Instead of meditating, he painted his wife's portrait, seriously shocking the monks and being much reproved by the Buddha. But Nanda, heedless of all reproaches, more than once set out for his home, and was always detained in time by the Buddha, who took every opportunity to show him the advantages of renunciation and salvation. The Buddha carried him up, flying through the air, to the mountain Gandhamādana, showed

him an old, blind she-ape, and told him that "neither what is good nor what is evil exist: it is only passion which discovers an object to be pleasing. Each one, in this world, is pleasing to those who love him,, (99). Then he asked Nanda if by chance he did not prefer the she-ape to his wife. The young monk was astonished and could not understand what the Buddha meant by such a question, but the Buddha next took him to Paradise, where the Apsaras were disporting themselves. Seeing them so divinely beautiful, Nanda forgot his wife and had no thought but for them; Buddha assured him that the Apsaras would be his when, having observed chastity in this life and kept his vows, he would be reborn into that Paradise. Nanda, then, descends once more upon earth with the Buddha and hoping to obtain those celestial joys, he follows an exceedingly strict way of life, but one day he sees a burning land, inhabited by demons, and from them he learns that their lot will be his own, because he has not had the strength to keep his ascetic vows with heartfelt firmness. Panic-stricken, he repents and obtains enlightenment.

"As we meditate on the unsubstantiality of all things, the activities of the mind no longer benighted (by sin) are set at rest,, (138). Nanda, obtaining supreme salvation, gathered the fruits of his past virtues: in a former existence he had adorned a *stūpa*, built to honour the Buddha.

The story is represented in the upper left-hand corner, briefly sketched in its most important moments; the scenes do not follow one another in the order of the text. The first small picture represents two persons, one confronting the other, as if in conversation: evidently Nanda and his wife. Immediately above, the Buddha preaching in Nanda's house; lower down, on the right, the Buddha leading Nanda away, while someone tries to retain him and he turns back to look on his wife for the last time. Above, the Buddha preaching and Nanda who, regretting his wife, tries to leave the community, but is stopped by





FIG. 101

Śākyamuni at the door. The Buddha takes Nanda to view the torments of Hell, reserved to those who do not keep their vows: the sinners are seen crowded into a chest and surrounded with flames; a demon is poking the fire. As a contrast, higher up beyond the clouds, a brief sketch of Nanda's former life and of the construction of the *stūpa* which was the first cause of his rebirth into a prosperous existence.

AVADĀNA n. 12

STORY OF VIRŪDHAKA

This story is mixed up with several other tales, about characters often brought together by events. One of the slaves of a prince of the Śākyas was an extremely beautiful and virtuous maiden called Mālikā (*aP'reñ can ma*). While the Buddha was passing through the city, she piously gave him alms, hoping that this small bounty might deliver her from slavery. As an astrologer had foretold to her, king Prasenajit, brought to her dwelling by his runaway horse during a hunting-party, fell in love with her and, having obtained her from the prince of the Śākyas, took her to his palace and married her. Mālikā became very intimate with the king's first wife Varṣākārā (*dByar gyi rnam pa*), who was, like her, divinely beautiful: her mere touch produced a sensation of superhuman delight. The Buddha explained that the virtues and good fortune of both women were derived from karma accumulated during their preceding lives. When they were respectively Kāntā (*mDses ma*) and Śirīṣikā (*Śi ri ṣa ka*) they had covered their brother with gifts on his return to his native city after becoming Pratyekabuddha.

To go back to the tale, Mālikā bore Prasenajit a son called Virūdhaka (*aP'ags skyes*); he was brought up with the son of the court priest Duḥkhamātrika (*Ma la gnod*). One day the two young men entered the city of the Śākyas, and Virūdhaka was insulted and called son of a slave. To revenge himself, encouraged by his young friend, he attempted

to seize the kingdom, trusting to the intrigues of the minister Cārāyaṇa (*Riñ spyod*), ably induced to side with him and taking advantage of the absence of Prasenajit, who had gone to hear the Buddha preach, a long distance away. Virūdhaka, consecrated as king by the faithless ministers, seized the throne. Prasenajit was informed of these events by the two queens, who had fled to bring him the news, and he took refuge with Ajātaśatru, broken and forlorn. "Who can taste uninterrupted joy, or obtain a long life? Whose luck has not been seen to perish suddenly, at the moment of his greatest fortune? „ (63).

Ajātaśatru, unable to help him, went to the Buddha, to find out the causes of Prasenajit's disaster. "Pleasures are like the waves of the sea - said the Buddha - they tremble like the eyes of a gazelle. Good fortune in an instant disappears, like lightning which flickers in the midst of a cloud; youth, in this lotus-flower of the body, is like the short-lived colour of the rising sun; the drop of life soon dries up in the desert of existence „ (76). Prasenajit, in a former existence, had been an ascetic called Suśarman (*Rab bde*). One day, before going to his bath, he gave his sister some roots, to be kept for his meal, but she gave them away to a Pratyekabuddha, who had come to the hermitage in the meantime. Suśarman was left fasting and cursed his guest; for this reason, born again as Prasenajit, he was paying for his wrath. Meanwhile Virūdhaka planned to destroy the Śākyas; a first time the Buddha restrained him, but encouraged by Duḥkhamātrika he attacked the city. The Śākyas, whom the Buddha's preaching had rendered mild, had vowed they would not resist; all except Śampāka (*Śam pa ka*) who made havoc with Virūdhaka's troops; later he also was converted by the Buddha's words; he left the fight, settled in Vākuḍa and built a *stūpa* there.¹³⁶ Virūdhaka then entered the city and destroyed it, taking away a large number of male and female slaves. The Śākyas, the Buddha explained, were in a former life



fishermen who caught and tortured two fishes; in another life they had been robbers who murdered the chiefs of two families; for this reason they were now undergoing disaster, while the two fishes and the two heads of families were no others than Virūdhaka and Duḥkhamātrika. In the meantime Virūdhaka cut off the hands of the Śākya's female slaves, who spoke to him about the unescapable law of karma; Buddha healed them and they ascended to heaven. It was meanwhile foretold that Duḥkhamātrika, within seven day, would be burnt in hell-fire; vainly, for seven days, he sought refuge in the water; on the seventh day, struck by a ray from the sky, he was burnt and hurled into Hell.¹³⁷⁾

On the tanka the scenes of the hero's past existences and the episodes of the lives told in the avadāna, are placed fronting one another.

Beginning from above, on the right, we see the meeting of Prasenajit and Mālikā, their return to the capital on a white elephant. Underneath, on the right, the alms Mālikā offered the Buddha, which caused her elevation. On the left, Prasenajit's former devotion, which caused his fortune as a king. The two pictures almost on top of the great figure of the Buddha, represent Virūdhaka's birth and coronation. The scene which follows above, on the left, is difficult to interpret, because the accompanying inscription, in the woodcut, can hardly be deciphered. From what little can be read, it seems to represent the Buddha trying to turn Virūdhaka from his plan of destroying the Śākya. The picture that follows, immediately below, represents the Buddha's prophecy concerning the fatal destruction of the city of the Śākya, and their decision not to resist attack. The Buddha is then seen looking on while the city burns; the fire is schematically represented immediately to the left. In the middle, Prasenajit on a chariot, seeking refuge with Ajātaśatru, immediately after being deprived of his reign by his own son. As can be seen, the pictures go backwards, without following the succession of events.

Next Virūdhaka's army is represented on its way to destroy the city of the Śākya. The story closes with a picture of Śampāka receiving the Buddha's sacred relics in order to build a stūpa over them, and the scene of the young Śākya women, whose hands had been cut off by Virūdhaka and who, through the Buddha's grace, are born again into heaven.

TANKA n. 69 – V right (Plate 105).

AVADĀNA n. 13

STORY OF HĀRĪTI

Under Bimbisāra's reign, endless and violent calamities suddenly broke out in his kingdom, particularly a great mortality among infants. His subjects, harassed and sorrowful, begged the king to find out the cause of such misfortunes and to procure a remedy. Bimbisāra finally discovered that the ogress Hārīti (*aP'rog ma*) was devouring the children; the only redress he could think of was to invoke the Buddha's aid. The Buddha went to Hārīti and in her absence carried off her favorite son Priyaṃkara (*dGa' byed*). On her return Hārīti missed Priyaṃkara, and sought for him everywhere, with tears and sorrow. All in vain; she then went in despair to the Buddha, who asked her why she was grieving thus for the loss of a child, since she had so many. "Because," Hārīti answered, "there is nothing dearer than children; what pain can be greater than their loss? (40). Only those who have children know the grievous sufferings caused by that poison, a parent's love. To cherish one's children is an inborn instinct," (41). The Buddha, then, asked her why, knowing this, she had stolen the children of others, and promised to return Priyaṃkara to her when she has sworn to take the threefold Buddhist refuge. She did so, and the Buddha evoked her former life before her. A young woman, being pregnant, met some youths in the marketplace; listening to their blandishments, she took her pleasure with them, and miscarried. But



having met a Pratyekabuddha, she devoutly offered him a wreath made of 500 mango leaves; she was therefore reborn as an ogress, because she had brought about her own mis-carriage through thoughtlessness and lewdness; she had 500 children from the 500 leaves of the wreath presented to the Buddha, and having done him homage, was enabled to meet the Buddha and to enter into his Law.¹³⁸⁾

The story is represented on the right side of the tanka, next to the label which bears the number of the corresponding chapter in Kṣemendra's poem. First we see the people of Rājagṛha going to ask the king's aid against the calamities which trouble the country; next the Buddha, whose help Bimbisāra is soliciting against Hārīti; the latter, in the queen's presence, seems about to pounce furiously upon her prey. On the margin the ogress among her children. Above, her vain search for Priyamkara by land and by sea, even into the Paradises which mount in terraces on the slopes of Sumeru; next the Buddha who returns the child to its mother, once he is sure of Hārīti's repentance and conversion. At the bottom, Hārīti's past history, her meeting with the merry party of young men and her sin.

AVADĀNA II. 14

STORY OF THE MIRACLE

The heretics of Rājagṛha could not bear to see the Buddha in great favour with the king and the people; intending to shame him, they asked king Bimbisāra's permission to engage the Śākya saint in a contest of miracles. Bimbisāra refused and they went to Prasenajit, who revealed everything to the Buddha. The latter was reluctant, because "That person, deserving of blame, who covers the virtues of other men with his own virtues, slays the Law itself,, (23). "The man who, although he be virtuous, is not serene to others, is like one who carries a lamp in his hand, but walks in darkness, obscured by the shadow cast by the lamp,, (25). Finally the Buddha consented,

not to prove his power of working miracles, but in order to convert unbelievers. The contest was fixed at the end of seven days.

In the meantime, as the king's brother crossed the palace courtyards, a wreath of flowers belonging to the queen was dropped upon him; slanderers falsely accused him to Prasenajit, who ordered his hands and feet to be cut off. While the prince was in this painful condition, his friends and relatives vainly begged the Jaina masters to help and comfort him. But Ānanda, arriving by chance, restored his limbs to him in a moment, through the power of *satyavacana*, that is of truth. When the day of the contest arrived, the Buddha projected out of his divine body sheaves of light, which pervaded the three worlds and caused wonderful lotus-flowers to shoot from the earth; seated upon them he preached to the crowd.

"Abandon evil, water the seeds of good, renounce enmity, enjoy the pleasures of lowliness, drink the ambrosia of knowledge: all these are antidotes to the poison of death. This body of ours is not, in the long run, a friend of good acts,, (53). "Luck is inconstant, youth is followed by age; as to the body, it is the abode of all infirmities; the vital spirits walk only for a moment in the house of the body. Be zealous in pursuing the eternal (truth) which is the very essence of the law,, (54).

While the Buddha was speaking, Vajrapāṇi raised up a great wind, which swept the heretics away and flung them down into the earth's centre. But the Buddha pitied them and by the power of his word restored them to safety and converted them.¹³⁹⁾

On the tanka this story is represented immediately after the other. The first scene, under the great central figure, represents king Prasenajit asking the Buddha to vanquish the heretics by his miracles. Then, immediately underneath, the story of the prince accused by slanderers and punished by the king; his vain appeal for help to the heretical masters; his maimed limbs are restored by Ānanda. Next, further up, the miracle of the Buddha

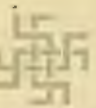
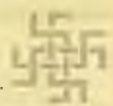




FIG. 102



multiplied in thousands of luminous rays: gods men and all creatures worship him. Underneath, the heretics are swept away by the tempest. The scene immediately following, to the right, ought logically to be the first one, representing as it does the Buddha's refusal of the heretics' request, before they turn to Prasenajit. Above, the Buddha preaching in the midst of his disciples.

This episode of the Buddha's legend is very important in the Tibetan tradition, because it is commemorated every year, as one of the greatest festivals in the religious calendar.

AVADĀNA n. 15

STORY OF THE DESCENT FROM HEAVEN

It is called the descent from heaven, but the name has not much to do with the story — or rather stories — concerned, and it is justified only because they were told by the Buddha on that famous occasion. Kṣemendra's story goes that Śākyamuni, after having preached the Law in heaven, descended upon earth in Saṅkāśya (*Śaṅ kā śya*), where a jubilant crowd received him. A nun was there, anxious to approach him and to do him homage, but finding it impossible to approach the Buddha because of the crowd, she decided to use a stratagem.

"Virtue has no prestige, people love power,, (11). "Through an inborn habit, without reasoning, people allow themselves to be drawn by riches, unsteady like a leaf of grass or a piece of cloth, tasteless and unsubstantial,, (12).

The nun therefore disguised herself as a king and could thus approach the Buddha, who rebuked her because she had wanted to prove her ability to work miracles; later she was recognized by Udayin as his mate in a past life. The Buddha then told her her past birth: once upon a time a rich merchant's wife lived in Benares; her name was Dhanavatī (*Nor ldan ma*) and she was about to bear a child. For this reason she tried to dissuade her husband

from an adventurous journey, but all in vain: greed for gain urged him towards new adventures. "Even the ocean is but as a pot to be held in the hands, to those who are seized with a strong desire for gain,, (34). The pair set off together, but they were shipwrecked; with great difficulty they reached the island of Kaśeru (*Ka se ru*), inhabited by gigantic birds. Their god Sumukha (*bžin bzañ*), after the merchant's death, received Dhanavatī with kindness; she bore a son, and later, out of fondness for Sumukha, gave herself to him. A son, Padmamukha (*Pad ma bžin*), was born; as soon as he reached manhood, Sumukha left him his kingdom. Dhanavatī begged Padmamukha to take her son by her first husband to Benares and to place him on the throne; the enterprise was successful and Padmamukha, after having made his step-brother a king, returned to Kaśeru. In Benares a pregnant she-elephant was brought to the new king, and fortune-tellers assured him that she could not be delivered unless a pure woman touched her. All the women of the country and many others were vainly put to the proof; at last a young shepherdess was found, at whose touch the elephant brought forth her young. The king then married her daughter called Sośumbā (*So šum ba*). Later Padmamukha came to see his step-brother, and the king gave his wife into his keeping; he had to guard her in Kaśeru in the daytime and bring her to him at night.

In the meantime a young Brahman of Benares had met a Kinnarī in the forest and fallen in love with her; they lived together and a son was born whom they named Śighraga (*mGyur agro*). Grown to manhood, he advised his father to return to Benares: "No man can leave his country, as he cannot leave his own body,, (88). Father and son, in the Kinnarī's absence, fled taking with them a lyre, which Śighraga could play on wonderfully; a friend of his mother had taught him music, warning him never to touch the first string of his instrument. The young man met some



merchants on a sea voyage and began to play; he forgot the prohibition and touched the forbidden string; thereupon the sea swelled up, and their ship was swallowed by the waves. The youth landed in Kaśeru and fell in love with Sośumbā. She could not resist his wooing and touched by his entreaties, took him with her to Benares, charging him not to open his eyes while flying through the air with Padmamukha. He disobeyed and became blind. She left him, sad and forlorn, in the king's garden, meaning to take him back with her in the evening. The king, by chance, went down into the garden, and the blind man, smelling the scent from the king's robes, took him for Sośumbā and began to lament his fate, thus revealing his secret love. The king, disappointed because "a pure woman, like a wreath of flowers grown in the air, is absolutely not to be found", (129), banished his unfaithful wife and her lover. On the way they were captured by robbers, who murdered the man and raped Sośumbā. Finally the king forgave his wife and took her back. Udayin was at that time Śīghraga and the nun was Sośumbā.¹⁴⁰

The pictures on the tanka are somewhat different from Kṣemendra's version, which is in fact rather unequal and full of long-drawn-out details. At the top, on the left, the Buddha is seen sitting in the Tuṣita, preaching the law; he then descends upon earth at Maudgalyāyana's invitation, in the midst of a crowd of worshippers; the nun appears in the garb of a Cakravartin king, attended by an elephant and other symbols of his regal state. The next scene, on the left, is the story, told by the Buddha to the assembled monks, concerning the past lives of Udayin and the nun Utpalavarnā, while on the right, near the great figure, an episode lacking in Kṣemendra is outlined: the monks beg Maudgalyāyana to ascend to heaven and to bring the Buddha back upon earth. In the picture below, the main points of the story of the Benares merchant and his wife are outlined.

AVADĀNA n. 16

THE THROWING OF THE STONE

The Buddha had announced that he would go to the city of Kuśinagara, on a visit to the Mallas, who had invited him. The latter were preparing to receive him worthily, smoothing and cleaning the road on which he would pass, but they could not by any means remove a huge stone which barred the way at a certain point. As soon as he got to it, the Buddha flung the stone up to an extraordinary height, then catching it on the palm of his hand, he blew upon it, turning it to dust; then remoulded it as it was before and shifted it to another place. The Buddha took this opportunity to remind his hearers of the Buddha's incomparable power.

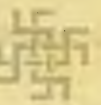
On the tanka we see above, on the right, the Mallas' vain efforts to move the stone, and in the following scene the Buddha throwing it up into the air and turning it to dust; next the crowd gathered round him to listen to his word.

TANKA n. 70 – VI right (Plate 106).

AVADĀNA n. 17

MAITREYA'S PROPHECY

One day the Buddha, as he was crossing the Ganges on a bridge the snakes had made for him by stretching out their crests, showed his disciples a sacrificial pole of precious stones, which could be perceived at the bottom of the river, and told them its story. A god, descending upon earth at the term of his heavenly life, was born as king Mahāprajāda (*Mañ pos bkur ba*) and asked Indra for a sign which should remind him and his subjects of the splendours of the divine law. Indra gave him the sacrificial pole, but the people admired it so much that they used to neglect their work and the finances of the kingdom greatly suffered thereby. Mahāprajāda, for this reason, flung it into the bottom of the



Ganges. One day a king named Śaṅkha (*Duñ*) will be born, who will give the pole to Maitreya, the son of his Purohita; Maitreya will break it in pieces and give them to the poor and he will subsequently become a Buddha, while the king will take vows. Śaṅkha will thus gather the fruits of a vow made in one of his past lives when, in the times of the Buddha Ratnaśikhin (*Rin c'en gtsug*), putting an end to a long enmity with a rival king called Vāsava (*Nor lbai bu*) he had begun to practise the Buddhist law.¹⁴¹

The story is represented to the right of the great figure. The order of the scene is the following: first the Buddha about to cross, with the aid of the snakes, a river in the middle of which a stūpa is seen. Immediately above, the Buddha, in the midst of his disciples, is telling them the story and the prophecy. Still lower down, the same stūpa, honoured by a great crowd, and above, to the left of the preaching Buddha, king Mahāprajāda, who is throwing the monument into the river. All allusions to Maitreya's prophecy are lacking. The story of Śaṅkha's past life, in the times of the Buddha Ratnaśikhin, is briefly described in the picture under the great figure of the Buddha. We, then, see king Śaṅkha adoring Maitreya, and lower down the division of the precious stūpa among the King's subjects, while the people go home loaded with riches.

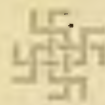
AVADĀNA n. 18

THE STORY OF ĀDARŚAMUKHA

While the Buddha was staying at Śrāvastī, in the Jetavana, Kāśyapa (*'Od sruñ*), having gone into a nearby forest, met a leprous woman, who would also have wished to offer the saint her alms, but was ashamed to do so because of her disease. Kāśyapa, guessing her thoughts, handed her the bowl; in that same instant she died and was born into the Tuṣita heaven. Indra, to reward Kāśyapa, filled the bowl with ambrosia, but Kāśyapa, poured it out again, lest a heavenly reward

should contaminate his sincere pity for sufferers. In the meantime Prasenajit offered a banquet to the Buddha and to the community; he had been born a king because in one of his previous lives, as a poor man, he had offered a Pratyekabuddha the only scrap of food he possessed. He asked the Buddha whether it would be possible for him to achieve supreme enlightenment by this act of generosity. "Supreme enlightenment the Buddha answered is softer than the stalks of a lotus flower, heavier than the planets, deeper than the sea; it is not to be easily conquered,, (26). "Even I did not obtain it through the many gifts I had made in my past lives; they say that it comes of a conscience purified by serenity of mind,, (27). Out of the many past lives in which he had performed great and wonderful acts of renouncement, without achieving supreme enlightenment, the Buddha recalled his life as Ādarśamukha (*Me loñ bžin*), fifth son of Nanda (*dGa' bo*), who was called by his father's will to succeed him on his throne; Ādarśamukha was an able wrangler, and successfully provided for his subjects' needs during a famine which lasted twelve years.¹⁴²

The picture directly underneath the great figure of the Buddha represents Śākyamuni seated in the Jetavana, in the midst of his disciples. Higher up on the left we see the Buddha, to whom Prasenajit sends presents and offerings; to the king who is thus doing him homage, he announces that gifts and bounty do not suffice to attain supreme enlightenment; such has been his case as Ādarśamukha. In the left corner of the tanka are recorded the great gifts made by Prasenajit to the people, with the hope of attaining bodhi; then, right under the large picture of the Buddha in the Jetavana, is represented an episode of Prasenajit's former life, when he gave a cake to a Pratyekabuddha; next, up to the enclosure of the same scene, on the left, the leprous woman offering alms to Kāśyapa.



AVADĀNA n. 19
STORY OF ŚĀRIPUTRA

When the Buddha was in Kalandakani-vāpa, the sermon he preached to the assembled monks touched Śāriputra's soul so deeply, that he immediately achieved arhatship. Full of wonder, the monks asked the Buddha what merits Śāriputra had acquired in his preceding existence. The Buddha told them this story: once upon a time there was a woman, Sūrpikā (*Sur pi ka*), wife of the Brahman Agnimitra (*Me yi grogs po*). A brother of her husband's, who had become Pratyekabuddha, happened to come to the house; she received him with great honour and took the vow to obtain supreme enlightenment in the future. Therefore Sūrpikā had become Śāriputra in her present existence. The monks however still had a doubt: if his merit was so great, why had he been born into a family of actors, who in India are despised and belong to the lowest caste? Another time the Buddha answered Śāriputra was the prince Mahāmati (*Blo gros c'en po*) who wanted at all costs to take vows and be admitted into the order, but his father's wishes and his obligations as a king stood in his way. One day, having seen a poor man who could not become a monk because he lacked the means of procuring a tunic and a bowl, he furnished him with what was needed, taking the vow that he would be reborn as a man of low caste.¹⁴³⁾

The story begins in the upper, outer right-hand corner; we see the Buddha preaching among his disciples, while Śāriputra at that very moment attains gnosis; immediately underneath is represented Sūrpikā's story; next the meeting with the old man and the promise to furnish him with what he needed to enter the order; further up, the picture of Mahāmati who has become a king; next the gift of a tunic and a robe to the old man; higher up the old man has become a Pratyekabuddha and displays various miracles to

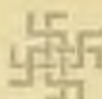
the prince; immediately to the left Śāriputra is initiated for the first time, in the Buddha Kāśyapa's days.

TANKA n. 71 – VII right (Plate 107).

AVADĀNA n. 20
ŚRONAKOṬĪKARŪA

In the village of Vāsava (*Nor las byun ba*) lived a bountiful lord called Bālasena (*sTobs kyī sde*); his wife, under the Śravaṇā constellation, gave birth to a son who, being born with miraculous earrings, was called Śronakoṭikarūa (*Gro bžin bye ba rna ba*). Grown in years, urged by a greed for gain, he undertook an adventurous expedition into distant lands, but on the way he lost his caravan and found himself alone, tortured by hunger and thirst. Thus wandering through sun-parched deserts, he came to an iron city, whose gates were guarded by terrible watchers; having asked in vain for water, he entered the city and discovered that he had fallen among lemures, like him tormented by thirst and hunger, who were there atoning for their past sins.

Śronakoṭikarūa was frightened and fled; at last he found refuge in a cool and shady forest; when night set in, he saw a heavenly chariot and upon it four women, divinely fair, and a kingly youth, who fed and comforted him. But at dawn the chariot disappeared, the young man fell to the ground in a swoon and was torn asunder by ravenous dogs. Night returned, and with it the same vision appeared once more. Śronakoṭikarūa asked the reason of this and was told that the young man had been in the habit of eating meat; the monk Kātyāyana vainly tried to change his ways, at last he could only persuade the young man to avoid forbidden food at night. For this reason, the youth was happy during the night, but dogs devoured him in the daytime. Śronakoṭikarūa resumed his journey and saw another heavenly chariot bearing a man and a bevy



of celestial women; when night arrived, the youth fell down in a swoon and a centipede gnawed his brain. At dawn the man came to life and the heavenly chariot returned. He had been a Brahman who loved his neighbour's wife; as he could not master his passion, in obedience to Kātyāyana, he decided to keep chaste by day; for this reason he was happy in the daytime and tortured by night. Koṭīkarna again set out on his journey, and met a fair lady seated on a heavenly chariot resting on four lemures. He pitied them and asked the reason of their torment; he was told that the woman had once offered generous alms to Kātyāyana, reverently and devoutly. Her husband, her son, her daughter-in-law and her handmaid had been sorely vexed; now, changed into lemures, they were paying for their sin.

Finally Koṭīkarna returned to his country and found his parents who, believing him to be dead, had become blind through much weeping. He then meditated on the impermanence of all things, was admitted into the community and in a short time became an arhat. Having gone to the Buddha, who was in the Venuvana, he heard from him the story of his own past adventures. In Kāśyapa's times, king Kṛkin built a precious stūpa in that Buddha's honour. He died before it was finished, and his son, out of niggardliness, had the work suspended. But a merchant came, who gave the gold needed to finish the stūpa. This merchant was Sroṇakoṭīkarna; owing to his act of devotion, he was reborn bearing miraculous earrings, but he had to endure the hardship of a long travel, because, when about to start on one of his journeys, he had spoken unkindly to his mother.¹⁴⁴⁾

This avadāna occupies the lowest part of the tanka, beginning on the right; the three pictures on the right margin, one under the other, represent Koṭīkarna's three principal meetings: with a goddess on a heavenly chariot supported by four lemures, with the sinner who by night enjoyed the society of celestial maidens and in the daytime was devoured

by dogs, with another man happy in the daytime and tormented by night. The stūpa just visible on high, to the left of the first scene, is a reminder of the meritorious acts performed by Koṭīkarna in his past life. Next Koṭīkarna's arrival in the city of the lemures, his fatigue, the boat on which he travelled; in the centre, lower down, the return to his native city, the attainment of sanctity in the midst of an adoring crowd, the visit to the Buddha.

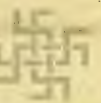
AVADĀNA n. 21

STORY OF ĀMRAPĀLĪ

A king lived in Mithila, named Jalasattva (*C'u yi sems dpa'*); he prospered through the wise advice of his minister Khaṇḍa (*Dum bu*). The other ministers, envying their colleague's wisdom and favour, slandered him in every manner. Khaṇḍa became aware of this and, taking the advice of his sons, he fled.

"Affection, once broken by slander, cannot be welded together again, as a gem is no longer an ornament when it has become a piece of stone", (13).

Time passed, and his son Siṃha became the father of two daughters, Cailā (*Tsai lā*) and Upacailā (*Ñe bai tsai lā*); according to the fortune-tellers, Cailā's son was destined to murder his own father. Khaṇḍa died and his son Siṃha was made minister in his place, while the second son Gopa, vexed that such an honour had not been bestowed upon him, took refuge with Bimbisāra in Rājagṛha. Bimbisāra's wife died, and the king wished to marry Upacailā. Gopa tried by every mean to carry off the maiden, but as she was well guarded, he brought the king Cailā in her place, without concealing from him that fortune-tellers had made an evil prophecy concerning her firstborn. In the meantime the head of a certain community found a maiden in the forest; he named her Āmrapālī (*Ām ra skyoṃ ma*) and when she was grown wished to find her a husband, but the community objected, maintaining that she must be kept for the



members of the community and not given in marriage to a stranger. Āmrapālī succeeded, by a stratagem, in eluding the desires of the community and, as she had become famous for her great beauty, princes of many lands sent her their portraits and asked for her hand. She chose Bimbisāra and had intercourse with him; having borne a child, when he was grown up, she sent him to his father with the ring which the king had left with her when they parted. The story does not proceed as far as Bimbisāra's end, because it was known to all that he had been slain by his son Ajātaśatru; it evokes Āmrapālī's former life, when as Mālātī (*aP'reñ ba can*) she had honoured a Pratyekabuddha, expressing the wish to be born again as a king's wife.¹⁴⁵⁾

The story is represented to the left, immediately under the central figure.

Under the lotus can be seen the chariot upon which the minister carried off Cailā; lower down, exactly in the centre, Āmrapālī's love for Bimbisāra. Above the picture with the chariot, Āmrapālī's son brought before his father and recognized by means of the ring; more to the left, the King receiving Āmrapālī. Underneath, Khaṇḍa with Cailā and Upacailā: still lower down, to the left, Khaṇḍa with his sons.

AVADĀNA n. 22

STORY OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE JETAVANA

The rich merchant Sudatta (*sByin pa*) of Śrāvastī was called by the people Anāthapiṇḍada (*mGon med zas sbyin*) because of his charity and generosity. Wishing to give his son a wife, he sent a Brahman, Madhuskandha (*sBrañ rtsii p'uñ pa*) to Rājagṛha to seek for a bride. The Brahman found her and after having consented to pay the dowry asked by the maiden's family, he fell ill; his host cast him out of the house, fearing infection. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana arrived, and the Brahman, full of earnest faith in the Buddha, died in their presence and was reborn in heaven.

Meanwhile Anāthapiṇḍada received the letter sent by the Brahman before his death; he took the dowry with him, set off for Rājagṛha and got to his future brother-in-law's house where a great banquet in the Buddha's honour was being prepared. The Buddha arrived, in the midst of a crowd of disciples, and Anāthapiṇḍada had thus the opportunity of hearing one of his sermons. Touched by his words, he invited him to Śrāvastī, where he built a monastery in the Jetavana. This incensed the heretics, who led by Raktākṣa (*Mig dmar*) tried to prevent the construction of the vihāra. Raktākṣa, by his magic arts, caused a pond to appear on the spot, and Śāriputra dried it up, using an elephant, created by his power. Raktākṣa then brought forth from his person a seven-headed serpent, and Śāriputra caused it to be subdued by Garuḍa: the other evoked a ghost, but the saint turned it against its maker, whereupon all the heretics were converted. Anāthapiṇḍada could thus finish his monastery, which he richly adorned. Anāthapiṇḍada, the Buddha explained, had also acquired great merit in his former lives, when he had given many gifts to the Buddhas Vipasyin, Śikhin, Krakucchanda and Kāśyapa.¹⁴⁶⁾

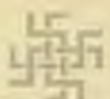
On the tanka the episode is represented in the upper right-hand corner, where the construction of the vihāra in the Jetavana is clearly visible. Underneath, the contest between Śāriputra and Raktākṣa, the Garuḍa seizing the seven-headed serpent, the pond dried up by the elephant. Above, the ghost.

TANKA n. 72 – VIII right (Plate 108).

AVADĀNA n. 23

STORY OF THE ŚĀKYAS

Śuddhodana wished at any cost to see his son, who having renounced his kingdom and his home, had become the Buddha. He sent many devoted friends to beg him to return to Kapilavastu, but not one of them had come



back; they had all taken vows and forgotten their promise.

“Each desires his own good, and has therefore become cold to the interests of others,, (6). Finally, much to the king’s joy, Udayin came back announcing the Buddha’s approaching arrival. The Buddha miraculously came through the skies; father and son met again, and hoping against hope to bring him back to earthly ties, Śuddhodana asked him how he had been able to exchange his untroubled wealth for the hardships of an ascetic’s life. Let him now return to the care of his kingdom and the love of his family. These words were naturally vain. “If life were not unstable as a wave, if it were not troubled by old age and disease, who would not continually desire pleasure, dripping the ambrosia of contentment?,, (34). But life is made of partings, impermanence and pain. “Wealth is attended by the regret of being separated from one’s property, the beauty of women is over in a moment, there is no satisfaction in enjoyments. How can there be any enjoyment, capable of satisfying us, in those things wherein misfortune always lies in ambush?,, (42).

All the Śākya, hearing the Buddha’s words, were converted, to the exclusion of Devadatta, who declared that the Buddha’s majesty, which overpowered them all, was only some magic power; Maudgalyāyana, then, displayed miraculous prodigies and the Buddha ascended to heaven, to preach the Law to the gods, while Śuddhodana vainly tried to reach his son and listen to his word. He then renounced his kingly dignity, offering it to his kinsmen, but no one wanted to accept the cares of a kingdom; princes give it up, one in the other’s favour: all together, from Bhadraka, (*bZaṅ ldan*) the youngest of all, to Devadatta, they took vows. But, almost as though forecasting the sad fate of Devadatta, whose heart was not pure, a vulture tore off a ruby he had in his diadem.

To enter the order, it is necessary to get one’s hair shaved; the novice Bhadraka had to

kneel before Upālin the barber, who was already an important member of the community. The young Śākya’s pride, not yet subdued, shrank before such a humiliation. However, after a moment’s uncertainty, he bowed before the monk, who had once been his servant and barber. Thereupon the earth trembled: pride, one of man’s inborn qualities, the most difficult to uproot, was vanquished. The monks wished to know why the earth should have trembled, and the Buddha explained the reason and reminded them that in his former life Bhadraka had already humbled himself before Upālin.

Once upon a time there was a poor youth who had fallen in love with a harlot, Bhadra by name. She, at a loss how to get rid of him, used to send him off into the forest to pick flowers. One day king Brahmadata found him there; hearing him sing and praising his wisdom, he took the youth with him as a confidant and friend, and went so far as to offer him half his kingdom. After a moment’s hesitation the youth, as though enlightened, refused his offer. “Power is like a poisonous berry: it causes men to quake, to fall into a stupour, prostrates them, envelops them in darkness; as soon as he has tasted it, man dies of it,, (94).

Having perceived the vanity of all things, Bhadraka became a Pratyekabuddha, and the king, on meeting him again, bowed before him. The King was then Bhadra.¹⁴⁷⁾

The tanka represents this episode on the right of the central figure; immediately above the label containing the name and number of the avadāna, king Śuddhodana is seen sending messengers to beg the Buddha to come back. One of these messengers is near the palace door, about to set off. Passing immediately to the great scene on the left of the Buddha, we see Udayin asking Śākyamuni to heed his father’s prayer. Turning back to the right, Udayin’s arrival; he is admitted into the king’s presence and announces Śākyamuni’s approaching arrival. Hence we must pass



to the upper margin, where the Buddha's miraculous arrival by air is represented: to the admiration of all present, the Buddha seated on a throne, surrounded by his disciples, preaches the Law to the Śākya, who can be easily recognized by their turbans and their mundane dress; they take vows and have their hair cut off by Upālin. The scene which follows, immediately to the right, shows the Buddha preaching to the heavenly assembly, while his father vainly tries to enter Paradise, kept back by the guards at its four gates.

Under the label which announces this story, we see Devadatta and the vulture tearing off the ruby from his diadem.

AVADĀNA n. 24

STORY OF VIŚVĀNTARA

This is the tale of Viśvāntara, one of the most celebrated of all Buddhist legends, still a subject for sacred art in different Eastern lands. The Avadāna is so well known that Kṣemendra only gives a brief summary of it, without taking advantage of its dramatic plot, which had inspired pages of the highest poetry to Āryaśūra.

Viśvāntara (*T'ams cad sgröl*) was the son of Saṃjaya (*Kun tu rgyal ba*) and gave himself up entirely to practising the virtue of charity; no one had ever turned to him without having his prayers and requests immediately granted. He began by giving away a war-chariot which was one of the props of his kingdom, causing the king and the ministers great anxiety. When he gave to a Brahman, sent by an enemy king, the elephant which was the defence of the State, the king saw no remedy, but to send his son into exile. The prince departed with his wife and two children; on the road he gave away his chariot and all his property, because "the spirit of great-hearted men is the same, in good and bad fortune," (29), then he gave away his children and in the end even his wife - but this time it was Indra himself who, taking the form of a Brahman,

had asked him for his wife to prove his firmness in keeping a vow. In the end Indra appears in all his divine splendour and returns his wife to him. The prince also found his children, who had been sold to Viśvāmitra and obtained his kingdom.¹⁴⁸⁾

The story is represented in the lower part of the tanka; it begins with the bottom picture, to the onlooker's right, which represents the preaching Buddha; this gave occasion to the avadāna, when the Buddha told the assembled monks the story of his former life as Viśvāntara. In the centre the royal palace, where prince Viśvāntara is seated to receive the needy; on the right a smaller scene is added: he appears with his wife seated on the throne to receive the homage of his people, having returned to his reign after undergoing an exceedingly hard ordeal. On the first plane, below, the beggars depart, happy and loaded with gifts. On the left, the elephant given away to the enemy King; next, under the Buddha's central figure, Viśvāntara exiled by the king. Having given away his horse, Viśvāntara with his wife, bearing his children on his back, meets Indra who has taken the form of a Brahman and asks him for his children. Viśvāntara consents, to the great grief of his wife, who swoons. He then gets back his two children and returns to his kingdom.

TANKA n. 73 - IX right (Plate 109).

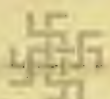
AVADĀNA n. 25

THE ABHINIṢKRAMAṆA

This is a summary of the Buddha's life; although schematic, as is always the case with Kṣemendra, it contains fragments and episodes which are not to be found in other most celebrated biographies.

But it is not necessary to dwell on the Buddha's life, which is known to all.

In this tanka the life of the Buddha is represented in a summary manner; the scenes are more than usually huddled together in the



lower part; beginning from the left we see his birth in the park of Lumbinī, the seven steps taken by the child and marked by lotus flowers, miraculously springing from the ground at every footstep; Yaśodharā's return to the city of Kapilavastu with her son; the royal palace in Kapilavastu, three stories high, in which the main events of Śākyamuni's life took place; the prophecies concerning his future, his studies, his life in the women's apartments, his exit from the city, and at the bottom, the young prince's exercises, Devadatta's rivalry, the shooting of the arrow which pierced seven palm-trees; the fall of the elephant, flung to a great distance to clear the way for the Buddha; the first meditation on work in the fields; the four walks outside the city and the four meetings which caused his decision to abandon the world; the Buddha taking a penitent's robe; asceticism; the Buddha's deep concentration, so profound that the shepherds take him for a statue; his meeting with his first five disciples; the shepherd maidens who offer him food on the banks of the Nairāñjanā; the gods' offering of a bowl with which to beg for food.

AVADĀNA n. 26

THE VICTORY OVER MĀRA

This may be considered the continuation of the preceding avadāna, as it tells the life of the Buddha, up to the victory over Māra and the attainment of enlightenment.¹⁴⁹⁾

Such is the scene depicted on the right of the central Buddha; we see Māra's violent attack, and above it the saint's collected calm, after he has vanquished the king of evil and overcome his temptations.

AVADĀNA n. 27

THE GENEALOGY OF THE ŚĀKYAS

Rather than an avadāna, this is a brief genealogy of the Śākya family; it begins with the formation of the earth, the descent of the Ābhāsvara gods, the election of the first king

Mahāsammata (*Kun gyis bkur ba*), until, through his descendants, we reach Virūdhaka who, out of affection for his youngest son, sent his eldest sons into exile. They took refuge with the ascetic Kapila and later founded Kapilavastu. Thus, through endless generations, the line reached Śudhodana and his brothers Śuklodana, Droṇodana and Amṛtodana.

This genealogy is represented on the upper part of the central section, on the left of the same tanka: immediately above the head of the central figure, the Buddha, surrounded by his disciples in the Nyagrodhārāma, telling the story of the Śākyas' origin. Above, on the left, Mahāsammata; further up, always on the left, Virūdhaka who exiled his sons; the latter set out to sack Kapilavastu.

AVADĀNA n. 28

STORY OF ŚRONAKOṬĪVIMŚA

A very rich merchant called Potala (*Gru-aḍsin*) lived in Campā; he had a son named Sronakoṭīvimśa (*Gro bžin bye ba ŋi šu*). When the boy grew up, he met Maudgalyāyana, and having heard him speak about the Buddha, a deep faith in the Śākya saint sprung up in his heart. He sent the Buddha a present of food so exquisite, that king Bimbisāra, having tasted it, wondered at its excellence and wished to know who the fortunate mortal was that could send such a present. Being told, he desired to visit him, but Potala feared the king's unexpected favour.

"Excessive good fortune becomes hateful even to servants; what then of kings, who have only pride in their souls?," (24).

"Amongst people made of hatred, my son, men live by hiding their virtues; the lotus flower, whose virtues are hidden, is beloved even of the sun," (26).

Potala therefore advised his son to go himself to Bimbisāra; Śronakoṭīvimśa set off to meet the king and offered him precious gifts; then he went with him to the Buddha, and on the way he obliged his numberless servants to





FIG. 105



lay down their rich clothes on the ground. The Buddha instructed him in the law and he took vows. In a short time he advanced a great way on the road to sanctity. The monks asked the Buddha what merits Śroṇakoṭivimśa had accumulated in his past life; they were told that in the times of the Buddha Vipāśyin, he was the poor Brahman Indrasoma (*dBañ poi zla*), who offered the former a little food, collected with great labour.¹⁵⁰

Always in this same tanka the story occupies the uppermost quarter on the right. It continues with memories of the saint's past life; Indrasoma does homage to the Buddha Vipāśyin; lower down we see the birth of Śroṇakoṭivimśa; he sends food to the Buddha; he visits Śākyamuni with his retinue and bids them change their clothes.

TANKA n. 74 - X right (Plate 110).

AVADĀNA n. 29

STORY OF DHANAPĀLA

This is another episode of the Buddha's life. While the saint was in the Kalandakanivāpa, near Rājagṛha, Devadatta advised king Ajātaśatru, whose friend and confidant he was, to serve his own interests by having the Buddha murdered.

"What is the use of friendship when it does not help to destroy enemies, to obtain glory and to increase esteem?., (80). The deed was to be accomplished by the elephant Dhanapāla (*Nor skyon*); next day the elephant-tamer incited the furious animal against the Buddha who, knowing everything in his omniscience, had approached near Rājagṛha to beg. The monks all except Ananda, fled in terror but the Buddha, by his love, subdued the animal, who knelt at his feet and immediately died, to be born again amidst the Caturmahārājā-kāyika gods. In his new incarnation he descended from Paradise to worship the Buddha and to listen to his preaching. When the monks asked what Dhanapāla's former life had

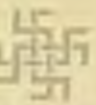
been, Śākyamuni answered that in the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa he had already taken vows, but without observing the rules of discipline; for this offence he was born again as an elephant, and because he had nevertheless entered the holy community, he obtained the reward of listening to his sermon. That Ānanda alone should stand by the Buddha in the hour of peril, had happened before, when both had been born as swans. King Brahmadatta wished to capture one of them, who was the Buddha; the other swan, Ānanda, let himself be caught likewise, so as not to leave his mate.

Another time, when the Buddha was King of Tuṭṭi,¹⁵¹ he was vanquished in battle, and everyone abandoned him except his elephant, who was Ānanda. On still another occasion, being born as a lion and having fallen into a well, all left him except a jackal. Finally, being a gazelle, fallen into the huntsman's nets, another gazelle offered herself to the men, to be killed in the other's place; the man's heart was touched and he let them both go.¹⁵² The story which occupies the lowest part of the tanka, begins at the extreme left corner, where the Buddha is represented in the Kalandaka park, telling his monks Dhanapāla's story: it continues in the right-hand corner, where Devadatta is represented inducing Ajātaśatru to murder the Buddha by inciting the furious elephant against him; between these two pictures is the rest of the story: Dhanapāla's attack, the flight of the monks, the conversion.

AVADĀNA n. 30

STORY OF KĀŚĪSUNDARA

As he expounded the law to Kaunḍinya, the Buddha told him his past life. Brahmadatta had two sons, Kāśīsundara (*Kā śi mdses pa*) and Kālabhū (*Dus keyi sa*). The first found nothing to attract him in the world, perceived the vanity of all things and asked permission of his father to take vows. The father tried to turn him from his purpose by all means. "(Even the life) of kings is asceticism without



a forest, since they must always act according to good advice, follow good men's counsel and continually control their senses,, (23). Man is never satisfied with his lot. "The passionate man aspires to continence; the chaste one remembers love's delights; when a man is gorged, he revels in the harshest vows, when he is hungry he wishes to eat; those who are alone seek company, if the crowd annoys them, they desire the forest; when men have renounced a thing they run after it, and when they have obtained it, they despise it,, (32). But the father's advice and entreaties are vain; Kāśīsundara retired into a hermitage and cultivating the virtue of patience, was known to all as the saint Kṣāntivādin.

In the meantime Brahmadata died and Kālabhū became king; his soul was harsh and cast out kindness. Once, in the springtime, he went into the forest to disport himself with his women; as he slept, tired out with love-making, his comrades discovered Kṣāntivādin in the forest and were so struck with his beauty, emaciated as he has by the ascetic life, that they stopped short to admire him. Kālabhū woke up and finding the women rapt in adoration of Kṣāntivādin, was incensed with jealousy and anger; he insulted the ascetic and cut off first his hands and then his feet, while the victim did not protest nor complain. But through the revenge of the gods, a drouth destroyed all the wealth of the king's land; he repented and ran to beg forgiveness of the saint; the latter called upon the gods to witness that he had never felt any resentment against the king, even in the instant of his most bitter tortures and his body was miraculously made whole. Kṣāntivādin was then the Buddha and Kālabhū the monk Kaundinya.¹⁵³⁾

The narrative on the tanka begins under the central figure, where the Buddha is seen telling the monks, who have gathered around him, the story of Kaundinya's past. The developments that follow are clear: king Brahmadata tries to turn Kāśīsundara from his purpose of embracing an ascetic's life; Kāśīsundara,

who has become Kṣāntivādin, in the midst of his disciples. Above, Kṣāntivādin surrounded by the king's women, kneeling in worship; in the middle his martyrdom.

AVADĀNA n. 31

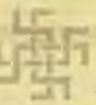
STORY OF SUVARṆAPĀRŚVA

This story is told by the Buddha concerning Devadatta. In the times of Mahendrasena (*dBañ poi sde c'en*), king of Benares, a golden-haired gazelle lived in the forest; her name was Suvarṇapārśva (*gSer gyi logs*) and her beloved comrade was a raven. One day, walking in the forest, she heard moans and calls for help, and seeing a man who had fallen into a pond, she saved him, turning a deaf ear to the raven's preceding advice:

"The wicked, in time of misfortune, are like flowers; when they have obtained their wish like lightning. They do not heed past benefits, and are only the friends of their own good,, (15).

The gazelle recommended the man she had saved to keep her secret and not to reveal her hiding-place to anyone. In the meantime queen Candraprabhā (*Zla 'od*) dreamt that a golden-haired gazelle was preaching the holy law and confided her dream to Mahendrasena, who ordered the ablest huntsmen to search the whole forest for the prodigious animal. They went, and came back without having found her; the king insisted and promised a great prize to anyone who should bring him the animal he desired. So the man Suvarṇapārśva had saved, lured by gain, became the huntsmen's guide; he discovered her and showed her to them, as the gazelle was coming forward of her own accord, to save her comrades from the arrows. The ungrateful man's hands fell off, as if he had been struck by lightning; the king took the wonderful animal to the queen and the gazelle preached the law to her. The gazelle was the Buddha, and the ungrateful man was Devadatta.¹⁵⁴⁾

The legend is represented immediately above the preceding avadāna, it begins with the figure of Mahendrasena distributing gifts in order



that the gazelle may be brought to him; hence we must pass to the picture on the top of the tanka: in its lower portion the gazelles are seen grazing, and the man being saved by Suvarṇa-pārśva; then the hunt, the capture and finally Suvarṇapārśva in the royal palace, preaching the holy law to the king and queen. In the extreme right-hand corner the Buddha telling the monks this former incarnation of Devadatta.

AVADĀNA n. 32

STORY OF KALYĀNAKĀRIN

King Purandara (*aByer ajig*) had two sons, one called Kalyānakārin (*dGe byed*) and the other Akalyānakārin (*Mi dge byed*), the former adorned with every virtue and the latter wicked. Kalyānakārin was so charitable that the treasures of the kingdom were soon exhausted. When king Puṇyasena (*bSod nams sde*) offered him his daughter Manoramā in marriage, he asked his father's permission, before celebrating his nuptials, to go on a long journey to Ratnadvīpa, in order to restore the finances of the State, which he had ruined with his bounties. His brother went with him. Having got to Ratnadvīpa and loaded their ship with great treasure, they were about to reach their country, when shipwreck cast them on an unknown land. While Kalyānakārin was asleep, his brother put out his eyes, stole the gems he kept tied to his person and returned to his native city. Kalyānakārin was taken home by a shepherd, and passed his time playing the *vinā*; the shepherd's wife fell madly in love with him, she confessed her passion, but being rejected and blamed for her wickedness, she accused him to her husband of an attempt to seduce her. Turned out by the shepherd, Kalyānakārin came back incognito to Puṇyasena's kingdom, where he learnt that his father was dead, and the kingdom in the hands of Akalyānakārin. Manoramā, who had been informed of Kalyānakārin's blindness, asked her father to let her choose her husband and refusing the offers of other young

princes, she chose the blind man. The latter was reluctant, but she protested that not all women are as bad as he thinks: if it is true that she loves him with purest love, let one of his eyes be healed. By the force of truth, his right eye regained its sight. And he said in his turn: "If it is true that I feel no hatred for my brother for the wrong he has done me, let my other eye be restored,," And the miracle came to pass.¹⁵⁵⁾

Kalyānakārin was the Buddha and the wicked brother was Devadatta. The beginning of the story is found in the small picture representing the Buddha in the act of speaking to some monks, above the head of the central figure, a little to the right; then king Purandara in his palace and Kalyānakārin's generosity. Passing over the central episode, we see lower down the prince's voyage, his brother putting out his eyes, Kalyānakārin's life among the shepherds; Kalyānakārin playing the *vinā* and, coming back to the scenes in the middle, Kalyānakārin's eyesight restored and his meeting with Manoramā.

AVADĀNA n. 33

STORY OF VIŚĀKHA

Aśoka had four sons and sent them into exile. Wandering in the forest at the end of their resources, they decided to kill their wives; only one of them, Viśākha (*K'yad par lo ma*), fled with his wife, and when she fell down in a swoon, worn out with fatigue, he gave her his blood to drink to restore her and then fed her with his own flesh, cutting it off with his word. One day, while resting on the bank of a river, they saw a man carried along by the current; his hands and feet had been cut off and he was about to be drowned. Viśākha saved him and confided him to his wife's care and she, as their familiarity grew, fell in love with the man.

"Women, who enjoy sexual intercourse to their hearts' content, are not touched by affection, they are not bound by virtue, they are not attracted by nobility, (21). Lying with her lover and considering her husband an obstacle to her passion, the woman sought to get





FIG. 106



rid of him. Feigning a headache, she begged him to get her a medicine from the bottom of a deep gorge and let him down with a rope she held; when he was hanging in mid-air, she let go and he fell into the abyss. His good karma saved Viśākha, who got back to Puṣkarāvātī and was put on the throne in the dead king's place. He ruled wisely, while his wife continued to live with the cripple and, bearing him on her back, roamed from place to place, admired by all as a model wife. Thus wandering, she came to Puṣkarāvātī, where the court priest informed the king of a saintly woman's arrival. Viśākha was skeptical; "That woman should be capable of attachment, is a vain word; that she is without self-interest, only one whose mind is numb can say; to meet a woman devoted to her husband is like finding a flower grown in the void: woman is bad beyond all doubt,, (45). Nevertheless, to please the priest, he went to see her; they recognized each other and the woman fled, ejected by the population.

In that life Viśākha was the Buddha and his wife Devadatta. ¹⁵⁶⁾

The legend is illustrated beginning from the lower left-hand corner. King Aśoka is seen in the royal palace, sending his sons into exile with their wives; then, proceeding upwards, their decision to abandon Viśākha; his wife throwing him into a gorge; a merchant who recognises him; higher up Viśākha seated on his throne, speaking with his ministers, while his wife wanders about the city carrying her husband on her back; next, near the central figure, the Buddha telling the monks about Devadatta's past incarnation.

TANKA n. 75 - XI right (Plate III).

AVADĀNA n. 34

STORY OF NANDOPANANDA

While the Buddha was in the Jetavana, some monks who lived at the foot of Mount Sumeru arrived; they were pale and wan owing

to the bad influence of two Nāgas, Nanda and Upananda, whose poisonous breath scorched even the stones. The Buddha sent Maudgalyāyana to pacify the two Nāgas; the monk, by his magic power, took the shape of a serpent and enveloped Nanda and Upananda in his coils so tightly, that they turned themselves into men and fled in a fright. Maudgalyāyana then resumed his normal shape and advised them to go to the Buddha and be converted. They obeyed and became faithful worshippers of the Śākya saint.

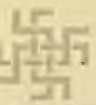
Questioned by his monks, the Buddha told them the nāgas' past history: in the times of king Kṛkin they had been two ministers; though they did not rule justly, they had given a monastery to Kāśyapa, the Buddha of those times. By reason of this gift, they were enabled, in their new life, to hear the words of redemption from Śākyamuni's lips. ¹⁵⁷⁾

The legend represented in the tanka faithfully follows the text: the Buddha receives the ascetics from Sumeru; on high Sumeru enveloped in the coils of Maudgalyāyana, who has become a gigantic serpent; the two nāgas fleeing in human shape; next the story of the nāgas when they were king Kṛkin's ministers.

AVADĀNA n. 35

STORY OF SUDATTA

While the two Nāgas mentioned in the preceding story were with the Buddha, king Prasenajit arrived; he was vexed that they should not have done him homage and decided to punish them, but having perceived his purpose, they caused a shower of swords to fall upon the earth; Maudgalyāyana succeeded in warding it off. Prasenajit begged forgiveness of the offended Nāgas and invited the Buddha to dinner. In the night a fire broke out, and the Buddha immediately extinguished it; hence the king forbade fires to be lit at night, threatening severe punishment. Some time before, Prasenajit had caused Sudatta's son to be put to death for a fault of which he was guiltless;



Sudatta, deeply devoted to the Buddha, bore this wrong with the utmost resignation, and distributed his treasures to the poor; thus impoverished, he was called no longer Sudatta, but Svalpaprada (he who gives little).

One night he lit a lamp to read the sacred scriptures and having thus disobeyed the king's orders, was arrested and cast into prison, but the gods visited him in his cell, and the city took fire, so that Prasenajit was forced to set him free. Sudatta went to do homage to the Buddha and met the king, to whom he did not pay his respects, because:

"In the presence of him whom all the world must worship, no one else may be adored,, (24).

The king could not tolerate this insult to his majesty and ordered Svalpaprada to be exiled, but he had to call him back at once, because the gods, to punish him, had afflicted him with a most severe toothache.¹⁵⁸⁾

The legend develops on the right side of the tanka, beginning on top with a representation of the preaching Buddha; king Prasenajit and the two Nāgas, seated on clouds, are listening; the shower of swords transformed by Maudgalyāyana into a rain of flowers. On the right of the central image's head, the Buddha receiving gifts from Prasenajit, who is next represented in the act of forbidding lamps to be lit; after his son's execution Sudatta is reading the sacred scriptures by the light of a lamp; his liberality; he is sent into exile and goes to the Buddha.

AVADĀNA n. 36

STORY OF GHOSILA

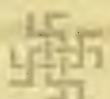
Under Udayana's (*gC'ar byed*) reign a rich merchant named Sudhana lived in Kauśāmbī, who had accumulated great wealth. One day the king asked him whether what was said concerning his huge riches were true and he wisely answered that all was due to the king's merits:

"The rich become poor, the poor go to their death, if the king becomes like a tiger, pitiless, bent upon seizing his prey,, (9).

Satisfied with the merchant's answer, the king made him his minister and confidant; then, to put him to the proof, he commanded him to perform unlawful acts-but Sudhana, rather than execute such orders, preferred to be imprisoned. When he was freed, he distributed his riches to the needy. At that time some ascetics, who had come from the South, lost their way in the forest; they suffered great thirst and, in the utmost despair, implored help; a deity appeared in the sky and miraculously gave them water to drink. That god, in his past life, had been a citizen of Śrāvastī, who pointed out to the beggars Anāthapiṇḍa-da's house, where help and comfort were to be found. For this reason he had been reborn as a god. Continuing their journey, the ascetics felt extremely hungry and having invoked help, they were assisted by another god, who miraculously appeared. He had been a Brahman in his past life; after feeding the community, he had taken the vow to fast; though unable to keep it to the end, he had been reborn as a god through the merit thus acquired. The ascetics went to Sudhana, next to Anāthapiṇḍada and at last to the Buddha; they heard his sermon and took the path to sanctity.

Sudhana built in Kauśāmbī a monastery, known by the name of Cundavihāra; a maid-servant of the temple, called Rādhā (*mGu byed*), gave the Buddha a dress, hoping to be delivered from servitude in a future existence.

On the monks' request, the Buddha told them Sudhana's past life: once upon a time, he said, a very rich and charitable person lived in Benares, called Sundhāna (*gZugs byed*); Padmākara was his agent and friend, Dharmadūta (*C'os kyi p'o ña*) his counsellor and helper in assisting the Pratyekabuddhas and the community; when they forgot to perform their duties at the proper time, a dog they kept admonished them by his bark. Sundhana was the Buddha, Padmākara was Anāthapiṇḍada and Dharmadūta was king Udayana; the dog was Sudhana, also called Ghosila (*gDañs can*).¹⁵⁹⁾



The pictures are rather badly arranged: in the largest scene, at the bottom, the king is seen choosing Sudhana to be his minister; on the left the same Sudhana refusing to perform reprehensible actions; on the right his liberality; further to the left, the ascetics receiving water from a forest deity and, above, the same receiving food from another divinity. The Buddha seated in the temple, in the midst of a crowd who offers him gifts. Under the large image, Sudhana founding the Cundavihāra; then to the right the ascetics with Anāthapiṇḍada; next the same, guided by him, going to hear the Buddha's sermon.

TANKA n. 76 - XII right (Plate 112).

AVADĀNA n. 37

STORY OF PŪRṆA

In the city of Śurvāra (*Slob ma lta bur*) lived a rich merchant, who had three sons. Being seriously ill and at death's door, he was abandoned by his wife and children; only a handmaid called Mallikā took care of him. He was miraculously cured and the maid bore him a son, whom he called Pūrṇa. While his three brothers were at sea, amassing riches, Pūrṇa, grown in years, remained with his father and, by his abilities, made more money than the former by their voyages.

"Through the coming to maturity of a good karma, the riches of those who seek for riches are multiplied;

They fall from the hands of one, and another picks up what has fallen,, (14).

Feeling his end approaching, the father recommended his sons to stand by one another after his death: "Fortune abandons a house divided, as water leaks from a vase,, (18).

But as soon as he was dead, his sons hastened to divide his property and disinherited Pūrṇa, because he was a slave's son. Pūrṇa quickly restored his fortunes and crossed the seas seven times. On the seventh, as he was returning home, he heard some merchants

singing Buddhist hymns and at once desired to see the Buddha; he went to his friend Anāthapiṇḍada in Śrāvastī, saw Śākyamuni, took vows and became famous for his sanctity. He was sent to the savage Sronāparānta and converted them by his humility and resignation. In the meantime his brother Bhavila (*aByor len*), who had lost all his property and had gone to sea once more, happened to enter a forest of precious sandal-wood and with his comrades began to cut down the trees. The yakṣa who protected the forest caused a great storm to break out, which endangered their lives. Feeling lost, they all invoked the saint Pūrṇa, on Bhavila's advice and the saint, miraculously appearing in the air, saved them from danger. The pacified yakṣa allowed them to carry off the sandal-wood; Bhavila, once home, used it, on Pūrṇa's advice, to build the Candanamālā palace, which he offered to the Buddha. The Buddha arrived miraculously by air, moving to great devotion some women who had seen him: they built in his honour the stūpa called Paurāṅganacaitya; Śākyamuni accepted the gift of the palace and consecrated it. Having gone back to the Jetavana, he told the monks Pūrṇa's past life: Pūrṇa had been the provost of a monastery, and had insulted the people whose duty it was to clean it; after passing many lives in various hells, he had been born again as a slave's son. But the good he had done and his past virtues having matured, he had attained salvation in his present existence.¹⁶⁰⁾

The legend occupies the bottom of the tanka; the scenes encroach one upon the other, without following the story as told in the text; the stūpa Paurāṅganacaitya is seen on the left of the central image; above the stūpa, to the right, the Buddha's miraculous arrival by air; under the lower image on this side, towards the left, the conversation of some ascetics. Descending along the left margin, a temple in the city of Śurvāra being offered to the Buddha, and the sandal-wood brought by Bhavila; to the right, in the centre of the tanka, Bhavila in the Jetavana is performing the ceremonies





FIG. 107



of expiation; exactly above, the Buddha in the act of preaching to Kṛṣṇa and Gautama; further above, some horses and a boat in the sea represent Pūrṇa's journeys; still to the left, Bhavila's voyages, the storm and Pūrṇa's miraculous apparition. Going back to the left, his father's illness and the handmaid ministering to him; proceeding to the right, Pūrṇa's birth and in the furthest left-hand corner the division of his property, Pūrṇa's and Anāthapiṇḍada's visit to the Buddha; in the right-hand corner the Buddha's arrival in the Jetavana and the converted Bhavila doing him homage.

The past story must be looked for, strange to say, in the little scene in the extreme right-hand corner on top.

AVADĀNA n. 38 STORY OF UDAKA

The Buddha was grieved to see that the Śākya, although they had taken vows, liked to wear monkish tunics that were too rich; he therefore withdrew for three months and did not allow anyone to approach him, but he received Upasena, who dressed according to the rules, much to the monks' wonder: in this manner they realized their fault. Then they all went to the Buddha, who told them their past history: once in Benares lived king Brahmadatta, whose wife Brahmavatī bore him a son called Udaka (*C'u skyes*); at the same time the sons of 500 ministers were born. Udaka, grown in years, feeling no attraction for the things of this world, wished to become a monk and fearing that his father would not give his consent, he pretended to be dumb and lame. Physicians advised that he should be made to experience some violent emotion, which might cure him, and feigned to lead him to the scaffold, hoping that fear would restore his speech. Many times, having uttered sentences full of a secret meaning, Udaka had fallen back into silence. Finally his father promised to grant him anything he asked for, if he would only speak. Udaka

then asked to be allowed to take vows; the king, having tried to dissuade him to no purpose, consented and Udaka started for his hermitage, accompanied by the 500 ministers' sons, who took vows with him. But Udaka, grieving because they dressed too richly, retired into solitude and allowed nobody to approach him, except a gazelle and an ascetic who had sworn to imitate the gazelles' way of life. Then his comrades understood their error. Udaka was then the Buddha, and the 500 ministers' sons were the Śākya.¹⁶¹⁾

The legend is represented in the upper part of the tanka, above the Buddha's image. The palace in the centre, with figures inside it, represents Udaka's obstinate silence; the preaching Buddha to the right is telling the Śākya, in the Jetavana, the sin they had committed in their past life; to the left of the same palace, below, Udaka, followed by the ministers' sons, is going towards the hermitage; above, he has taken vows in the midst of his disciples; he has retired into solitude and allows only gazelles to approach him.

AVADĀNA n. 39 STORY OF KṢĀNTI

After the Buddha had converted the yakṣa Udumba, Indra went to do him homage. The Buddha smiled, remembering what had happened to him in that same place, during his past life.

Once upon a time there was an ascetic named Kṣānti, who practised the virtue of patience. The king of the country was then Kali (*rTsod ldan*), of an angry and cruel disposition; one day, walking in the forest with his women to disport himself, he came to Kṣānti's hermitage. The women were struck with admiration of the ascetic's serene beauty, but the king, in a fit of violent jealousy, had the saint's hands and feet cut off. The saint showed no anger and gave no moan. Other ascetics, Kṣānti's comrades, arrived; moved to indignation, they were about to curse the king



but the saint checked them and recommended them to be patient and resigned. "If it is true, he said, that when Kali caused me to be maimed in this manner I did not feel any resentment against him, may the limbs he has cut off be restored,, and immediately so happened. The Buddha was then Kṣānti and Kali was no other than Devadatta.¹⁶²⁾

The avadāna is represented to the left of the central image; the first scene, near its head, represents the smiling Buddha; near him the Yakṣa and Indra, the latter asking him why he smiles. Underneath, the king in his palace with the queen; above, the women surrounding the ascetic and his martyrdom.

AVADĀNA n. 40

THE STORY OF KAPILA

While the Buddha was in Vaiśālī, fishermen drew from the river Valgumatī (*Yid 'on ldan pa*) a great fish, so large that they could not land it. The Buddha came up and spoke to the fish, asking him if he remembered his past life. The fish said he did and listened to the Buddha's sermon.

The people wished to know about the fish's past life and the Buddha told them. In the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa, Kṛkin, a just and charitable king, ruled in Benares. One day the Brahman Vādisimha (*sMra bai sen ge*) asked the king to find him a rival, with whom to engage in a philosophical debate, in order to show his ability as a wrangler.

"The intelligence of good men is ashamed to boast of its own virtues. Nevertheless, those desiring a noble debate are talkative,, (31).

And he called another great master, begging him to accept Vādisimha's challenge. The latter was vanquished. The other went back to his country, but at the point of death he told his son Kapila, even wiser than himself, to avoid any debate with the Buddhists, and to do only good deeds.

"Man causes life to flow by all manner of industry and doctrine; he hoards treasures,

which give him pleasure for a moment; a disciple of error, he takes delight in cattle and sons; but at the moment of parting from his body, everything becomes alien to him and he to those things,, (51).

Kapila vanquished all those who wrangled with him, but obeying his father's advice, he avoided the Buddhist monks. His mother, however, urged him to challenge the Buddhist masters and to demolish the structure of their dogmas with his logical arguments. He went to the Buddha Kāśyapa, but on the way he met a monk who answered his criticism with one simple verse, which he was unable to refute. Thus disappointed, he returned to his mother, who, incensed with passion, obliged him to persist. He took vows and mounting the preacher's chair, taught the doctrine in a wilfully false manner; the monks were astonished and fled from him. He then repented, but to atone for his sin he was born again as a fish and his mother was flung into Hell.

After the Buddha had revealed this story, the fish died and was born again among the gods; thus he did homage to Śākyamuni in heavenly glory.¹⁶³⁾

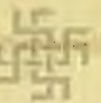
This story is represented to the right of the central image; beginning from the bottom, the scenes of the fishermen and the Buddha's sermon; above the debate in king Kṛkin's times, the conversation between Kapila and his mother; Kapila's admittance into the order; almost on the extreme right-hand corner, the monks' wonder and indignation.

TANKA n. 77 - XIII right (Plate 113).

AVADĀNA n. 41

STORY OF UDRĀYAṆA

The king of Rauruka (*sGra sgrogs*) was a great friend of Bimbisāra; his name was Udrāyaṇa. The two kings often exchanged letters and gifts as tokens of friendship. Once Udrāyaṇa sent Bimbisāra a superb armour and the latter did not know what return to make for



the present; he took counsel of his faithful ministers Hiruka and Bhiruka, and decided to send him a portrait of the Buddha. Udrāyana, informed in time by his friend's letter, went to meet the image and ordered great celebrations, while the gods rained flowers from heaven. The king was converted, and Bimbisāra sent him Kātyāyana and the nun Śailā.

After Kātyāyana's sermon two merchants, Tiṣya and Puṣya, were converted and entered nirvana; on their tombs two stūpas were built, worshipped through the centuries. Śailā preached the law to the queen, who hearing from an astrologer that she would die in seven days, took vows and on the appointed day expired. She was reborn in heaven, descended upon earth to do homage to the Buddha and then appeared to her husband in a dream. King Udrāyana, acting upon her advice, abdicated in favour of his son Śikhāṇḍin (*gTsug p'ud can*), went to Bimbisāra in order to be introduced to the Buddha and took vows.

His son Śikhāṇḍin, little by little, forgot his father's advice; he discharged Hiruka and Bhiruka and took for his ministers Daṇḍa (*aByug pa*) and Mudgara (*T'o ba*) who, encouraging his sinful life, brought the kingdom to its ruin.

Udrāyana met a merchant who told him about his son's misrule; the king decided to return to his country to preach the law, but the wicked ministers heard from the merchants that he was on his way; they were troubled and poisoned his son's mind against him with groundless misgivings.

"Those who have taken vows prematurely become more than ever attached to the things they had abandoned too early,, (86).

The king is coming dressed as a monk to regain his kingdom; let him be slain.

Udrāyana took leave of the Buddha and set out for Rauruka, but his son's men murdered him on the way; Śikhāṇḍin, seeing his father's blood-stained garments, repented, called back his former ministers Hiruka and

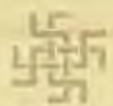
Bhiruka and deprived Daṇḍa and Mudgara of office. Nevertheless they succeeded in persuading the queen that reasons of state had inspired their conduct, and to regain the king's confidence they put two cats into the stūpas built over Puṣya's and Tiṣya's remains and having accustomed them to live there, they showed the cats to Śikhāṇḍin, telling him that the sanctity Buddhism preaches about is a vain boast: the two monks had not passed into nirvana, they had been born again as cats. Śikhāṇḍin let himself be convinced and when Kātyāyana and Śailā, sent by the Buddha, got to Rauruka, he forbade them to enter the city. Once the king went out for a walk; he saw Kātyāyana in the distance and, acting on the advice of the two wicked accomplices, he had him buried under a heap of sand. The two good ministers, having seen the scene, were troubled and grieved that the good monk should thus be insulted; Kātyāyana foretold the impending ruin of the city and advised them to flee for safety with their treasures.

The ministers followed the monk's advice; Hiruka entrusted his son Śyāmāka (*sNo bsans*) to Kātyāyana and Bhiruka put his daughter Śyāmāvātī (*sNo bsans can ma*) into Śailā's hands. Now a great wind began to blow; on the second day there was a rain of flowers, on the third a rain of garments, on the fourth of silver, on the fifth of gold, on the sixth of gems, on the seventh of sand, which covered and destroyed everything. Rauruka's protecting deity shifted her abode to Khara-vatī, where she built a stūpa in Kātyāyana's honour. The latter, having departed by air, carried Hiruka's son to Lambaka (*aP'yan ba*), where he was crowned king. Continuing his travels, the ascetic got to Bhokkānaka, where he preached the holy law to his mother; she asked her son for a stick and she built a stūpa upon it. He then came into the Buddha's presence and was told Udrāyana's past history. He had once been a hunter and having set his toils to catch game, he found that the animals were no longer





FIG. 108



attracted by his traps, because a Pratyekabuddha had settled in the neighbourhood. Blinded with anger, he slew the saint. Later he repented and built a stūpa over his remains. There was also a man named Nanda; his daughter Madalekhā (*rGyags pai ri mo*) once covered a Pratyekabuddha with ashes: she was Śikhāṇḍin; the two friends who had tried to prevent the outrage were king Udrāyaṇa's two ministers.¹⁶⁴)

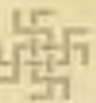
In the picture the scenes surrounding the central figure do not follow one another in an order corresponding to the plot of the legend. Immediately to the right of the central figure, a little lower down, are represented the two regal friends, in two different palaces; above, along the outer margin, Udrāyaṇa is led by Bimbisāra to the Buddha and takes vows; higher up a painter paints the Buddha's portrait. The coronation of Hiruka's son; Kātyāyana's arrival in Bhokkānaka and the building of the stūpa of the stick; next, under the central figure, Udrāyaṇa's murder; the picture sent to him by Bimbisāra carried on an elephant and the king going to meet the image; passing to the left, at the height of the central figure's head, two flying figures represent Kātyāyana and Śailā; underneath Tiṣya's and Puṣya's stūpa; along the outer margin the queen's conversion; the Buddha's picture as an object of worship; the two ministers Hiruka and Bhiruka trying to advise king Śikhāṇḍin; they entrust their children to Kātyāyana and Śailā; the good ministers are deprived of office; rain destroys the city. Then, at the bottom, Udrāyaṇa's former life is represented, briefly as usual: he kills the Pratyekabuddha and then, conscience-stricken, builds a stūpa over his relics.

AVADĀNA N. 42

STORY OF PAṆḌITA

In Śrāvastī lived Paṇḍita, the son of Dhīra, an immensely rich man; he was devout and charitable. A terrible famine broke out and

he exhausted his treasures in helping the needy. One day, while going to visit the Buddha, he met on the way some rogues, who knowing that he had vowed not to refuse anything to those who sought his aid and seeing him loaded with jewels, asked him for them. He was at a loss what to do; if he gave them the jewels, he would have nothing to offer the Buddha; if he refused, he would break his charitable vow. While he was thus doubtful and uncertain, the earth opened up and the serpent Śeṣa appeared, who gave the beggars what they wanted. Later they repented and went with Paṇḍita to the Buddha, who preached the law and urged Paṇḍita to provide sustenance for one thousand three hundred and fifty monks and to distribute his riches to the needy. Paṇḍita gladly consented and having gone home, gave away his treasures, which became coals in the hands of those who had accumulated a bad karma in their past lives. Paṇḍita then comforted the sinners and advised them to go to the Buddha. They went and when they had done homage to the community for a day, the coals turned into jewels. Endless treasures appeared again in Paṇḍita's house; according to the law, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father's permission to take vows and, joining Śāriputra, soon progressed on the road to sanctity. One day the Buddha had gone out to beg, and Paṇḍita had remained alone in the hermitage. He began to meditate and Indra, perceiving that he was about to reach supreme enlightenment, ordered the kings of the four points of the compass to watch over him, lest anybody should disturb him. The Buddha himself, fearing that Śāriputra, entering the hermitage, might trouble Paṇḍita, miraculously appeared to his disciple and kept him engaged until Paṇḍita attained the fruits of his meditation. The Buddha then told Paṇḍita's past life. In the times of the Buddha



Kāśyapa there was a poor man named Durgata (*dBul po*), so poor that he had never been able to offer a gift to any monk; when at last Indra made him a present of some exquisite food, he was unable to find a monk he could offer it to and, at the height of despair, wanted to take his own life. But at that very moment Kāśyapa appeared before him and accepted his alms, while Durgata took the vow to obtain great treasures, in order to give all those who were in need what they desired. This actually came to pass, and during seven days he continued to honour Kāśyapa. Durgata was precisely Paṇḍita.¹⁶⁵⁾

The avadāna is represented on the lower margin of the tanka, beginning from the right, immediately after the scenes belonging to the preceding story; in the enclosure of a monastery the Buddha charges Paṇḍita to give alms regularly to one thousand three hundred and fifty monks; on the right Paṇḍita is taking vows. Underneath Śāriputra comes forth from the hermitage, leaving Paṇḍita alone, and the latter, under Indra's protection, becomes an arhat. In the last small picture in the right-hand corner, Paṇḍita is going to Śāriputra. The riches he has distributed, which had become coals, are again changed into gems when the recipients of his charity turn their thoughts to the Buddha. The gift of a sixth part of his treasures to the King. Then the work of the fields, meditating upon which he attains supreme enlightenment. At the bottom his birth and in the corner his past life.

AVADĀNA n. 43

STORY OF KANAKAVARṆA

One day, in Śrāvastī, the Buddha thus spoke to the monks: In ancient times there was in Kanaka (*gSer*) a king called Kanakavarṇa (*gSer mdog*), wise and charitable. A great drought broke out, and the people were dying of hunger. He then assembled his ministers and took counsel with them, how he might relieve the people's misfortune.

"A king who does not help his people when a great danger has come upon them, wears his crown like a play-actor,, (11).

He then opened up his store-houses to the poor, so that what was left to him sufficed but for one repast; a Pratyekabuddha arrived, and he stinted himself of the last morsel of food and offered it to him. The skies then rained garments, gems and victuals. King Kanakavarṇa was the Buddha.¹⁶⁶⁾

On the tanka the story begins in the centre of the upper part, above the head of the central figure; the Buddha in the Jetavana tells the Kanakāvadāna to the assembled monks; to the left the famine, the distribution of the royal treasures; the offering of food to the Pratyekabuddha, the rain of gems.

AVADĀNA n. 44

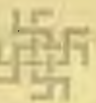
STORY OF HIRANYAPĀṆI

While the Buddha was in the Jetavana, Devasena (*Lba yi sde*) lived in Śrāvastī; he had a son called Hiranyapāṇi (*gSer gyi lag*), from whose hands twenty thousand silver coins miraculously fell every day; he distributed them to the needy. He was weary of life, because:

"The life of men is ephemeral, youth still more so; these our riches the most impermanent of all, like a gleam of lightning,, (12). He went to the Buddha, took vows, and in a short time attained perfect sanctity.

The Buddha told the admiring monks Hiranyapāṇi's past life: in the times of king Kṛkin, when the Buddha Kāśyapa entered nirvana, a stūpa was built above his remains by the king's order; then a craftsman placed on the pinnacle of the stūpa two pieces of silver; he was Hiranyapāṇi.¹⁶⁷⁾

Immediately to the right of the scene in the Jetavana, Hiranyapāṇi is represented in the act of being ordained as a monk by the Buddha; towards the right-hand corner his birth and the miracle of his hands; underneath his deserving deeds in the Buddha Kāśyapa's times.



TANKA n. 78 – XIV right (Plate 114).

AVADĀNA n. 45

AJĀTAŚATRU KILLS HIS FATHER

When the Buddha was in the *Gr̥dhrakūṭa*, Ajātaśatru, instigated by Devadatta, had his own father arrested, cast him into a dungeon with the purpose of letting him die of starvation and had his feet cut off. Bimbisāra invoked the Buddha, who appeared to him twice, recommending him to be patient and long-suffering. No help could avail: he was gathering the fruits of his past conduct:

“This is the road of evil deeds. The fruits of what you have done, good or bad, are not exhausted if first they have not been atoned for,, (18).

Bimbisāra died peacefully and was born again among the gods, but Ajātaśatru, prey to heart-rending remorse, ran to the Buddha to learn if it would ever be possible for him to escape the inexorable consequences of his crime.

The Buddha advised him to give himself up to good works, and told him Bimbisāra's past life: once upon a time there were four young men, who were seen by a Pratyekabuddha while secretly drinking and enjoying themselves. Furious at having been discovered, they wanted to kill him, each in a different manner; one of them, called Kandara, said that the best way to get rid of him would be to flay him: he was Bimbisāra, who had now paid for his wicked intention.¹⁶⁸⁾

The legend is represented to the right of the lotus flower on which the central figure is seated; it begins at the top, with Bimbisāra seated in the interior of his palace, receiving the news of Ajātaśatru's birth and the festivities which followed. Ajātaśatru in conversation with Devadatta. Bimbisāra in prison; the Buddha appears to the captive king; the Buddha, from the *Gr̥dhrakūṭa*, flies through the air to the king who has invoked him; the Buddha's sermon; Ajātaśatru, repentant,

seeks refuge with the Buddha and asks his aid; at the bottom, exactly in the centre of the tanka, Bimbisāra's past life and his sin.

AVADĀNA n. 46

STORY OF KṚTAJÑA

Devadatta had decided to murder the Buddha at any cost, because:

“Until the sun has set, no other light shines,, (4).

He steeped his nails in poison and approached the saint humbly, as if to do him homage, intending to scratch him and to inject the poison into him. But before he could succeed in his intent, the earth opened and swallowed him up; he was hurled into Hell. The Buddha then told his past history. King Ratisoma (*Yid bzaiñ*) had two sons, Kṛtajña (*Bya śes*) and Akṛtajña (*Bya ma śes*); the former charitable and virtuous, the latter of a wicked disposition. When they reached marriageable age, king Matighoṣa (*Blo gros dbyaṅs*) wished to give his daughter to Kṛtajña, who in order to regain the riches he had given to the poor and needy, went to sea, followed by his brother. On the way back the boat was shipwrecked, but the two brothers were saved; while Kṛtajña was sleeping, overcome by fatigue, Akṛtajña put out his eyes and got possession of the treasures he had with him. Kṛtajña, after long wanderings, reached king Matighoṣa's court by chance and, his blindness notwithstanding, was chosen as a husband by his daughter. He reproached her for her unfortunate choice, but she assured him that her love was eternal: if it was true that she loved him sincerely, let his right eye be restored. And the eye was miraculously made whole. Then Kṛtajña assured her that when his brother had blinded him, he had not experienced any resentment. And through the power of truth, his other eye was healed as well.

He went back to his father, was received with great celebrations and made a partner to the throne; Akṛtajña, feigning to beg his





FIG. 109

forgiveness, attempted to murder him in the same way as Devadatta had done with the Buddha. But he was hurled into Hell. Akṛtajña was Devadatta. ¹⁶⁹⁾

With this story we pass to the left of the central figure, almost on a level with the Buddha's shoulders; Devadatta is seen approaching the saint, but before he can carry out his plan, he sinks into Hell. Passing now to the upper right-hand corner, we see King Ratisoma with his wife and sons; underneath Matighoṣa giving his daughter in marriage to Kṛtajña; the upper space is occupied by the two brothers' voyage; next, near the central figure, the meeting of Matighoṣa's daughter with the blind prince; his eyes miraculously healed; in the centre Kṛtajña on his throne.

AVADĀNA n. 47

STORY OF THE BUNCH OF RICE

While the Buddha was preaching the law, four Nāgarājas came to hear his words with great devotion; king Prasenajit arrived and all greeted him except the nāgas. The king was incensed and wanted to be revenged; in vain the Buddha advised him to subdue his pride:

"On the troubled mirror of a mind covered with the dust of hatred, the image of the teachings of the law cannot adhere., (15).

The king's guards chased the two nāgas, who in their flight through the paths of heaven, brought down hail and whirlwinds on Prasenajit's kingdom. To put an end to the people's wretchedness, the Buddha sent Maudgalyāyana, who changed the hail into a rain of victuals. Prasenajit returned to thank the Buddha, and the monks asked what good karma the king had accumulated in his past life. The Buddha told them this story: one upon a time a cultivator of sugarcane offered some sweet viands to an ailing Pratyekabuddha, who was thus restored to health: that farmer was Prasenajit.

Prasenajit came back to the Buddha and asked him if, through all the merits he had

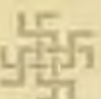
acquired by honouring him and the community, he might hope to attain salvation. The Buddha smiled: he too had done much good, nevertheless he had not been able to escape rebirth for long ages. Once there was a charitable and high-souled man, Dhanika (*Nor can*), who in times of great famine had fed five hundred Pratyekabuddhas and then another two thousand; he was rewarded with great riches, not with salvation. Dhanika was then the Buddha.

The legend is represented immediately to the right of the last small picture of the preceding story: the Buddha's sermon to the king of the Nāgas; the rain brought down by the Nāga king; Maudgalyāyana's miracle; then, always proceeding towards the bottom, the king offering food to the Buddha and asking him if his liberality is sufficient to attain salvation; finally, near the beginning of Ajātaśatru's avadāna, the king is seen thanking Maudgalyāyana and doing him homage.

AVADĀNA n. 48

STORY OF SIDDHĀRTHA

Once upon a time the Buddha told his monks in Śrāvastī there was a prince named Siddhārtha (*Don grub*), pious and high-souled. Walking one day in the forest, he met a poor beggar, and was so troubled by the sight that he took a vow to put an end to poverty on the face of the earth and decided to ask Sāgara (*rGya mts'o*) the King of the Nāgas, for the gem *cintāmaṇi*, which miraculously brings forth all the riches man can desire. He accordingly set out on a long and perilous journey, overcoming all obstacles by his firmness and piety: he travelled through the land of venomous serpents, through the land of the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas and finally reached Sāgara's home. Sāgara welcomed him cordially and was glad to give him the gem *cintāmaṇi*, on condition that he should bring it back after having accomplished his vow. Siddhārtha again embarked to return to his country; during the voyage a jealous



god obtained the gem from him under a pretext and dropped it into the sea. In vain Siddhārtha begged and prayed him to return it. He then decided, at the height of despair, to dry up the sea with a vase that Viśvakarman had offered him. But the gods being on his side, he got back the gem, returned to his kingdom and accomplished his vow.¹⁷⁰⁾

The story begins on the left of the tanka, under the story of Kṛtājñā, with the scene of the Buddha surrounded by monks: he is telling them about Siddhārtha's adventurous journey. Along the margin, descending towards the bottom, the incidents of the journey, the gem lost and found. Under the central image we see once again the distribution of riches, and under the Buddha, the meeting with Sāgara, king of the Nāgas.

TANKA n. 79 – XV right (Plate 115).

AVADĀNA n. 49

STORY OF HASTAKA

In Śrāsvatī a son was born to Suprabuddha (*Legs par rab sad*), named Hastaka (*Glan po can*); at the same time a marvellous elephant with golden tusks came into the world. Hastaka once met king Prasenajit's daughter and the two young people fell in love. His father felt much anxiety on account of this dangerous passion, because: "Wise men who wish to be esteemed do not undertake things impossible to be carried out, they do not desire what is obtained with difficulty, they do not say what should not be said,, (28).

Hastaka in the meantime asked the elephant for his golden tusks and took them to the king, who was delighted with the gift and would have liked to reward him at any price: Hastaka accepted neither riches nor honours, but finally, obliged by the king's insistence to declare what he desired, asked for the hand of the princess. Prasenajit took counsel with his ministers: he did not want to break his word, but neither

did he wish to give the youth his daughter. The Ministers suggested that he give this answer: the princess would be his, when he had brought the elephant whose golden tusks he had presented to the king. They believed that, to get the tusks, he must have killed the elephant. But to their great wonder, the young man appeared with the elephant, whose tusks had already grown again. The king could not help giving him his daughter; then he went to the Buddha to learn the merits that his son-in-law had surely accumulated in his past life. Śākyamuni told him that in ancient times the Buddha Vipasyin, while he was begging in king Bandhuman's (*gNen ldan*)¹⁷¹⁾ capital, had met in the street two boys playing with a wooden elephant; having nothing else to offer the Buddha, they gave it to him, taking the vow that they would always be united in their future life. This came to pass and the elephant too was brought to life and received a blessing through the miraculous touch of the Buddha's feet.

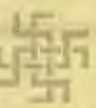
The scene is represented in the lowest picture to the left of the tanka. Under the central image the Buddha is telling the monks Hastaka's story; immediately to the right king Prasenajit is going to the Buddha with Hastaka; above, Hastaka's past life and that of the elephant; below, the young man's education and his exercises; going back to the centre of the tanka, the offering of the elephant's tusks; the king's refusal and then his acceptance of Hastaka's suit.

AVADĀNA n. 50

THE TEN SINS

(DAŚAKARMAPLUTI)¹⁷²⁾

Once some women, prompted by the heretics' wicked advice, tried to tempt the Buddha and for this sin they were damned to Hell. Then, near Lake Anavatapta, Śākyamuni spoke to the assembled monks about the karma he had accumulated in his past lives, whose last consequences he was bearing in his present life. He then sent



Maudgalyāyana to call Śāriputra, who was at that moment on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa, busy sewing his monk's tunic; the two monks vied with each other in displaying their magic powers; Śāriputra won the contest, and the Buddha told the story of his past. Once upon a time there were two ascetics, who quarrelled for some trifling reason, and became so furious that one of them called Śaṅkha (*Duñ*) kicked the other, Likhita (*Bris pa*); the latter then laid this curse upon his comrade: his head, at sunrise, would be blown to pieces. Śaṅkha then stopped the sun's course. Finally Likhita repented and made a clay image of Śaṅkha's head; when the sun rose, the clay head crumbled into fragments and the curse came to an end. Śaṅkha was then Maudgalyāyana and Likhita was Śāriputra.¹⁷³)

But, owing to the ripening of his karma, the Buddha too, in his last life upon earth, had undergone various misfortunes. 1) His thumb was crushed by a stone, 2) his foot was pierced by a *khadira* thorn, 3) having gone begging, he had obtained nothing, 4) he had been slandered by women, 5) he had been insulted by some young Brahmans, 6) he had eaten rotten wheat (*kodrava*), 7) during seven seasons he endured penances, 8) he was taken ill, 9) his head ached when the Śākya clan was destroyed, 10) his body suffered fatigue.

"The ties of his karma are to a man like servants ready for a journey, who follow him when he is in motion, and stop in front of him when he stops,, (31).

1st Story. – Once a rich man called Kharvaṭa (*K'ar ba ṭa*) had in his house a step-brother called Mugdha (*Mug dha*). A woman friend of his named Kālikā (*Nag mo*) repeatedly urged him to kill Mugdha and get the whole family heritage for himself. At first Kharvaṭa refused, thinking that:

"It is not reasonable that people attached to riches should harbour sinful thoughts with the object of (getting) those treasures; all property, even when well guarded, is lost in a moment,, (44).

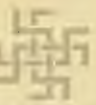
At last, pressed by his friend, he gave in and finally committed the crime. This man was an ancient incarnation of the Buddha; after having atoned for his sin in Hell, in his last incarnation he had wounded his thumb on that account.

2nd Story. – Arthadatta (*Don byin*) was coming back from Ratnadvīpa loaded with riches; one of his comrades, who had lost everything, through envy tried to bore a hole in the ship in order to sink it. Arthadatta, unable to turn him from his purpose, finally slew him. Arthadatta was the Buddha; for this act he had committed his foot was wounded by a thorn.

3rd Story. – When the Pratyekabuddha Upāriṣṭa (*Uparima*, in the prose text: *U pa rin*) came to Kāśi to beg, Capalaka (*gYo ldan*) upset his bowl; Capalaka was the Buddha; for this reason the Buddha's bowl had not been filled.

4th Story. – Vasiṣṭha (*Ba si ṣṭha*) and Bharadvāja (*Bha ra dvā dsa*) were brothers; the former being honoured by all as a saint, his brother, envying his fame, borrowed his clothes and gave them to a harlot, in order that she might accuse Vasiṣṭha of having made her a present of them in exchange for her favours. Bharadvāja was then the Buddha, and through the ripening of that karma, he had been insulted in his present life.

5th Story. – In Benares a certain Mr̥ṇāla (*Paḍ mai rtsa*, in prose *P. rtsa lag*) loved the courtesan Bhadrā (*bZaṅ mo*) and to reward her services he gave her clothes and jewels. Another suitor appeared and Bhadrā, after long hesitation, listened to the advice of her handmaid Makarikā (*C'u srin ma*) and gave herself to the newcomer. Makarikā disclosed everything to Mr̥ṇāla who, blinded with jealousy, killed the courtesan. Then, fearing punishment, he fled into the forest and placed the gory dagger near a Pratyekabuddha, but no sooner had the latter been arrested and brought before the judge, that he confessed his sin; owing to a remainder of



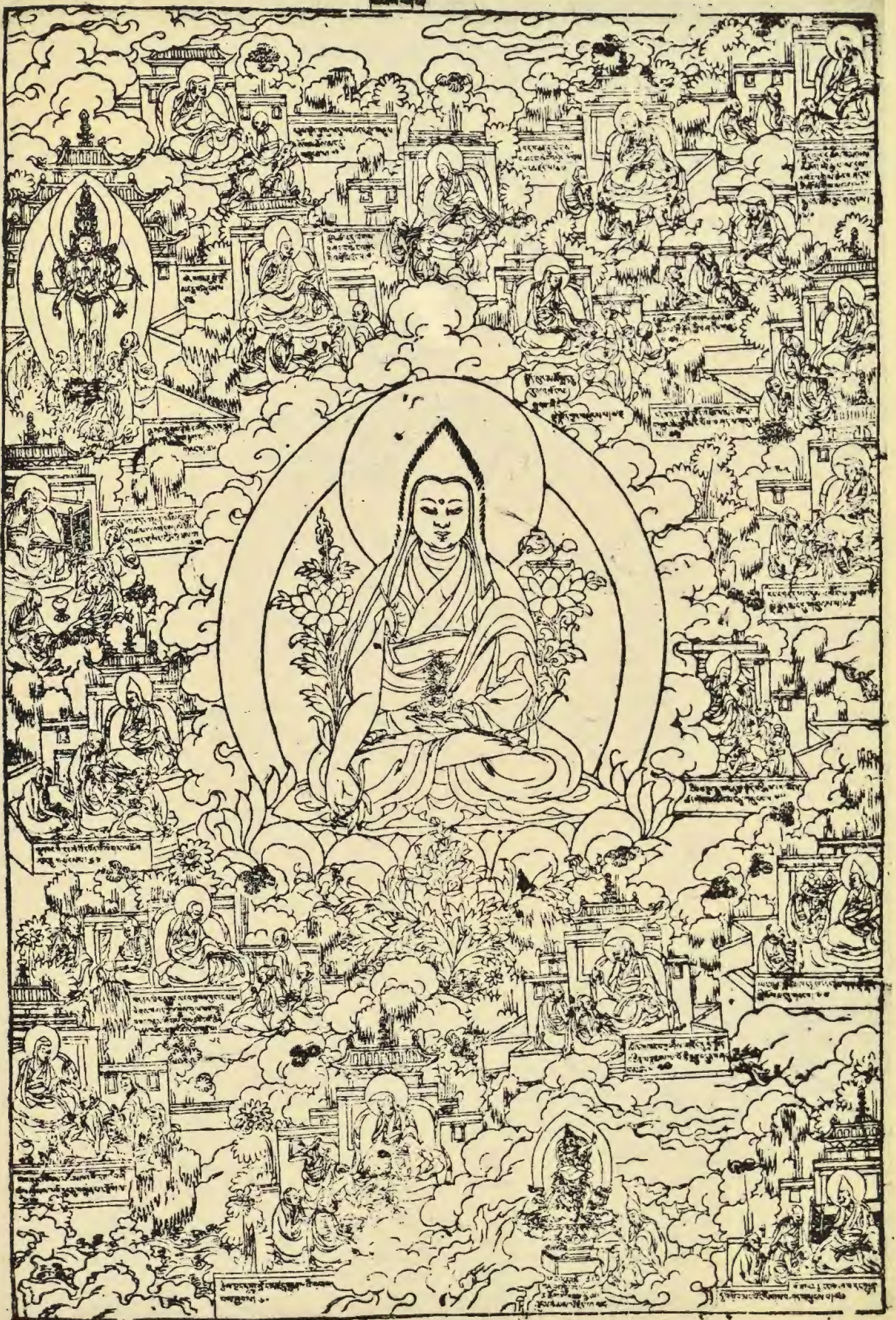
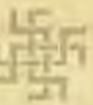


FIG. 110



this evil deed, which he had long atoned for in Hell, the Buddha had now been slandered by heretical women.

6th Story. – While the Buddha Vipasyin was received with great festivities in Bandhumatī (*gÑen ldan*) the Brahman Māthara (*Mā tha ra*) tried to dissuade the people from honouring him. Māthara was then the Buddha who, for his sin, had to eat rotten wheat in this life.

7th Story. – In another life Śākyamuni had been Uttara (*Ut ta ra*), who insulted the Buddha of those times; for that sin he now had to do penance for six years before attaining enlightenment.

8th Story. – Once a rich lord named Dhanavān (*Nor ldan*) had a son Śrīmān (*dPal ldan*) who was always sickly; the physician Tiktamukha (*K'a bai bžin*) healed him by an appropriate cure, but received no reward from the boy's miserly father; as the case was often repeated, the physician finally poisoned his patient, who died. The physician was the Buddha who, through a remnant of that crime, was subject to illness in this life.

9th Story. – When the Buddha was a fisherman's son, he was delighted to see that two fishes had been caught in the net; for this sin he was punished in this life by a headache.

10th Story. – In one of his past lives, the Buddha had been a Malla prince who killed his rival and cut him in two; because of a remnant of this crime, he was affected with a disorder of the wind humour.

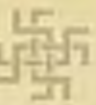
The legends are represented beginning on the left of the central figure; first Śāriputra's miracle, then, underneath, the Buddha seated on a flower emerging from the Anavatapta; next the old contention between Śaṅkha and Likhita, then the story of Tiktamukha, the story of the fisherman's son, of Mugdha and Kālikā; to the right the Malla prince's story, the story of the courtesan Bhadrā, of the bowl turned upside down; underneath, the story of Vasiṣṭha and Bharadvāja, the story of Māthara, of Uttara; I cannot find Arthadatta's story.

STORY OF RUKMAVATĪ

The Buddha, having converted some fishermen, went to his hermitage, and when he got there he smiled. Indra asked him the cause of his smile and the Buddha told him about one of his preceding incarnations, which had come to pass in that place. In the city of Utpalavatī (*Ut pa la ldan*) lived a maiden named Rukmavatī (*gSer ldan ma*). One day she met a woman so poor that, unable to resist the pangs of hunger, she was about to kill her own child and eat it. Rukmavatī then cut off one of her breasts to save both their lives. Indra, at the sight of such a prodigy, appeared to her and asked if her act had been prompted by the expectation of some reward; she answered: "If I have accomplished this sacrifice with a pure heart, may I be turned into a man,, and through the power of truth, this actually came to pass: Rukmavatī became Rukmavān. When the king of Utpalavatī died, Rukmavān was elected in his place, and having died in his turn, was born again as Sattvavara (*sÑin stobs mc'og*). He was such a compassionate man that one day he lay down on the ground, so that the birds might eat of him to their hearts' content. In a short time only his bones were left. He was then born again as Satyavrata (*bDen pai brtul žugs*). Once he met a tiger who, frantic with hunger, was about to eat its whelp; Satyavrata spontaneously offered himself to the tiger. Such were the Buddha's incarnations.¹⁷⁴⁾

In the tanka the order of the stories 51 and 52 is inverted; Rukmavatī's avadāna is n. 52, and the following avadāna, about Adinapunya, is n. 51.

Rukmavatī's story occupies the upper right-hand corner of the tanka; above, the Buddha in the midst of his disciples, about to tell the story; immediately to the right Sattvavara's sacrifice; the following scene belongs to Adinapunya's story. Underneath



Rukmavatī: who has become Rukmavān, is placed on the thrones. The gift of her breast is represented above, on the central axis of the tanka. Follows Rukmavān's liberality, and, in two scenes, Satyavrata's story.

AVADĀNA n. 52

STORY OF ADĪNAPUNYA

Another time the Buddha smiled, and answering Indra's question, he spoke as follows: In the city of Madhūdaka (*Madhū da ka*) lived king Adīnapuṇya (*bSod nams mi dman*), bountiful and compassionate towards all creatures. When Brahmadata declared war upon him, his ministers, knowing his objection to violence in any form, began to wage war on his behalf without letting him know. The king found it out; he then abandoned his kingdom and embraced the life of an ascetic. In the meantime, in Kośala, king Hiraṇyavarman (*dByig gi go c'a*) had imprisoned all Kapila's (*Ser skya*) sons and relatives and seized their property. Kapila sought for money to ransom them with: "there is no misfortune in the world which cannot be overcome by money,, (26). Riches, whose ways are devious, are as wayward as harlots; they flee when we desire them, unsought they come of their own accord (27).

Thus reasoning, the Brahman reflected that only Adīnapuṇya could give him what he wanted; he was unaware of the king's fate and going in search of him, met him in the street in the garb of an ascetic. He told him his purpose and the king, though poor and abandoned, tried to find a way of helping Kapila. He ordered him to cut off his head and offer it to Brahmadata and as the Brahman refused, he had himself taken to the enemy in chains, in order to receive the promised reward. But Brahmadata, touched by so rare a virtue, presented Kapila with great treasures and restored his kingdom to Adīnapuṇya. The latter was then the Buddha.¹⁷⁵⁾

Above the central figure king Adīnapuṇya in his palace; to the left incidents of the war against Brahmadata and on the left corner the Brahman Kapila leading king Adīnapuṇya a prisoner; next the meeting of the two kings. Kapila's story, as we have seen, is briefly inserted in the centre of Rukmavatī's avadāna.

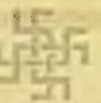
TANKA n. 80 - XVI left, 1 (Plate 116).

AVADĀNA n. 53

STORY OF SUBHĀṢITAGAVEṢIN

Once more the Buddha smiled and Śaka asked him the reason; he then told the story of king Subhāṣitagaveṣin (*Legs bśad aṭs'ol ba*) who spared no labour or money to collect maxims glorifying virtue. He was told that in a forest lived a cruel hunter, who knew many a beautiful saying full of great wisdom; he went to see him and promised him a precious necklace if he would tell them to him. But the hunter thought that the king's guards could easily force him to return the gift, so he consented to tell the king his verses provided the latter, as soon as he had heard them, agreed to leap from the top of a mountain. The king accepted and heard the stanza he wished to know, which goes: "(Let man) never touch the sins and vices which bring bitter repentance in their wake, if he desire happiness; but let him frequent the palace of good deeds, whose floor is morality, whose lotus flowers are merits. And this mind of ours, which is always eager for the enjoyment of impermanent objects, let him empty it of all desires and cause it to be contented with the unrestrained (spiritual) satisfaction it covets,, (49). Having heard this stanza, the king leaped from the cliff as he had promised, but was saved by a yakṣa. The hunter went to sell the necklace and was arrested, but the king, who revered him as his master, had him immediately set free.

The avadāna it begins below, to the right of the central figure: the Buddha telling his



story, the king in Benares the king's liberality, the beautiful maxims are disclosed to him; he greets the hunter, brought before him as a prisoner. Then, proceeding towards the left and upwards, the king's meeting with the hunter and the king leaping from the cliff.

AVADĀNA n. 54

STORY OF SATTVAUṢADHA

As soon as the Buddha had converted Puṣpīlā (*Me tog can ma*), he smiled; he then explained the cause of his smile to Śakra. A prince named Sattvaṣadha (*Sems can sman*) once lived in Mahendravatī (*dBañ c'en ldan mo*); he had the gift of healing all the sick who came to him. When he died, his remains kept this miraculous virtue and crowds of people continually visited them, in search of healing. A time will come / the Buddha preached / when king Aśoka will build a stūpa over those relics. ¹⁷⁶⁾

The story is represented to the left of the central figure; above, the Buddha telling the story; then Sattvaṣadha in his palace; his miraculous cures, and below the stūpa built by Aśoka over his mortal remains.

AVADĀNA n. 55

SARVANDADA'S STORY

Following another of his smiles, the Buddha told Indra that a high-souled king called Sarvandada (*Kun ster*) had once lived in Sarvāvatī (*T'ams cad ldan*). One day, while he was on the terrace of his palace, a dove with broken wings alighted on his hands. While he was wondering how he could help the bird, Indra, to put the sincerity of his feelings to the proof, took the form of a hunter, and coming into the king's presence, asked him to give the dove back to him: he had to live on game, and the king could not let him starve in order to save the bird. "Good men, who are impartial towards all creatures, do not feel compassion for some of them

only,, (19). In vain the king admonished him that it was not right to kill living beings: "The sustenance that some obtain by depriving others of life is avoided by good men, because it brings in its wake the penalties which follow sin,, (24).

But the hunter insisted, and the king, bent on saving the dove, gave him as much of his own flesh as the bird weighted, nor did he draw back from his bond when, through Indra's cunning, the bird's weight increased out of all measure: finally only the king's bones were left. Then Indra resumed his normal form and asked the king whether his spirit had ever been troubled in the throes of such pain. The king answered that he had accomplished his sacrifice with a glad heart and by virtue of the usual *satyavacana* his body was miraculously made whole. ¹⁷⁷⁾

The story is represented above the central figure and on its right: king Sarvandada, then the Buddha telling his story, then the scene of the king sacrificing his flesh.

TANKA n. 81 - XVII left, 2 (Plate 117).

AVADĀNA n. 56

NĀGA GOPĀLA CONVERTED

The Buddha had come to the city of Hingumardana (*Hin gu mar da na*) where the citizens entreated him to protect them against a terrible serpent called Gopālaka (*Ba glan skyon*), which was destroying the flocks and the crops.

The Buddha went to the shore of the lake where the serpent was hidden, sat there in meditation and by a prodigy of his miraculous power, turned the storm which the serpent had caused into a rain of flowers. Then Gopālaka was converted and the master, in Vajrapāṇi's presence, related the events which had happened in that place in the times of former Buddhas and expounded the law to a hunter, who built on the spot a stūpa called *Mrgādhīpa*. ¹⁷⁸⁾

The legend is represented on the lower left-hand corner of the tanka; the Buddha is

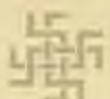
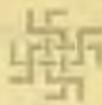




FIG. III



seen seated; people, kneeling, offer him gifts and beg him to vanquish the terrible nāga; to the right, a little higher up, the rain of flowers falling on the Buddha, who is telling the past history of the place; to the left the stūpa built by the hunter.

AVADĀNA n. 57

THE STORY OF THE STŪPA

This is not a tale like those we have so far summarized; it is a list of the various stūpas built at the Buddha's suggestion and to commemorate his miracles in various parts of India.

The avadāna is represented in the lower right-hand half of the tanka; above, the five stūpas, the three stūpas of the preceding Buddhas, the one built by Śākyamuni and the fifth made by the gods; then below, to the right, Bālokṣa's stūpa, and finally the Pāṭala stūpa.¹⁷⁹⁾

AVADĀNA n. 58

THE STORY OF PUṆYABALA

Once, in Puṣkalāvātī (*Paḍ mo ldan pa*) the Buddha smiled and being questioned by Indra, related one of his ancient incarnations, which he had remembered at that moment. king Puṇyabala (*bSod nams stobs*) lived in his capital of Puṇyavātī (*bSod nams ldan*); he was extremely charitable and compassionate. One day, having gone to town for pleasure, he saw a sick man and immediately touched by his sufferings, ordered hospitals to be built all over the kingdom and gave the attendants accurate directions concerning their duties, reminding them nevertheless that the best remedy for those who suffer is the Buddha and his preaching:

"The Buddha is a faultless serene physician and the teaching of the Law is the highest medicine.

"This elixir of serenity is a solace for those who are exhausted by the long fever of the saṃsāra „ (16).

To put his virtue and firmness to test, Indra appeared to him as a blind man and asked him for his right eye.

We find this story on the left side of the tanka: beginning from above, the Buddha is seen in Puṣkalāvātī; then, underneath, king Puṇyabala in his palace, the meeting with the sick; below, Indra asking for his eye.

AVADĀNA n. 59

THE STORY OF KUṆĀLA

This is one of the most celebrated and touching Buddhist legends; Kṣemendra has treated it in a very personal manner, evidently wishing to ennoble the figure of Aśoka, clearing him from the stain which ancient tradition had not been able to obliterate.

Kuṇāla (*Ku ṇa la*) was Aśoka's (*Mya nan med*) son by Padmāvātī (*Paḍ ma ldan*); he had been given that name because his wonderfully beautiful eyes resembled those of the Himalayan swan. Grown in years, he had married princess Kañcanamālikā (*gSer gyi ṣṭ'ren ldan ma*). One day an old ascetic warned him of his impending doom.

As his destiny matured, Kuṇāla, at the spring festival, met his step-mother Tiṣyarakṣā (*sKar rgyal bsrun ma*), who fell so violently in love with him that, forgetting all reserve, she fell on his neck and confessed her shameful passion. In vain he tried to make her realize the madness of her love:

"Pride, thoughtlessness, coveting the riches of others, lust followed by sin, these are for men, at the moment of their fall, the doors opened to disaster „ (39).

"What is the use of riches to those who are not bountiful, what is the use of wisdom to those swayed by wrath, what is the use of beauty to those who lack the virtues of good men, to what purpose a high birth, when one offends against morals? „ (40).

But all his words and his advice were vain. Finally Tiṣyarakṣā, scorned and humbled, decided to revenge herself.



In the meantime Aśoka sent the prince to Takṣāṣilā, whose king had rebelled, and immediately afterwards he sickened of a disease that no physician could cure. At last Tiṣyarakṣā found the right remedy and Aśoka, on his recovery, promised to grant her every wish. Tiṣyarakṣā asked that she might rule in his stead for seven days, and, the king having consented, she sent the governor of Takṣāṣilā a letter bearing Aśoka's seal, in which she commanded that Kuṇāla's eyes should be put out. The governor hesitated to execute so cruel an order, but Kuṇāla encouraged him to carry it out immediately; then, attended by his wife, he wandered from one country to another as a beggar. He thus reached Paṭaliputra, where nobody recognized him except his favorite elephant; he passed the night in a stable, singing a song about the impermanence of human fortunes. This sad melody awakened the king and reminded him of his son, whom he believed to be in Takṣāṣilā. He ordered the beggar to be brought before him; as soon as he saw him, he knew his son, notwithstanding his horrible scars and his grief was such that he swooned. Having heard from his son what had happened, he wanted to punish Tiṣyarakṣā at once, but Kuṇāla through the serenity of his soul, untroubled by any feeling of hatred for his step-mother, recovered his eyesight, and his father made him a partner to the throne.

Thus Kuṇāla atoned for two sins he had committed in his past life, when, as a hunter, he used to feed on the flesh of animals, and when, as Mugdha (*Mug dha*) he had put out the eyes of a statue of the Buddha, and then, immediately repentant, had put them back in their place, piously honouring the image.¹⁸⁰⁾

The legend is represented above, on the right side; it begins with the top scenes, almost immediately above the central figure: inside a palace, Aśoka, the queen and the prince; to the left, probably Kuṇāla with Kañcanamālikā, then, still to the left, Kuṇāla's meeting with the ascetic who foresees his

fate; passing to the right of the first scene, a stūpa above refers to Kuṇāla's past life; then, in the corner, Aśoka's illness and Aśoka, after his recovery, granting Tiṣyarakṣā's request. Underneath, Tiṣyarakṣā killing a person to find the cause of the king's illness; to the right, Aśoka's recovery. Below, in the small scene next to central figure, the sending of Tiṣyarakṣā's letter; then, Kuṇāla's departure at the head of his army and the Takṣāṣilā prince doing him homage. Below, to the left, Kuṇāla made a partner to his father's throne; to the right Aśoka listening to his son's song; the latter is represented with a viṇā, attended by his wife; underneath Tiṣyarakṣā, during her regency, has the letter written ordering Kuṇāla's martyrdom; to the right Kuṇāla playing the viṇā.

As may be seen, here also the scenes are huddled together irrespective of the succession of events.

TANKA n. 82 - XVIII left, 3 (Plate 118).

AVADĀNA n. 60

THE STORY OF NĀGAKUMĀRA

On the seashore lived a serpent called Dhana (*Nor*) with his family; they were all suffering agonies, because of the hot sands upon which their past karma obliged them to live. His son Sudhana (*Nor bzan*) asked his father the cause of such a punishment, and why the other nāgas did not share it.

When he was told that the nāgas lived happily because they believed in the Buddha, Sudhana, having picked some heavenly flowers, went to Śākyamuni in the Jetavana, heard his preaching, was converted and built convents for the monks. The Buddha announced that at the end of many lives Sudhana would attain perfect enlightenment.

The story is on the lower right-hand corner; exactly in the corner the nāgas' abode and Nāgakumāra's interview with his father; above on the left, the other nāgas worshipping

the Buddha; above, to the right, Nāgaku-
māra, having gone to Śākyamuni, listens to
his preaching, and further to the left the
offerings for the construction of temples;
underneath, almost in the centre, the Buddha
preaching to the nāgas.

AVADĀNA n. 61

THE STORY OF THE PEASANT

There was once in Śrāvastī a poor Brah-
man named Svastika (*bKra śis*) who eked out
a life of want by tilling a small field. One
day the Buddha came to see him, and he
lamented his poverty, which forbade him to
present the master of men with liberal offerings:

“No pain is comparable to the pain of
poverty, because it destroys even the merit
born of liberality,, (5).

“The poor man passes (from a state of
poverty) to new poverty, having been un-
able to practise the virtue of giving; then,
urged by the desire for acquiring riches, he
becomes wicked; the poor man is like a
corpse that draws breath,, (10).

The Brahman nevertheless was able to
offer the Buddha what scraps of food he
could collect in his poverty and he uttered
the wish that, through the sincerity of his
intentions, he might improve his most wretch-
ed fate. The Buddha accepted his gift,
and when Svastika returned to his little field,
he saw with wonder that his ears of rice had
been transformed into gold. King Prase-
najit, having recognized this miracle as a sign
of the Buddha's grace, refused to exact the
portion that the law assigned to him. Sva-
stika meanwhile advanced on the path of
sanctity, because, as the Buddha said to his
disciples, he had already accumulated merits
in past ages, at the time of the Buddha
Kāśyapa.¹⁸¹⁾

The scene follows immediately to the left
of the preceding, below: first of all Svastika
tilling his field, then he and his wife in the
act of inviting the Buddha and offering him

the food they had collected. In the furthest
corner king Prasenajit renouncing his share;
above, a little to the right, Svastika takes
vows and obtains enlightenment. Above
this, Svastika in an adoring attitude, oppo-
site to the Buddha. Then, above and to the
right, almost under the central figure, an
allusion to Svastika's preceding life, when
Kāśyapa foretold his future destiny.

AVADĀNA n. 62

THE STORY OF YAŚODA

While the Buddha was in Benares, Supra-
buddha (*Legs par rab sad*) an extremely
rich man of the same city, grieved deeply
because he had no children. His relatives
advised him to address his prayers to a *nya-
grodha* tree, where a spirit lived who might
grant him the longed-for grace. Suprabud-
dha was not convinced, because he only
believed in the effects of karma:

“Each of us becomes a sharer in what he
has himself accumulated; only the fool in
his ignorance thinks that this is done by
that,, (16).

Nevertheless, in obedience to his relatives,
he went into the wood, armed with an axe,
resolved to worship the tree or to cut it down
at the root, according to whether his wishes
were granted or denied. The divinity which
lived in the tree and had become fond of his
abode, knowing that it was not in his power
to grant Suprabuddha's wish, feared the im-
mediate destruction of the tree and sought the
Buddha's protection:

“Because to leave a (beloved) place is for
a person like leaving his own body,, (33).

The Buddha, from whose divine omnis-
cience nothing remained hidden, comforted
him, announcing that a divinity about to
come down from heaven, due to the exhaus-
tion of his past merits, would be born as a
human being from Suprabuddha's wife.

The yakṣa went back to his tree and an-
nounced to Suprabuddha that he would

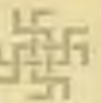




FIG. 112



soon beget a child, foretelling at the same time that his son would one day renounce the world.¹⁸²⁾ In course of time a son was born and called Yaśoda (*Grag's byin*); grown in years, his only wish was to take vows.

Sheltered by his father in every manner, the young man nevertheless found his way to Śākyamuni, who preached to his monks Yaśoda's approaching glory. Yaśoda, distressed at the sight of a woman's corpse, which induced him to meditate on human impermanence and saddened by the sight of his harem, where the sleeping women lay sprawling and relaxed, came out of his palace wearing miraculous slippers, which carried him away, unseen. The Buddha was waiting for him on the other side of the river, and Yaśoda ran to listen to his word. His father searched for him in vain; he found the slippers, but they gave no clue to his son's whereabouts. At the height of despair, he went to the Buddha, but blinded by anguish, he did not see his son, who was listening with him to the saint's sermon. Little by little the gloom of his mind was dispelled, light broke into his soul and he honoured the Buddha. Together with Yaśoda, Gavampati (*Ba glan bdag*)¹⁸³⁾ and another four of his comrades were converted and attained arhatship in his company. Thus was matured the karma accumulated in a past life, when Suprabha (*'Od bzai*) having seen the Buddha Śikhin, tired out, taking a little rest, had protected him from the burning sunlight with his own parasol. Śikhin had then foretold to him the accomplishment of his karma in the Buddha Śākyamuni's times. On another occasion, having been born as king Kṛkin's third son, he had put a jewelled parasol on the stūpa the king had built over the remains of the Buddha Kāśyapa.¹⁸⁴⁾

The story is represented on the left side of the tanka; it begins under the central figure and shows Suprabuddha with an axe in his hand; on the left the same shooting an arrow against the nyagrodha tree; next Yaśoda meeting the

Buddha for the first time. Immediately underneath, a woman's corpse troubles the young man's mind for the first time; returning, above, to the scene of the tree, Yaśoda's birth; his father, fearing lest the prophecy be fulfilled, watches over him. Still in the upper part, the women asleep, in their apartments; then the Buddha receiving Suprabuddha's hospitality; Yaśoda and his five comrades obtaining arhatship; the crossing of the river. Above the central image are represented the merits acquired by Suprabuddha in his preceding lives, when he sheltered the Buddha Śikhin from the sun and when he did homage to the stūpa built by king Kṛkin. The story closes with a picture of king Kṛkin on his throne.

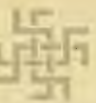
AVADĀNA II. 63

STORY OF MAHĀKĀŚYAPA

Nyagrodhakalpa (*Nya gro dbai rtog*) lived in Magadha; his wife gave birth to a son under a *pippala* tree (*ficus religiosa*). The child was encircled by a luminous band, like gold, and had been called Pippalāyana (*Pi spal skyes*). Grown in years and completely absorbed by his spiritual life, he refused to marry. As his father continued to press him, he made a golden statue, of marvellous beauty, and promised that he would marry if a woman resembling the image were found. A friend of his father's called Caturaka¹⁸⁵⁾ began to wander about, and finally, in Vaiśālī, he met a maiden called Bhadrā (*bZai mo*), the daughter of Kapila (*Ser skya*) who was even fairer than the statue. Kapila promised to give her in marriage to Pippalāyana as soon as the latter should have got her dowry ready, because:

“A quarrelsome wife, a daughter given in marriage without a dowry and a son who has taken to evil ways, are like pins stuck into a man's mind,, (24).

Pippalāyana in the meantime, having heard that the maiden had decided to embrace



an ascetic life, made his intentions known to her and advised her not to reject a marriage which would make their parents happy and enable the pair to fulfill their vocation. So they were married and lived together in the utmost purity. One night, while Pippalāyana lay awake near his sleeping wife, he saw a scorpion about to sting her and shook her violently to ward off the danger. But thinking that her husband, forgetting his pledge, had been suddenly tempted by lust, Bhadrā bitterly reproached him:

“Mountains may renounce the boundaries of their steadfastness, sages never,, (43).

The misunderstanding having been cleared up, they continued their way of life, until Nyagrodhakalpa died and Pippalāyana succeeded him in the management of the family estate. Once the handmaids who, according to Bhadrā's orders, were grinding seeds, perceived with horror that many insects had been drowned in the oil, a fearful infringement of the precept of the respect of life (*abimsā*). They made Bhadrā responsible for the sin, for she had given them the work to do. Bhadrā freed herself from all earthly passions and together with Pippalāyana took vows and went to the Buddha Kāśyapa; in a short time Pippalāyana became an arhat and Bhadrā a saint. This happened, as Kāśyapa explained, through the ripening of karma accumulated during preceding lives, when Pippalāyana, in time of famine, furnished food to the Buddha Śikhin; another time he had set a parasol upon a stūpa built by king Kṛkin.¹⁸⁶⁾

The avadāna is represented on the right side of the tanka; above, Pippalāyana's preceding life is briefly outlined: born as a poor man, he had ornamented a stūpa built by Kṛkin, notwithstanding his scanty means. In the upper corner, Bhadrā's handmaids grinding seeds to make oil; on the left Bhadrā's arrival in her bridegroom's city; a maiden resembling the golden statue is discovered in Vaiśālī; then, to the right, the

marriage celebrations; below, various scenes of the couple's pure married life, including the incident of the scorpion about to sting Bhadrā; still lower down, Pippalāyana's refusal to marry until a maiden is found resembling the golden image he had made; Caturaka's departure with the statue, the meeting with the Buddha Kāśyapa.

TANKA n. 83 - XIX left, 4 (Plate I 19).

AVADĀNA n. 64

THE STORY OF SUDHANA AND THE KINNARA

When the Buddha went back to his city after having attained enlightenment and vanquished the gloom of error for ever, Yaśodharā, seeing him pass, serene and collected in his monk's robes, overwhelmed by her great love for him who was no longer hers, flung herself down from a terrace; but Śākyamuni miraculously caught her in his arms and saved her. He then told the story of one of her past lives. Long ago, in Hastinapura (*Ha sti na yi groṇ*), lived the wise king Dhana (*Nor*), who ruled with the assistance of his virtuous son Sudhana (*Nor bzañ*). Dhana's enemy, king Mahendrasena (*dBañ c'en sde*) was cruel and faithless; hence all manner of calamities afflicted his kingdom and his subjects fled into Dhana's territory, because:

“When a king considers his subjects as his own children, they live in his country as though in their father's house,, (23).

Mahendrasena grew more and more bitter against his virtuous rival, and sought to harm him by every means. He found out that in Dhana's country lived the nāga Citra (*Tsi tra*), whose power guaranteed the king's prosperity, and he decided to do away with the nāga, because:

“The wicked, incapable of accumulating virtue themselves, contrive to harm others,, (37).

With promises of abundant lucre, the king sent Vidyādhara (*Rig adsin*) to look

for the nāga; by means of magical formulas, he imprisoned it in a forest; Citra, having become aware of his danger before falling completely a prey to the magician's arts, invoked the help of a hunter friend called Padmaka (*Pad ma can*). The spell had already begun to work and the nāga felt himself irresistibly overpowered by Vidyādhara's magic, when Padmaka set him free by killing the enchanter. Citra then took his friend into his dwelling and showed him a miraculous noose, capable of binding all created beings; Padmaka, refusing any other gift, desired to have only that noose; on his deathbed he left it to his son Utpala.

The latter, as he was wandering in the forest one day, heard a marvellous song: it was the voice of Manoharā, a Kinnarī, Dru-ma (*IJon pa*) king of the Kinnara's own daughter. As only the unerring noose his father had left him was capable of drawing Manoharā into the world of mortals, Utpala used his prodigious weapon and bound the divine maiden. She requested him to let her go him with touching persistence and gave him a gem; Utpala assured her of his kind intentions and put her in the hands of prince Sudhana, who had come into the forest on a hunting-party. After they had been married two ascetics arrived in king Dhana's court, Kapila (*Ser skya*) and Puskara (*Pu ska ra*); both seeking for the king's favour, they finally quarrelled, and Kapila, who did not succeed, decided to take revenge on the prince, who had begun to protect his rival.

When Sudhana was sent to wage war against a rebel prince named Megha (*sPrin*), Kapila took this opportunity to vent his wrath upon the patron of his rival. The misfortunes impending over Manoharā and all the royal family were announced to the king by an evil dream; for an explanation of its secret warnings, he went precisely to Kapila, and with the pretext of warding off an approaching disaster, the ascetic advised him to sacrifice his daughter-in-law:

"To our own life we sacrifice our country and our children, for in this world of the living nothing is dearer than life., (180).

Thus incited, the king was about to commit the abominable deed, but his queen returned to Manoharā the gem her son had left her, and through the gem's virtue Manoharā mysteriously disappeared into the air. After having purified herself with a bath, to efface all traces of her contact with the human world, the Kinnarī went to the ascetic Val-kalāyana (*Šin šun can*), confessed her love for Sudhana to him, and begged him to let the prince know that she was waiting for him; the way was long and terribly hard and dangerous, but she left him a ring and directions whereby to overcome the perils of his journey.

Sudhana came back and his mother told him the sad news; a prey to deepest sorrow, he wandered in the forest, telling the trees and the wild animals his woes; he thus arrived to Valkalāyana's hermitage and the ascetic comforted him and told him Manoharā's words. Sudhana set off on his long journey; he crossed the Himālaya, vanquished the demons who tried to stop him, overcame deadly perils and finally reached the Kinnara's country; there he received tidings of his beloved from a handmaid of Manoharā, who had come to get water, and dropped into her jar the ring his bride had left him. Manoharā then led Sudhana to her father, who submitted him to difficult ordeals, to gauge his virtues and make sure that he was really worthy of his daughter. Sudhana was successful and had his reward: Manoharā was restored to him for ever, and he took her back to his city. Sudhana had been one of the Buddha's most ancient incarnations.¹⁸⁷⁾

The story begins on the left, almost at the height of the lotus on which the figure is seated and it develops through several detached scenes, which do not follow one another in a logical order. The first group of soldiers on horseback refers to the

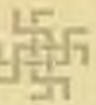
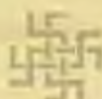




FIG. 113



THE STORY OF EKAŚRĪṄGA

expedition against king Megha, out of which Manoharā's sad adventure began; the other group above recalls king Mahendrasena's expedition, while the small picture to the right represents the same king calling upon the enchanter to capture the nāga, to which king Dhana's country owes its prosperity. The scene immediately above shows the prince and Manoharā together in the palace, after their happy home-coming; still further above, Sudhana's and the Kinnarī's arrival on a coach drawn by horses, and the wedding celebrations. Above, towards the top, Manoharā bathing to purify herself before returning to her country; she is taking leave of Sudhana's mother and receiving the marvellous gem from her; on the left corner the incident which gave the Buddha an occasion for telling the story: Yaśodharā throws herself from the top of a house and the Buddha tells his monks his preceding karmic relations with her. Next Manoharā flying through the air alone; further to the right, Manoharā and Sudhana descend by heavenly paths to Hastinapura. The three small scenes which follow underneath show the ascetic Valkalāyana giving Manoharā's ring to Sudhana; to the right the same ascetic's meeting with Manoharā, and next his conversation with the hunter Utpala, to whom he is showing how to capture the Kinnarī with the miraculous noose. Underneath the capture of the nāga, the nāga set free and the gift of the noose to the hunter. Then, exactly above the central figure, the hunter giving the Kinnarī to Sudhana; proceeding towards the top, the hunter leading away the bound Kinnarī; along the upper border of the tanka, still proceeding towards the right, the king of the Kinnaras, with a horse's head, between Sudhana and Manoharā; Manoharā's interview with her father; Sudhana admitted into the presence of the king of the Kinnaras. Underneath, proceeding from left to right, the Kinnarī going to draw water, the meeting with Manoharā, husband and wife again united.

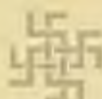
In the city of the Śākyas, the Buddha related the events of another existence, when he had been bound to Yaśodharā by deep affection. In Kāśī lived king Kāśya (*Ka śya*), who had a daughter called Nalinī (*Paḍ ma lān*) but no sons; fearing that his line might become extinct, he took counsel of his ministers, to find a worthy husband for his daughter:

"People cannot keep their daughters like the wick of a lamp burning in their hand; girls of good family are only a cause of anxiety, and should be handed over to others, like property given in trust,, (13).

Reasoning thus, he thought of Kāśyapa's son, born out of the ascetic's seed: it had dropped to the ground in the forest and a gazelle had chanced to drink it. The young man, named Ekaśrīṅga (*Rva gciḡ pa*) was as pure as a maiden. The king sent Nalinī into Kapila forest, and the two young people met, to the great joy of Ekaśrīṅga, accustomed to the solitude of his hermitage, who was delighted to find a new comrade. He had no knowledge of the other sex and took the princess for a pleasant boy friend. Nalinī invited him to come with her, but seeing a chariot drawn by horses, he was frightened and hesitated. The princess came back and induced him to get into a boat upon which an impromptu garden had been arranged; she took him to her father, who received him with great joy, and united him to his daughter in marriage.

The pair then went back to the hermitage, where Ekaśrīṅga's mother, who had assumed a human form by Kāśyapa's will, explained to her innocent son the meaning of marriage and sent him back to the king with his bride. The king, who was an old man, gave his kingdom into his son-in-law's keeping and took vows.

Yaśodharā was Nalinī and Ekaśrīṅga the Buddha.¹⁸⁸⁾



The story unfolds on the right side of the central figure; the scene begins at the height of the lotus flower on which the Buddha is seated; Śākyamuni, returned to his native city, is seen telling the monks about his former karmic connection with Yaśodharā; then, immediately to the right, higher up, king Kāśya taking vows; to the left, the celebrations on Ekaśṛṅga's arrival in the city of Kāśi; above, preparations for the reception of Nalinī and the young ascetic; further up, Ekaśṛṅga coming to the islands arranged in the form of a hermitage; further on, Nalinī offering the ascetic some fruit; Ekaśṛṅga asking his father to come to the city of Kāśi; his interview with his mother; then, to the left, his reluctance to mount the coach; next, to the left, his conception and his birth.

AVADĀNA n. 66

STORY OF KAVIKUMĀRA

When the Buddha's foot was wounded by a stone which Devadatta had dropped upon him, his monks marvelled that even he should be subjected, like an ordinary mortal, to the law of karma. Then the Buddha told them that, in past epochs, king Satyarata (*bDen par dga'*) ruled in Kāmpilya (*Ka pi lya*); he had no children by queen Lakṣaṇā (*mTs'an ŋid can*), so, on her advise, he married a second wife called Sudharmā (*C'os bzai*). Later on, however, Lakṣaṇā gave birth to Aḷamantra (*Ma ŋud pa*),¹⁸⁹ who on his father's death was elected King. Sudharmā also bore a son: according to the astrologers, he was destined to kill the King. The latter ordered the minister Goviśāṇa (*Ba glaŋ rva*) to do away with the child, but the minister put a little girl in his place and entrusted Sudharmā's son to some fishermen, giving him the name of Kavikumāra (*gŽon nu sñan dñags mk'an*). Kavikumāra grew up wise and clever, but one day he was recognized by the astrologer as Sudharmā's son. The king was furious and

ordered Goviśāṇa to kill the boy at any cost, because:

"When an effort is not made at the right moment, only repentance will ensue,, (28).

The boy's mother, informed of the king's designs, gave her son a miraculous gem and advised him to flee immediately. Kavikumāra took refuge with a nāga, who hid him, but Goviśāṇa discovered the boy's hiding-place through a spy and threatened the nāga, who thereupon abandoned his guest. The fugitive was found later in the house of a washerman, next in a potter's house; finally, as he was fleeing with the king's guards at his heels, he fell into a gorge; the gem his mother had given him stuck to the boughs on the brim of the precipice.

Goviśāṇa, convinced of his death, took the gem and went back to the king, believing that he had carried out his mission. But Kavikumāra was safe. Wandering through a frightful forest, he came upon a man's corpse cut in two, and learnt that he had been murdered by a caṇḍāla, a most cruel brute which lived in that forest; its name was Sudāsa (*Su da sa*) and the dog Śaṅkhamukha (*Duŋ gi k'a*) never left it: no one could escape the pair. They arrived and Kavikumāra went up a tree for safety; he would certainly have been murdered, if the ascetic Māṭhara (*Mā ṭha ra*) had not rushed to the spot through the air and killed Sudāsa and his dog. Māṭhara took the boy to his hermitage and taught him most powerful spells. Kavikumāra brooded continually on his revenge; finally he returned to Kāmpilya and, disguised as a dancing-girl, he danced so gracefully in front of the royal palace, that the king fell in love with him. That night the king invited Kavikumāra to the women's apartments; while he was about to lie down, his step-brother disclosed his real identity, killed him and seized his kingdom. Kavikumāra was no other than Śākyamuni; he had been condemned to Hell for his brother's murder, and even in his present life was still bearing the consequences of his guilt.¹⁹⁰

In this instance also the story is represented by in irregular jumble of scenes, which do not follow the plot of the legend, represented in the lower part of the tanka. Beginning from the right edge, various scenes are pictured in the interior of the same palace: the king with his two wives; the recognition of the prince who had been left with the Kaivarta; the astrologer's prediction: to the left, Lakṣaṇā's son placed on the throne; the minister showing the king Kavikumāra's gem as a proof of the latter's death; underneath, on the left corner, the minister goes to a Kaivarta tribe to kill the prince; his mother gives him the gem; always to the right, Kavikumāra being traced to the nāga's dwelling and to the Kaivartas; above, Kavikumāra disguised as a dancer enters the royal palace and kills the king. To the left, he becomes king. Underneath, he is followed to the washerman's and to the potter's house; above, the man murdered by Sudāsa and his dog, the meeting with Sudāsa, the flight up a tree; persecuted, Kavikumāra leaps from a mountain top. In the lower left-hand corner, the Buddha telling this story to his disciples.

TANKA n. 84 - XX left, 5 (Plate 120).

AVADĀNA n. 67

STORY OF SAṄGHARAKṢITA

In Śrāvastī lived a devout layman named Buddhārakṣita (*Saṅs rgyas sruṅ*) whom Śāriputra had taught the law. Remembering a vow he had made, he ordered his son Saṅgharakṣita (*dGe ḡdun bsrūṅ*) to put himself at his master's service. Saṅgharakṣita obeyed; later he followed some merchants into distant lands; a violent storm broke out and a voice was heard from above, ordering Saṅgharakṣita to be cast into the sea. Although the merchants objected, he willingly sacrificed himself, but was miraculously saved by the nāgas, to whom he preached the law. In their gratitude, they

placed him once more on the ship, much to his comrades' wonder. During the voyage, they landed on a coast, and when they again set sail, they left Saṅgharakṣita behind by mistake, while he was asleep on the beach. He roamed through the wilderness and finally came to a monastery; it was meal-time and the monks sat quiet and collected partaking of their frugal pittance. As soon as they had finished, the bowls were turned into clubs, and they began to fight and were all killed, dashing out one another's brains. When meal-time came round again, they had all resumed their usual appearance. Saṅgharakṣita learnt that the karma they had accumulated in their preceding life had matured in this manner, because formerly they used to pass their time in never ceasing quarrels. He left the place and came to another monastery, which was suddenly seen to catch fire and burnt to ashes with all its inmates; thus they atoned for their ancient sins: consumed with hatred, they had burned their rivals' convent.

Continuing to wander, Saṅgharakṣita came to a hermitage where 500 ascetics lived; they knew him for a Buddhist and decided not to speak to him and not to offer him hospitality; fortunately one of them, moved to pity, gave him a hut to spend the night in, on condition that he should observe the most complete silence. As soon as night came on, the tutelary deity of the convent appeared to him and begged him to preach the law to those ascetics. He then began:

"Ascetic vows do not avail to purify the body, neither do solitary forests avail to purify a mind accustomed to human desires, even though men wear the ascetic's topknot and are clothed in sheepskins,, (4).

The ascetics were eager to gain a better knowledge of the Buddha's doctrine, and Saṅgharakṣita explained to them the lengthy process through which the dialectics of karma develop. While he was thus expounding the doctrine, he realized arhatship; then, leading with him the 500 ascetics,

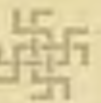
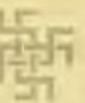




FIG. 114



already converted, he went to the Buddha, who, by his persuasive word, guided them all to salvation.

The monks asked what merits Saṅgharakṣita had accumulated in his past lives, and the Buddha told them that a vow made in Kāśyapa's time had now matured.¹⁹¹

The story begins near the lower right-hand margin. Śāriputra's arrival; Buddha-rakṣita orders his son to serve the saint. Above, under the Buddha's figure, on the right corner of the lotus, Saṅgharakṣita's past life in Kāśyapa's time; underneath, he throws himself into the sea; he preaches to the nāgas; underneath he is asleep and the merchants return to their country. Then, always below, but proceeding towards the left, in two different scenes, the monks at meals, the massacre and the fire; above, on the left margin, the meeting with the ascetics; the ascetics carried through the air by his magic power, and the Buddha's sermon.

AVADĀNA n. 68

THE STORY OF PADMĀVATĪ

During the six years the Buddha spent in deep meditation, awaiting supreme enlightenment, Yaśodharā gave birth to his son Rāhula. Śuddhodana, doubting his daughter-in-law's chastity, ordered the child to be killed and his command would have been executed if the Buddha, from whom nothing was hidden, had not saved her; the infant was placed on a stone, which was thrown into the river; it did not sink, but floated on the water.

The monks asked the Buddha why Yaśodharā should have been so unjustly accused by Śuddhodana, and he told them the story of both their past lives.

Once, in the city of Kāmpilya (*Kam pi la*) lived king Brahmadatta who, having gone hunting, met in the heart of the forest Padmāvatī (*Pad ma can*), the ascetic Śāṇḍilya's (*Śāṇ ḍi lyā*) daughter; her beauty was

marvellous and, through the miraculous maturing of her karma, at every step she took a lotus flower sprang up. The king fell in love with her and invited her to his palace and Padmāvatī, returning his love, asked her father's permission. Śāṇḍilya consented, but advised the bridegroom to spare the maiden any motive of ill-feeling. The couple lived happily, but the other women of the palace were incensed with jealousy; when Padmāvatī was about to be confined they bound her, took her twins and threw them into the river. Then they smeared her mouth with blood and told the king that, showing her true nature as a witch, she had devoured her own children. Brahmadatta believed their story and ordered Padmāvatī to be killed, but in the meantime the tutelary deity of Śāṇḍilya's hermitage appeared and disclosed the truth. The women confessed their guilt and some fishermen brought back the twins, who were floating in a basket on the river.

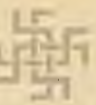
The queen was thus restored to safety, but the king's injustice had so humbled and distressed her, that his repentance did not touch her.

"Truly, o king, I have no spite against the women who wronged me, because enmity is appeased by patience and grows through hatred. Our enemy, by himself, cannot vanquish us, nor our friends aid us: all the pain we mortals suffer is created by acts done in our past lives,, (87).

Padmāvatī therefore went back to her father, and seeing the hermitage deserted and her father dead, she took the garb of an ascetic and sought refuge in Benares, where king Kṛkin vainly urged her to marry him.

But Brahmadatta discovered her retreat, he came before her in the guise of an ascetic, was recognized and forgiven and brought Padmāvatī back to his palace.

Thus a karma matured which had accumulated in their past lives, when Padmāvatī, after giving presents to a Pratyekabuddha,



had wanted them back again: through her offering, lotus flowers bloomed at every step she took, but because she had asked to get back her presents, she had to suffer humiliation.¹⁹²⁾

The story is represented on the left of the tanka: to the left of the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, Brahmadata and Padmāvati make peace; to the left, Padmāvati's children cast into the river; above, the palace women deceiving the queen; Padmāvati set free while the executioner is about to slay her; then to the right, near the Buddha's halo, Brahmadata's return with Padmāvati; immediately above, the scene of their meeting; to the left, near the outer margin, the maiden asks her father's permission to go off with the king; Padmāvati slandered and despairing; above, in the corner, the Buddha in meditation saves Yaśodharā's child; in the middle the Buddha surrounded by monks, telling Padmāvati's story. Above this last scene, an allusion to her past life.

AVADĀNA n. 69

DHARMARĀJIKĀPRATIṢṬHĀ

This story is rather fragmentary: during the consecration of the many stūpas he had built over the Buddha's relics, collected even from among the nāgas, Aśoka offered the community gifts and food. After the ceremony, attended by arhats who had come through the air, an old monk arrived, and having been told that after the banquet the king would ask him to preach the law, he was much troubled: he was ignorant and had never attempted to preach. The queen suggested a stanza to him, and when the king heard it, he was delighted and made him a present of a monk's tunic. The monk himself, meditating on that stanza, became an arhat.

On another occasion the same monk went back to Aśoka wearing a dress which gave out a divine fragrance: he had spent the rainy season in heaven under a *parijāta* tree. The king, hearing this, was once more deeply edified.¹⁹³⁾

Above the head of the central image, the monks entertained and fed by Aśoka; further up, the building of the stūpas, while arhats hasten to the spot through the air, bearing bands, in an adoring attitude; to the right, the monk is asked to preach and the king gives him a rich tunic. Next, a boat on the sea, which represents the search for relics among the nāgas.

TANKA n. 85 - XXI left, 6 (Plate 121).

AVADĀNA n. 70

THE STORY OF MĀDHYANTIKA

The monk Mādhyantika (*Ñi guṇ*) went, by Ānanda's order, to Kashmir, where he learnt that the country belonged to the nāgas. He then decided to subdue them; the nāgas were frightened and hurled down stones and hail, which were turned into a rain of flowers. Conquered by Mādhyantika's sanctity, the nāgas agreed to give him a space of earth sufficient for him to sit upon in meditation, but the monk became miraculously dilated, and on the space his person had occupied was able to build cities and villages, where he settled 500 monks.¹⁹⁴⁾

This tale also is barely outlined, almost unfinished. The prose version, if not more extensive, is at least more coherent.

On the tanka we see Mādhyantika taking possession of his territory; the founding of the Paryāṅka temple in the midst of a circle of arhats; the nāgas, after having hurled a shower of hail and stones, seeing that the storm is changed into flowers, give the ascetic a place where to sit in meditation; then, in the last picture, below, to the right, the spread of the Law in Kashmir.

AVADĀNA n. 71

THE STORY OF ŚĀNAVĀSIN

On the way to Mathurā, where he was going to profess the Buddha's holy teaching and to perfect his knowledge thereof, the



monk Śāṇavāsin (*Śā nai gos*) met two Mallas who were quarelling and quoting his name as that of a monk whose opinion carried great authority. He was recognized and questioned concerning his merits and he told them that in one of his past lives he had attended a sick Pratyekabuddha and had presented him with a very beautiful dress, which the former had refused, because luxuries are not meant for ascetics. When that Pratyekabuddha entered nirvana, he had made a vow, which was now maturing in his present life. Śāṇavāsin proceeded to Mathurā where, after having tamed two nāgas which were causing great damage by raising up storms, he founded, with the help of two merchants named Naṭa and Bhaṭa, a monastery which became famous under the name of Naṭabhāṭavihāra.¹⁹⁵

The legend is represented in the lower picture on the right. The central scene shows Śāṇavāsin's meeting with the Mallas and the narrative of his past life. In the picture to the right and in the lower picture, the founding of Naṭabhāṭa's monastery and the preaching of the Law; above, victory over the nāgas and Śāṇavāsin's past life.

AVADĀNA n. 72

THE STORY OF UPAGUPTA

Upagupta (*Ñer sbas*) lived in Mathurā (*bCom brlag dag*); since his birth his father had placed him at Śāṇavāsin's service.

Being inclined, from his earliest childhood, to detachment from the world, when he had grown in years he was able to resist the courtesan Vāsavadattā's (*Nor lbas byin*) blandishments. She often invited him, but he always refused to meet her, saying that the time had not yet come for him to visit her. Now it came to pass that while Vāsavadattā was entertaining in her palace a young man madly infatuated with her, a rich merchant tried to win her favours with the offer of many gifts. The courtesan, thinking that "a lover, when he has had his wish, is no

longer bountiful", (13), at a loss how to get rid of the young man, murdered him and accepted the merchant's love. The dead man's relatives discovered his corpse; Vāsavadattā was condemned, taken to the scaffold and executed. Then Upagupta went to her and at the end of her life she felt her former love revive:

"Love, once it has entered the hearts of men, by whatever path, either through habit or by the predisposition of karma, never, under any circumstance, abandons them", (25).

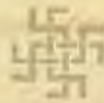
Upagupta showed her how vain it is to cling to the fleeting pleasures of the body, and touched her so deeply that Vāsavadattā repented, died with a purified soul and was born again in heaven. Śāṇavāsin then received Upagupta in his hermitage, where in a short time he became an arhat. One day, while he was preaching, Māra, to distract the monks' attention, caused a rain of precious objects to fall, then turned himself into a charming dancing-girl. Upagupta, by a spell, bound corpses and carrions round Māra's body, which he could not get rid of. He begged the monk to have mercy on him and Upagupta promised to undo the spell, on condition that Māra, through his magic power, should show him the Buddha's image. Māra consented and assumed the form of Śākyamuni's earthly body, deeply touching Upagupta, who fell on his knees adoring, because:

"In artificial images we honour the Buddha's body: not that saints bow before pieces of wood and metal", (68).¹⁹⁶

The story unfolds underneath the central image; on the left of the two pictures under the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, the first, on the left, represents Upagupta's birth; to the right, the king orders Vāsavadattā to be executed; underneath, to the left, her execution, while Upagupta explains the Law to her; to the right, Vāsavadattā's handmaid is inviting Upagupta; underneath, the young lover is poisoned and buried; to the left Māra as a dancer tries to perturb the monks; further



FIG. 115



to the left Māra granting Upagupta's prayer, appears as Śākyamuni. Above, on the left margin, Upagupta becomes an arhat.

AVADĀNA n. 73

THE MESSENGER SENT TO THE NĀGAS

The fame of Aśoka's virtues and liberality spread throughout the world to such an extent, that anyone needing help turned to him, certain of receiving gifts and solace. Thus it happened that some merchants who had undergone great losses came to him for aid. Nothing could be done for them as the nāgas, after spoiling them of their treasures, had hidden them at the bottom of the sea. The monk Indra (*dBañ po*) suggested that a written request be sent to the nāgas, but they refused to grant the king's wish. A divinity then appeared in the air and advised Aśoka to approach the Buddha; the king earnestly prayed to him, and immediately 600 arhats appeared in the sky. The monk Indra had two golden statues made, one representing Aśoka and the other the king of the nāgas; the latter grew, while the former became smaller and smaller, but when Aśoka began to do good deeds, his statue grew larger and the nāga king's diminished. The nāgas came of their own accord to return the merchants their treasures. Aśoka sent for Upagupta, that he might preach the Law.¹⁹⁷⁾

The story begins on the left, at the height of the central figure: Aśoka's liberality; the nāgas robbing the merchants of their treasures; the king restores their treasures to them; the arhats' arrival through the sky; they are received and entertained by Aśoka; in the centre, above, and on the upper margin to the right, Upagupta's sermon.

AVADĀNA n. 74

THE GIFT OF THE EARTH

Aśoka had covered the whole world with his gifts, he had given food and hospitality to innumerable monks. But as in this world:

"Only good deeds, not bodies, endure," (6) even the king approached the moment which closes every mortal life. Perceiving that his last hour had come, he decided to give his whole fortune to the monks. His nephew Sampadin (*P'un ts'ogs can*) however opposed his will and contrived intrigues with the ministers of finance; thus the king had nothing left to dispose of, except the mango which his physicians had prescribed for him.

Later, on the advice of his counsellor Rādhāgupta (*mGu byed sbas*) he left the community as a heritage the whole earth, which his nephew was obliged to ransom for a huge sum of money.¹⁹⁸⁾

The avadāna is represented along the edge of the tanka, to the right. To the left the sick king is giving the mango to those who solicit gifts. To the right the king, his gift of the earth; underneath the ransome.

AVADĀNA n. 75

THE CAUSAL LAW

This chapter does not contain a story, it sums up the connexion of the twelve causes (*Pratītyasamutpāda*) which, according to Buddhist dogmatics, regulate the process of karma.

This process is represented by several small symbolic pictures in the right corner: death by a corpse; the sensorial spheres (*āyatana*) by a door in a house; attachment (*upadāna*) by a man picking fruit (near the centre); the thirst for life (*trṣṇā*) by two persons drinking (further to the right), old age (lower down) by a man leaning on a staff, the conscious principle (*viññāna*) by a tree on which a monkey is leaping; underneath, nescience (*avidyā*) by a blind man; contact (*sparśa*) on the right margin, by a man and a woman kissing; the forces of karma (*samskāra*) by a woman preparing a soup (below); the individual (*nāma-rūpa*), to the right, in the very first plane, by a kneeling figure which is extracting an arrow from its body; then to the left, almost hidden by a tree, two figures embracing,

which represent sexual union. Under the central image, the Buddha preaching in the Jetavana.

TANKA n. 86 - XXII left, 7 (Plate 122).

AVADĀNA n. 76

THE STORY OF VIDURA

One day, while the Buddha was in Śrāvastī, he saw near the river Ajiravatī (*K'yams ldan*) a misshapen creature, whose body (according to the prose version) resembled that of a bull, covered with verminous sores. Through his miraculous omniscience, the Buddha discovered the incidents of its past life and the monster immediately acknowledged its sins. The Buddha, to satisfy his monks, told them that long ago king Vidura (*Vi du ra*) had lived in Ujjayin (*aP'ags rgyal dag*); one day he had gone into the palace garden to disport himself with his women; as they were roaming happily through the woods, the maidens met a Pratyekabuddha and, enchanted by his serenity, they gathered round him and listened to his preaching of the Law. The king, blinded by anger, killed the saint; for this sin he had been born again as a yakṣa; he had dwelt, for countless ages, in the deepest Hell, and at last he had been born as a misshapen creature, that the Buddha's virtues might set him free from the weight of karma.¹⁹⁹⁾

Under the lotus of the central figure, to the left, the Buddha is seen in Śrāvastī, surrounded by his monks; lower down the meeting with Vidura; above, Vidura's women in adoring attitudes before the Pratyekabuddha; the Pratyekabuddha murdered.

AVADĀNA n. 77

KAINEYAKA'S STORY

While the Buddha was meditating in a cave, the protectors of the four points of the compass, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa

and Kubera, came to do him homage. Śākyamuni spoke edifying words to them; they were comforted and returned to their abodes. The Buddha then told the monks their preceding lives, when two of them, who had been born as nāgas, and the other two, born as garuḍas, had been converted by the Buddha Kāśyapa. The ascetic Kaineyaka, while he was listening to the Buddha's words, became an arhat and Śāila likewise; thus was matured the merit they had both acquired in their preceding lives, in the times of Kāśyapa.²⁰⁰⁾

The story begins almost at the height of the Buddha's head, on the left, and is concluded with a few scenes: the Buddha preaching to the kings of the four points of the compass, who are seated with other persons behind the monks; their preceding lives as nāgas and garuḍas, can be seen on the left.

AVADĀNA n. 78

STORY OF ŚAKRA'S FALL FROM HEAVEN

As the fruits of his past merits approached exhaustion, Indra saw on his own person the signs that announced his impending downfall from Heaven. His mate Śacī advised him to go to the Buddha; he came down upon the earth in Benares, where Śākyamuni was meditating. Indra, then, told the gandharva Pañcaśikha to awaken the Buddha with his music and to announce his visit. As soon as he was admitted into the presence of the Śākya saint, the king of the gods felt his mind clearing at the sight and the signs portending his approaching downfall disappeared. Having taken refuge with the Law, he married Pañcaśikha to Tumburu's daughter and returned to Paradise.

This happened because in one of his preceding lives Indra had built a stūpa in the Buddha's honour.²⁰¹⁾

The story unfolds in the centre and in the left-hand corner, above: beginning on this side we see Indra in his heavenly abode; next, proceeding towards the left, his descent from

heaven, the meeting with the monks, and, going back to the right, the Buddha awakened by Pañcaśikha. Then the stūpa built in Indra's preceding life. Almost above the Buddha's head, Tumburu's daughter being married to Pañcaśikha.

AVADĀNA n. 79

MAHENDRASENA'S STORY

A Brahman named Jīvaśarman (*aTs'o ba bde*) lived in Śrāvastī; being already advanced in years, he became madly infatuated with the youthful Taralikā (*gYo ldan*) and married her.

But "women are devoted to those who betray them, and estranged from those who love them,, (5), and Taralikā sought by all means to send her old husband away.

"The man who, detesting all enterprise, cleaves obstinately to idleness, why on earth does he marry, since married life brings with it a multitude of expenses?,, (13).

"In families where an enterprising husband is engaged in business away from home, while his wife attends to household tasks, all sorts of good will be found,, (15).

Thus urged by his wife, old Jīvaśarman went to sea in search of riches, but on his way back, when he had almost reached home, highwaymen deprived him of all his treasures, leaving him poorer than before. Utterly discouraged, he was about to take his own life, but the Buddha, whom nothing escapes, restrained him and restored his lost treasures. His wife, however, was not satisfied, and little by little he perceived that all attachment to earthly fortune is quite vain.

"What pain greater than poverty can be endured in the world? But acquiring riches is a pain still greater. The enjoyment of riches, smeared with a few drops of pleasure, causes at every step hundreds of pangs,, (29).

The Brahman then took refuge with the Buddha, and in a short time became an arhat. Thus the merit he had acquired in a former life was matured.

Once upon a time there was a king, Mahendrasena, who hated all violence, to the extent of preferring exile to war. His ministers, disapproving of his renouncement, abandoned him, but this did not gain them the new king's confidence when they offered him their services. While Mahendrasena lived in the forest, a Brahman acquainted with his liberality came to solicit his help. Mahendrasena grieved that his present poverty should prevent him from showing his former generosity to the needy, but as he could not bear anyone to leave empty-handed, he told the Brahman to lead him as a captive to the enemy king, in order to receive the price that had been put on his head. The Brahman did so, but the rival king, touched by Mahendrasena's generosity, set him free and loaded the Brahman with gifts. Mahendrasena was the Buddha, and Jīvaśarman the Brahman.²⁰²⁾

The avadāna is painted on the right side of the tanka; in the upper part is represented the Brahman's former life: Mahendrasena's adventures, his interview with the Brahman in the forest, he is taken to the new king in chains and is set free. Underneath the Buddha, telling the assembled monks Jīvaśarman's story; still lower down, the latter is robbed by highwaymen bearing swords; then his return to the city: underneath his married life with Taralikā and her petulant demands.

TANKA n. 87 – XXIII left, 8 (Plate 123).

AVADĀNA n. 80

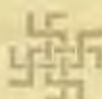
SUBHADRA'S STORY

Sarvāthasiddha, the future Buddha, having been born, Purandara (*aByin ajig*) went to the Gandharva Supriya (*Rab dga'*) and invited him to join him in doing homage to the divine child. But Supriya, absorbed in music, paid no heed to his words. Later on the ascetic Subhadra, who was meditating near Kuśa, on the banks of a pond, saw the *udumbara* tree covered with buds, and as that





FIG. 116



tree blossoms only when a Buddha is about to attain supreme enlightenment, he interpreted it as a sign of his own approaching omniscience.

In the meantime Indra returned to Supriya to announce that the Buddha's light was spreading all over the universe and that he ought to tarry no longer. But Supriya did not leave his music and the *udumbara* tree bloomed to show that the times were ripe for the preaching of the Law.

Subhadra gloried in this thought, but the magic power of the monk Cunda overpowered him and he was left dismayed.

Meanwhile the Buddha was approaching nirvana; he had converted innumerable creatures: only Subhadra and Supriya were left; out of pity for them, he went himself to the Paradise of the Gandharvas and having challenged Supriya to a musical contest, he vanquished him; Supriya was converted and the light of truth touched his heart.

Subhadra saw the *udumbara* tree lose its flowers; the spirit dwelling in the tree bereft him of his delusion that the prodigy had anything to do with his own destiny. He then thought that in a short time the Buddha would no longer inhabit the earth, and that he would be unable to listen to his word; he hastened to go to him, but arrived when the Buddha, already wasted by sickness, was resting, and Ananda kept him away with all sorts of excuses. By the Buddha's intercession, Subhadra was at last admitted into his presence; he listened to the saint's words, the truth was at last revealed to him in all its splendour, and he became an arhat and was lost in nirvana.

The monks asked through what merits Subhadra had thus suddenly escaped from the circle of deaths and births, and the Buddha answered that in the Buddha Kāśyapa's times, when a monk named Aśoka had entered nirvana, a god who was present had taken the vow to partake of the truth in his future life: through the power of that vow, Subhadra had on that day attained nirvana. Another time he had been king Brahmadatta,

while the Buddha was the horse that saved him from peril at the price of his life; on another occasion Subhadra had been born as a gazelle which, being pursued by hunters, was saved through the sacrifice of the chief of its herd, an incarnation of the future Buddha.

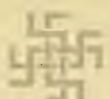
As to Supriya, in the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa he was Sudhi (*Blo bzah*) who had taken the vow to be born again as a great musician. Another time, in the city of Ajitodaya (*mC'od 'os*),²⁰³ lived king Vijayanta (*rNam par rgyal*), just and generous. Indra, to put his virtue to the proof, appeared to him in the guise of a cruel person and asked him to sacrifice his own flesh; moved by his loving spirit, he consented without hesitation; hence Indra, acknowledging the purity of his soul, restored his limbs to him unscathed. Vijayanta was an ancient incarnation of the future Buddha.²⁰⁴

The story unfolds to the right of the central image; in a heavenly palace, Supriya intent on music; immediately to the right, the Buddha telling the monks Subhadra's adventures; underneath, Supriya's former life, when in Kāśyapa's times he took the vow to be born again as a great musician. Still further below, in two sections, Subhadra trying to be admitted into the Buddha's presence, prevented by Ananda, who closes the convent door in his face; above, he is led to the Buddha. Still further below, Subhadra taking vows. In the lower corner, to the right, he watches the *udumbara* tree in bloom; still underneath, the story of the gazelle pursued by hunters. Under the central figure of the Buddha, Subhadra near the stūpa where Gautama's remains are burning; underneath, the vow made in Kāśyapa's times.

AVADĀNA II. 81

STORY OF HETŪTTAMA

In Śrāvastī the Buddha preached a sermon on the merits accruing from gifts made to teachers, or to the community or to the Buddha (*dakṣiṇā*).



“What men acquire for their own enjoyment is fruitless; on the contrary what is given to the arhat bears fruit,, (3).

Some Pāṭaliputra merchants had sailed to carry precious sandal-wood to India from distant countries; on their way back they were overtaken by a furious storm and about to be shipwrecked; one of them, named Puṇyasena (*bSod nams sde*) remembered the monk Dharmabodhi (*C'os kyi byañ c'ub*), a devotee of the Buddha Hetūttama (*rGyu yi mc'og*); he, then, began to pray most earnestly, invoking that Buddha's help. The storm miraculously subsided and they got back to their country. At that time the Buddha Hetūttama fell ill; Puṇyasena, performing his vow, refused to sell his sandal-wood to the king, who was offering him a large sum of money for it, and presented it to the Buddha, that he might cure his fever with the precious wood. The rest of the sandal-wood, which had been lost at sea and then miraculously restored to him, he distributed to the community. The Buddha foretold that in a future existence he would attain supreme enlightenment.²⁰⁵⁾

The scenes unfold downwards, as usual, without absolute accuracy: the first at the bottom, almost in the centre, represents the Buddha preaching in the Jetavana and bearers of offerings who flock to hear him; then, proceeding upwards, to the left, navigation; then the storm, next the offering of sandal-wood and other treasures to the community; still above, to the left, Puṇyasena refusing to sell the sandal-wood to the king and, to the left of the central image, the gift of sandal to the Buddha.

AVADĀNA n. 82

STORY OF THE SINNER WHO FELL INTO THE HELLS

Bhavavarman (*Srid pai go c'a*) was born, in Śrāvastī, of Śrutavarman (*T'os pai go c'a*) and Jayasenā (*rGyal bai sde*). Grown in

years, after his father's death, he went one day for a walk in the city with a friend. A young woman saw him, became infatuated with him and by gestures invited him to visit her that night. His comrade, fearing he might be seduced, told his mother everything, and she lay down to sleep on the threshold, to prevent her son from going out. Blinded by love, his entreaties and wiles having proved vain, he killed his mother and ran to his tryst. He confessed his crime to the woman, who fled from him in horror, climbed on the veranda and began to cry out that there was a thief in the house, hoping he would be caught.

Bhavavarman fled; he accused thieves of his mother's murder and, finding no peace, went roaming through various countries, until he got to the Jetavana, took vows and became a preacher. But the Buddha arrived; he discovered his crime and foretold a bitter fate to him. After his death he was flung into the most horrible of Hells, but later, through the vows he had taken, ascended to one of the heavens.²⁰⁶⁾

Immediately above the representation of the preceding avadāna, to the left of the central Buddha, the scenes of this story follow one another: first of all, below, the torments of Hell; above, more to the right, the mother's murder; Bhavavarman on the veranda, accusing robbers of the deed; to the left, his meeting with the woman and the same calling for help; still above, the Buddha preaching and then, almost at the top, in the centre of the tanka, Bhavavarman who has become a monk and is expounding the doctrine.

AVADĀNA n. 83

STORY OF RĀHULA

Invited by his father, the Buddha went to Kapilavastu; his son Rāhula recognized him among all the monks and asked him for sweetmeats. The monks asked why Rāhula

had remained six years in his mother's womb, and the Buddha told them that in ancient times king Puṣpadeva (*Me tog lba*) had two sons, Sūrya and Candra; being grown up and both desirous of embracing an ascetic life, for a long time they tried to foist the kingdom one upon the other, until Candra, gently pressed by his brother, consented to become king. Sūrya retired into the forest; one day, being very thirsty, he drank some water from a hermit's jar without asking his leave. He immediately repented of this breach of the rules of discipline and believing himself guilty of a serious offence, he asked his brother to lay a fitting penance upon him, for "Sin is purified by the king's punishment, as if by fire", (23).

Candra comforted him and assured him that his misdeed was slight; nevertheless, yielding to his insistence, he begged him to retire into the park and to wait until he was free from the affairs of State and could join him there to suggest some atonement. Absorbed in the duties of his rank, Candra forgot all about his brother for six days; then he suddenly remembered him, begged his forgiveness, purified him and let him go most remorsefully. Sūrya was the Buddha and Candra was Rāhula, who had remained six years in his mother's womb owing to his past forgetfulness.

Yaśodharā endured great sufferings during her pregnancy because in a former life, having gone to market with her mother, she took the lesser burden for herself, leaving the heavier one for her mother to carry.²⁰⁷⁾

Above, over the central image, to the right, the Buddha preaching to the monks; in their midst the child Rāhula; in the right-hand corner Yaśodharā's selfishness with her tired mother; below Sūrya thirsting in the forest and drinking from the ascetic's jar; lower down, the two brothers' interview; next, various small scenes representing Sūrya's meeting with Candra and Candra's forgetfulness.

TANKA n. 88 – XXIV left, 9 (Plate 124).

AVADĀNA n. 84

STORY OF MADHURASVARA

In Śrāsvatī Sudhīra (*Śin tu brtan*) had a son called Madhurasvara (*sBrañ rtsii dbyañs*) who, through merits acquired in his past lives, caused heavenly riches to rain down at his beck; hence in his native city there was no poverty. Grown in years, he gave hospitality to Ānanda, with whom he went to the Jetavana to meet the Buddha and invite him to his house. On this occasion he distributed endless treasures to the population, but the coins became coals in the homes of the wicked; when they wondered at the transformation, he advised them to make the Buddha a present of the treasures they had received. They followed his advice, and when they got home they found that the coals had again become gold. Madhurasvara entered the order; while he was dwelling in a lonely convent, some robbers, devotees of Durgā, arrived and asked for a monk to sacrifice to the goddess. Madhurasvara offered himself of his own accord as a ransom for the others' lives, was taken to the place of sacrifice and became an arhat; when the robbers undressed him, his garments were multiplied, and the goddess appeared in heaven, causing gems to rain down. The robbers were converted and, touched by his words, became arhats. Madhurasvara went with them to the Buddha in the Jetavana to hear him preach; at that same moment his father Sudhīra also arrived; he offered Śākyamuni a golden lotus flower, and the Buddha foretold that in a future existence he would become a Buddha.²⁰⁸⁾

The story is represented in the lower part of the tanka; near the right margin, in the upper scene, we see Madhurasvara going to invite the Buddha; underneath, the gifts given on that occasion; in the centre, below, Ānanda as Madhurasvara's guest, and above Sudhīra offering the Buddha a golden lotus, as in the last part of the miracle. In the left-hand corner,

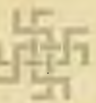




FIG. 117



Madhurasvara in the hermitage, and to the right the robbers asking to carry him off; above, to the left, the robbers dragging him to the place of sacrifice and their conversion; more to the right, the Buddha's sermon.

AVADĀNA n. 85
STORY OF HITAIŠIN

Once the monks asked the Buddha why he loved the sick above other men. He answered that this had also been the case in the past, for instance when he was king Śibi. One day a sick man came to him, whom no medicine could cure; physicians said the only thing would be to give him the blood of a person who had proved himself patient since his birth. Having examined his conscience and found himself free from the sin of wrath, Śibi offered his own blood. The sick man recovered, but left the king seriously ill. To restore his health, the physicians prescribed a medicine that it took twelve years to prepare, but when at last it was ready, he gave it to an infirm Pratyekabuddha; this time, however, by the saint's grace, both were miraculously healed. Śibi was the Buddha. The monks then asked him for what reason this had happened, and the Buddha told them that once in Benares, lived king Brahmadatta, who had two sons, Nanda and Upananda; the former loved glory, the latter desired to rule. Upananda, who longed to occupy the throne, belonging by right to his brother, confessed his disappointment to the youngest of the court chaplains, saying that he wished to abandon the world for ascetic renouncement. But the chaplain gave Nanda a poison which deprived him of the use of his limbs; hence Upananda became king in his stead. After a short time, however, he repented and by a new drug restored his brother's health and gave his kingdom back to him; he honoured a Pratyekabuddha and then died together with the chaplain; later he was born as prince Śibi and the chaplain as

a Pratyekabuddha, but because they had caused Nanda's disease in their former lives, they were both afflicted with the same infirmity.²⁰⁹⁾

This avadāna is represented on the left of the central image; beginning from below, the principal scenes show Śibi's palace and sick people flocking to it; inside the prince is distributing medicines; above, the drug which will save the king is being prepared, further up, on the left margin, the drug is offered to the Pratyekabuddha; to the right, Upananda's intrigue with the chaplain; still further above, their repentance and Nanda's return to the throne. Almost on the extreme left corner above, Brahmadatta with both his sons; to the right, the drugs prepared for Nanda.

AVADĀNA n. 86
STORY OF KAPIÑJALA

In king Brahmadatta's times, when all men were extremely just, a hare, a *kapiñjala*, an elephant and a monkey lived in the forest in great friendship. They thought it would be wiser to obey a chief, chose the *kapiñjala* as the oldest of the four and lived in great harmony and mutual respect. Brahmadatta, seeing justice and order prevail in his land, though it was all owing to the merit of his own virtues and piety, but the Buddha bereft him of this bold opinion, by revealing the virtues of the four animals to him. The *kapiñjala* became in course of time Śākyamuni, the hare Śāriputra, the monkey Maudgalyāyana and the elephant Ānanda.²¹⁰⁾

Above the head of the central image is represented the preaching Buddha, on high; to the left, the four animals mentioned in the story.

AVADĀNA n. 87
STORY OF PADMAKA

In Śrāvastī a son was born to Mānasa (*Yid ces*), called Padmaka (*Pad mo can*). Grown in years and finding no pleasure in the world, he sought refuge in the order and



took vows. Having gone to beg in Mathurā, he happened to enter a courtesan's house; she fell madly in love with him and tempted him with wily words. Padmaka was not allured and fled, leaving his alms. But the harlot begged a witch to use her magic arts to touch the young ascetic's heart: the witch caused a fire to burn in front of him and commanded him to give way to love, or to leap into the flames. Padmaka, without a moment's hesitation, was about to plunge into the fire, but the witch repented and drew him back in time, so that Padmaka easily converted both women and went with them to the Buddha, to hear his peace-giving word.

The Buddha, solicited by his monks, told them stories of his past lives: in the Buddha Kāśyapa's times there was a merchant called Mitra (*bṣes gñen*) who took vows with his two wives. The latter once used hard words to the other nuns and for that sin were reborn one as a witch and the other as a courtesan. Mitra was Śākyamuni.

As to Padmaka, in another life he had been Puṣpasena (*Me tog sde*), who used to give flowers to anyone he met; once he offered them to a Pratyekabuddha and was therefore born again with the same kind disposition.²¹¹

The story unfolds on the right side, and begins immediately above the story of Madhurasvara: first the legend of Puṣpasena is outlined, then proceeding upwards, Padmaka in his parents' house; he takes vows, meets the courtesan, the ordeal by fire, the two women's conversion and, on the upper right-hand corner, the Buddha's sermon; to the left, above, Mitra's story in the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa.

TANKA n. 89 – XXV left, 10 (Plate 125).

AVADĀNA n. 88

STORY OF CITRA

In Bimbisāra's court an officer named Citra (*Nag pa*) was in charge of the elephants. Still young in years, he took vows and adopted

an ascetic's life. Having come back to his native city to beg, he went to his former home and was joyfully received by his wife. Wishing to recall him to his early ties of affection, she tried first of all to see if his mind were completely detached from all worldly objects: while bringing him his food, she dropped a plate; he was immediately roused and asked her what the noise was. She thus perceived that his spirit was not entirely at peace.

"When a man is troubled merely by the noise of a dish, what cannot be done with him, distracted as he is by his senses?., (16).

The woman then began to complain that she was forlorn and almost a slave to her servants; one of them, instructed by her beforehand, made a show of striking her. Citra sprang up and ran for a sword to kill the insolent fellow; restrained in time, he gave up asceticism and came back to family life and to his former office at court. The monks informed the Buddha of Citra's backsliding; the saint spoke to him and so touched his heart that he became an arhat.

Then the Buddha told him his past history. Because in a former life he had devoutly worshipped a Pratyekabuddha, he had become an arhat, but in another life he had been Hariśikha (*aP'rog rtse*), one of the two sons of Haridrāyaṇa (*aP'rog byed*), king Brahmadatta's chaplain. When the king left on a military expedition, he had ordered his daughter to take care of Hariśikha, an ascetic who was the country's glory. The two young people nevertheless fell in love. The king came back and honoured Hariśikha greatly, but in the midst of the ceremony he saw him betray his passion by a sudden gesture. Incensed with wrath, he was pacified by his daughter's prompt interference; Hariśikha's brother came flying through the air, reminded him of his previous vow and restored him to the path of sanctity. Hariśikha was then Citra and his brother was Śākyamuni.²¹²

The story unfolds on the lower part of the tanka from the right; Citra is seen in the

palace occupied with his office; to the left his family life, and further to the left, the sermon and conversion; underneath, in two scenes, his homecoming, his meeting with his wife, the servant's feigned blows, Citra's married life resumed; to the left the monks inform the Buddha; Citra is taken to the Buddha and hears him preach; Citra becomes an arhat. Above, briefly outlined, Hariśikha's story, his brother's arrival through the air and Citra's homage to the Pratyekabuddha.

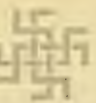
AVADĀNA n. 89

STORY OF DHARMARUCI

Once, while the Buddha was in the Jetavana, some merchants sailed for distant seas, in search of new riches. On their way back they suddenly saw an enormous monster appear in the sea; the boat was about to be swallowed into the gulf of his huge throat. The merchants invoked the Buddha, whose name pacified the monster; they reached their country safely, offered the Buddha their treasures and became arhats. As to the monster, he vowed to abstain from taking the life of any living being; in a short time he died of hunger and was born again in Śrāvastī as a Brahman's son. Grown in years, he took vows, and assumed the name of Dharmaruci (*C'os sred*). But he was always tormented by an insatiable hunger; once he was invited and ate up all the food prepared for the whole community, so that the host, fearing that he was an ogre in a monk's form, ran to tell the Buddha. The latter reassured him, took Dharmaruci with him and brought him through the air to the shores of the ocean, where the bones of the monster he had been in his previous incarnation lay like a huge white mountain. Dharmaruci became an arhat and in the presence of the assembled monks the Buddha recalled his preceding life, under so enigmatic a form that the monks understood nothing and only Dharmaruci knew what he meant. Then the Buddha told other preceding incarnations

of Dharmaruci's. In the times of the Buddha Kṣemaṅkara, lived a merchant called Dharmaśīla, who built a stūpa in the Buddha's honour. The Jainas opposed its construction, therefore the king put an officer at Dharmaśīla's disposal, to protect the workmen and keep off the heretics. The merchant took the vow to become a Buddha, and the officer to be one of his hearers. Dharmaruci was the officer and Dharmaśīla was the Buddha.

In another cosmic era, Dīpa (*Mar me*) king of Dīpavatī (*Mar me can*) greatly honoured the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, and sent messengers to Vāsava (*Nor lbai bu*) King of Benares, inviting him to come and to homage to the saint. After a great sacrifice had been offered, the tutelary deity announced to Vāsava that two ascetics, Sumati (*Blo gros bzai*) and Mati (*Blo gros*) were about to arrive, and ordered him to load Sumati with gifts. When the two saints came, Vāsava obeyed the divinity's order and would have given Sumati his daughter. Sumati refused, but the maiden had fallen in love with him. Being rejected, she went to Dīpavatī, to offer flowers to the gods. As to Sumati, he gave his master the money he had received from the king and made ten dreams; an ascetic advised him to have them explained by the Buddha and so Sumati also went to Dīpavatī. The city was decorated with flowers in expectation of the Buddha's arrival, but the maiden could not find a single flower to buy. Through Sumati's merits, some lotus flowers had grown in a garden; she bought them secretly, inducing the gardener to disregard the orders of the king, who was keeping all the flowers for the celebrations in the Buddha's honour. The maiden took the flowers, put them in a vase and went with the others to meet the Śākya saint. On the way, she came upon Sumati, who perceiving by his mystic powers that she was hiding flowers in her vase, asked her for a lotus to offer the Buddha. The maiden reminded him of their previous



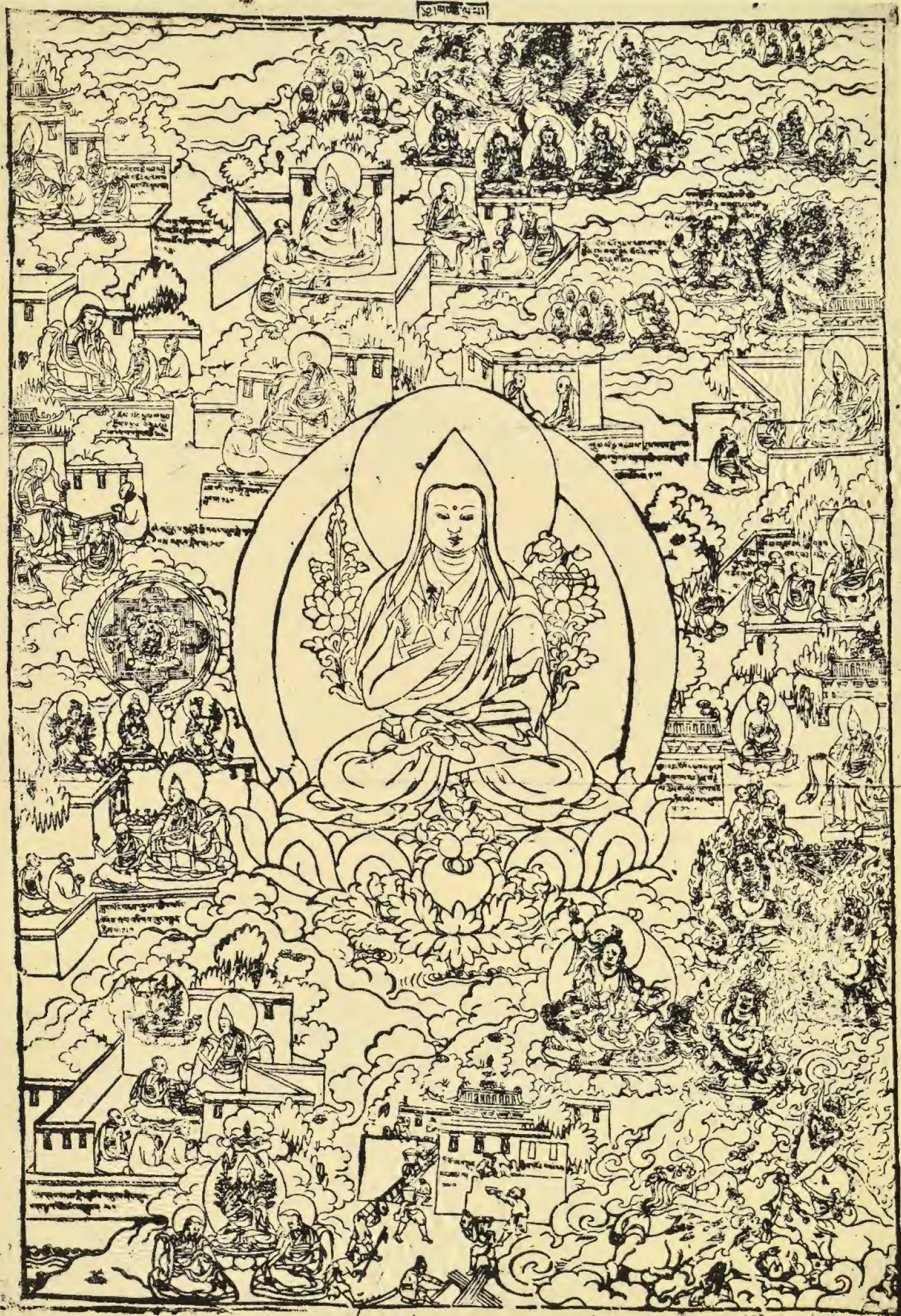
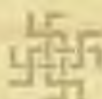


FIG. 118



meeting and gave him the flower, on condition that he promise to become her husband in a future existence. Sumati consented and they went together to honour the Buddha. When they came into his presence, they both dropped flowers upon him, and Sumati bent down, undid his hair, which was tied up after the fashion of ascetics and spread it out for the Buddha to step on. Sumati's top-knot, mysteriously cut off, was lifted up to heaven, and the Buddha prophesied that Sumati would become Śākyamuni. Those present built a stūpa on the spot. Mati became envious of the honour conferred upon Sumati, but the maiden, who had taken vows with him, pacified him. Sumati was reborn as Śākyamuni, while Mati, by reason of his envy went to Hell. He was Dharmaruci.

Still another time, Aśvadatta (*rTas byin*), son of a rich merchant named Candanadatta (*Tsan dan byin*) lived in the times of the Buddha Krakucchanda. His father, sailing for distant seas, had left him to his mother's care; the latter, still very young and burning with sensual passion, asked her old nurse how she might gratify her appetites. The nurse advised her to seduce her own son: such a passion would never be disclosed outside the home. The woman consented and, through the nurse's intrigues, secretly met her son every night; he was told that a girl lay with him, who would not disclose her identity. Finally the mother revealed herself and Aśvadatta, little by little, was convinced by her arguments and her passion; so they lived together, and when his father came back, they poisoned him. Then they collected their riches and fled to another country, where they lived as husband and wife; one day a monk recognized them and Aśvadatta, fearing that his secret and his crime would be disclosed, killed the monk. Next the mother found another lover and Aśvadatta murdered her also. Expelled from the city, he wandered about, a prey to remorse, vainly attempting to be admitted into the order: for this reason, blinded

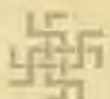
by anger, he set fire to a convent, causing the death of a great many monks. Finally a Bodhisattva taught him the formula of prayer "love for the Buddha," and he found peace. At the end of his life, he went to Hell and was born later as the sea-monster. He was Dharmaruci.²¹³)

The story is represented on the left and above. It begins under the image of the Buddha, with a picture of Śākyamuni preaching; Dharmaruci's presence is suggested by the great quantity of collected food; above Dharmaruci's birth, his conversion, the meal prepared for the community and eaten by him alone; still further up, the merchants saved from the monster go to the Buddha and become arhats. Above, navigation and the sea-monster's appearance; the Buddha showing Dharmaruci the bones of his preceding incarnation. Still further up, to the right, the monks preparing to depart; above, to the left, the building of the stūpa and the officer charged with its protection. In the centre, above, Aśvadatta's story briefly represented by the image of the Buddha, telling it to the monks, and the inscription (in sNar t'añ wood-cut): *c'os sred kyis sñon rgyud gsuñs pa* "narrative of Dharmaruci's ancient adventures,". Underneath, a little to the right, Sumati and Mati at Vāsava's court.

AVADĀNA II. 90

STORY OF DHANIKA

While the Buddha was meditating in Vaiśālī near the Lake of the Monkey, the citizens made a pact: the whole city would invite and honour him; if anyone invited him on his own initiative, he would be expelled from Vaiśālī. A rich merchant called Dhanika (*Nor can*), who knew nothing about the compact, invited the Buddha to his house; Śākyamuni accepted, and when the citizens came to bring him their invitation, he declined, being already engaged with Dhanika. The Buddha was sumptuously entertained by



Dhanika and his family and the citizens themselves, becoming convinced of his good faith, forgave him; Dhanika then went to the Buddha, heard his word and was saved.

Answering the monks' questions, Śākya-muni told them that in ancient times there was a gardener; during a great famine, coming back with his family from the king's palace, where he used to go every day to take flowers, he saw a Pratyekabuddha under a tree. The gardener and his family were so poor that they had only one dress, which they put on by turns when they went to the king: they only possession, they offered to the Pratyekabuddha. The gardener was Dhanika.²¹⁴⁾

The avadāna is represented on the right; it begins at the height of the central figure's shoulders: the monks gathered round Śākya-muni; preparations for the banquet in Vaiśālī; above, Dhanika's invitation; the Buddha in Dhanika's house; in several pictures, still further up, the story of the gardener who honoured the Buddha.

AVADĀNA n. 91

STORY OF ŚIBI

In Benares the Buddha listened with pleasure to the edifying conversation of those monks who, purified by his preaching, had become arhats. He told them how in a preceding existence, when he was prince of Śibi, he had been equally devoted to good deeds; astonished by his virtues, Indra wished to put him to the proof and, appearing before him in the form of an ogre, he recited the first part of a verse in praise of virtue. The prince begged him to tell him the second part too, but Indra refused, rejecting the presents he was offered in exchange for the stanza: an ogre only needs fresh blood. Śibi then offered him his own body and on this condition the ogre told him the second part of the verse. While his body was being torn asunder according to the compact, he expressed the desire that all created beings might profit by

his sacrifice; hence, through the magic force of truth and the sincerity of his sacrifice, he got back his body unscathed.²¹⁵⁾

Below, to the right, under the central figure, the Buddha in Benares telling Śibi's story to the assembled monks; underneath, the prince intent on distributing gifts; on the palace terrace the meeting with the ogre.

TANKA n. 90-XXVI left, II (Plate 126).

AVADĀNA n. 92

STORY OF MAITRAKANYAKA

In a sermon delivered in Benares, the Buddha recommended his hearers to love their parents and recalled the sufferings he had been obliged to endure because, in another life, he had been disrespectful to his mother. He was then Maitrakanyaka (*mDsa' poi bu mo*), the son of a merchant who, having gone to sea, had never come back to his country. His mother, fearing the same evil destiny might deprive her of her son, forbade Maitrakanyaka to follow his father's example. Maitrakanyaka provided for his mother by doing business in a small way until, grown in years, he decided to sail at any coast and, as his mother objected, he was vexed with her insistence and rudely shook her off. He went to sea, suffered shipwreck and was thrown by the storm on an island; in his wanderings he got to the city of Ramanaka (*rTse dga'*) where he met some fairies (*Apsaras*) and enjoyed their love for a long time. They admonished him not to leave the city and not to go southward, but Maitrakanyaka, yielding to curiosity, left Ramanaka and successively visiting the cities of Sadāmatta (*rTag tu myos*), Nandana (*dGa' byed*), Brahmottara (*Ts'añs pai mc'og*) he came at last to a fortress walled about with iron. As soon as he stood in front of its gate, the gate was miraculously opened; he entered and saw a man undergoing dreadful tortures: over his head a sharp-edged wheel revolved, and streams of blood issued from the horrible

gash. Maitrakanyaka was informed that the victim was atoning for wrongs done to his mother during his life, and that his punishment would last until another sinner came to take his place. Maitrakanyaka was frightened and wanted to flee, but a voice from the sky ordered that the culprit should be set free and the newcomer put in his place. The torment was to last 60,000 years; Maitrakanyaka, knowing that other sinners would replace him, was moved to pity for them and took the vow that the horrible wheel should batter his own head only. Then the wheel miraculously stopped and he was born again among the gods. Maitrakanyaka was the Buddha.²¹⁶⁾

On the left side of the tanka: above, the Buddha telling his story; Maitrakanyaka at home; he prepares to depart; he strikes his mother who falls on the floor in front of the door; the voyage; some of the countries where Maitrakanyaka, in various palaces, enjoys the delights of love; he is born again as a god.

AVADĀNA n. 93

STORY OF SUMĀGADHĀ

Anāthapiṇḍada asked the Buddha if he should give in marriage to Vṛṣabhadatta (*K'yu mc'og byin*) his daughter Sumāgadhā (*Ma ga dha bzai mo*), a zealous votary of the Buddha's. The latter gave his approval and Sumāgadhā started for Puṇḍravardhana, to join her bridegroom. One day her mother-in-law told her to get ready to receive some Jaina monks who were about to arrive. They came and Sumāgadhā, seeing them naked and fat, was much annoyed. Her mother-in-law asked her who it was that she used to honour in her home, and Sumāgadhā was loud in the Buddha's praise, and described him with such enthusiasm that the mother-in-law desired to see him. Sumāgadhā then, inflamed with faith, turned towards Śrāvastī and prayed earnestly to the Buddha; she dedicated to him a necklace of flowers, which, flying through the air, fell at his feet. The

Buddha then told Ānanda that the monks must get ready for the following day, as he had decided to go with them to Puṇḍravardhana by air. On this occasion Pūrṇa became an arhat. Sumāgadhā meanwhile, on the veranda of her house, was anxiously expecting the arrival of the Buddha and of his disciples; when they began to appear one by one, she pointed them out to her parents-in-law; at last the Buddha appeared with great splendour; honoured by Sumāgadhā, he told them through what merits, acquired in her preceding lives, the young woman had now obtained such a favour. In Benares lived the princess Kañcanamālā (*gSer ap'reñ can*), a zealous devotee of the Buddha Kāśyapa, who had been born wearing a marvellous necklace. Her father had dreams which he believed to be evil and his wicked counsellors, hating the princess, urged him to sacrifice the person most dear to him. But Kañcanamālā induced her father to go to Kāśyapa, who revealed the true meaning of his dreams: they foretold the future triumph of the Law. In another life Sumāgadhā had done homage to a stūpa, and through this merit she had been born wearing a precious necklace.²¹⁷⁾

The avadāna is represented on the right side of the tanka. Almost on a level with the seat on which the central image is resting, Sumāgadhā in her father-in-law's house; preparations for the arrival of the Jainas; the Jainas worshipped; above, in the centre, the arhats arriving by air while Sumāgadhā, on the terrace, points out to her parents-in-law the various masters; inside the palace, the Buddha preaching; under the lotus of the central figure, briefly outlined in a few small pictures, the stūpa worshipped and Kañcanamālā's story.

AVADĀNA n. 94

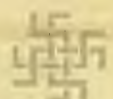
STORY OF YAŚOMITRA

Yaśomitra (*Grags pai bśes gñen*), the son of a merchant in Śrāvastī, took vows and soon became an arhat; purest water always





FIG. 119



flowed from his teeth, so that he never suffered thirst. The monks asked the Buddha the reason of this prodigy and Śākyamuni told Sundaraka's (*mDses pa*) story: he had taken vows and become an arhat in Kāśyapa's times and, owing to his past sins, he was always tormented by an unquenchable thirst. But as soon as he offered water to the Buddha, the curse was extinguished and, owing to this gift he was born again as Yaśomitra.

The avadāna is represented on the lower right-hand side; above, near the scene of the preceding avadāna, Sundaraka taking vows with Kāśyapa; the offering of water to that same Buddha; Yaśomitra's home life; below, in the corner, Yaśomitra with his parents; to the left, he meets the Buddha and is admitted into the order.

AVADĀNA n. 95

THE STORY OF THE TIGER

A merchant named Arthadatta (*Don byin*) lived in Rājagṛha; on his death he left two sons who were brought up by their mother; at a loss how to provide for them, she taught the boys to steal. Having grown in years and in guilt, one day they were sentenced to death with their mother, but at the foot of the scaffold they were pardoned through the Buddha's intercession and became monks. Questioned by his monks, Śākyamuni told them that the two thieves had also been saved by him in former lives: their mother was then a tiger who, pressed by hunger, was about to devour her cubs; a Bodhisattva then offered himself to the tiger, if she would spare their lives. That Bodhisattva was the Buddha.²¹⁸⁾

The story is represented on the lower left side. Beginning from above, the mother induced to steal; in the left corner the theft of some oxen; above, the scene of the execution; freed by the Buddha, the two thieves take vows. Higher up, on the left, the tiger's story.

TANKA n. 91-XXVII left, 11 (Plate 126).

AVADĀNA n. 96

STORY OF THE ELEPHANT

One day, while King Udayana's women were disporting themselves in the garden, five hundred ascetics suddenly arrived by surprise and saw them. The king, furious that the privacy of his harem should have been intruded upon, condemned them to be cut to pieces, but the Buddha arrived and saved them. This had also happened in past times, he said, when king Brahmadatta had sent 500 wicked councillors into exile. They wandered in the wilderness, about to die of thirst, but were saved by an elephant who brought them water with his trunk. The elephant was Śākyamuni.²¹⁹⁾

The avadāna is represented in the lower left-hand corner of the tanka: under the lotus of the central figure, king Udayana's women go to meet the ascetics; further up, to the right, the king's anger and the Buddha's intervention; below, the Buddha preaching to the ascetics, who take vows; in the corner the king and his women; above, the older story: the elephant carrying water, the elephant's death and the stūpa built over his remains.

TANKA n. 91-XXVII left, 12 (Plate 127).

AVADĀNA n. 97

STORY OF THE TORTOISE

When the Buddha was in Rājagṛha, Devadatta despatched some armed ascetics to murder him, but the Buddha protected himself by means of a magic spell and the ascetics, won by such a miracle, were converted and became arhats. In a former life, the Buddha said, they had been merchants in Benares, and when about to be drowned, they had been saved by the Buddha, who was then a huge tortoise. But when they landed on the beach, the merchants tried to kill the tortoise

and eat it. The tortoise, withdrawing into its shell, was safe for a long time, but at last it felt pity for the starving men, and freely offered itself to them. Later the merchants took vows with the Buddha Kāśyapa.²²⁰⁾

On the right side of the central figure, Devadatta's interview with the ascetics; ascetics and demons assaulting the Buddha; their conversion; underneath the older story: the merchants sailing; their voyage; they are saved by the tortoise; the tortoise withdrawing into its shell; death of the tortoise.

AVADĀNA n. 98

STORY OF THE ASCETIC

During a famine the Mallas came to the Buddha, heard his word, took vows and became arhats. Seeing them thus honoured, the citizens were vexed, but the king heard about their miracles and the power they had of passing through the air from one continent to the other and held them in great reverence. The Buddha told how, in past eras, he had been an ascetic who had converted the Mallas; through this conversion they had become arhats, but because in former lives they had spoken insulting words, they had been born into a contemptible caste.

In the upper part, beginning from the right, the Mallas' conversion; above, they are flying from one continent to another; near the scene of the preaching, their conversion at the hands of an ascetic; to the left, the king's interview with the citizens, next the offering to a monk who represents the Mallas as arhats.

AVADĀNA n. 99

STORY OF PADMAKA

Once in Śrāvastī the Buddha healed some sick monks and told them how, in a past life, he had been king Padmaka (*Pad ma can*). A great plague broke out and a high mortality among the population ensued. Physicians said that the fish *robhita* was the only cure for this

disease, but as the fish could not be caught in any river, Padmaka, taking the vow to be born again as a *robhita*, jumped from the palace tower. Immediately reborn as a *robhita*, he was able to save his subjects.

Above, to the left, the Buddha preaching to the monks who had been healed, below Padmaka's palace; he takes counsel of his ministers and monks; the plague; Padmaka born again as a *robhita*.

TANKA n. 92-XXVIII left, 13 (Plate 128).

AVADĀNA n. 100

STORY OF PUṆYAPRABHĀSA

When the Buddha was living in the Jetavana, king Prasenajit asked him when he had for the first time conceived the thought of enlightenment: Śākyamuni answered that in remote eras he had been king Prabhāsa (*Rab gsal*); one day the officer in charge of the elephants told him that one of his best elephants had come back, after running off into the woods in the rutting season. Puṇyaprabhāsa then asked if any passion is known to exist, which does not burn with a sensual fever, and the officer answered that such a passion is the one which leads to enlightenment. From that moment king Puṇyaprabhāsa took the vow to become a Buddha.²²¹⁾

On the right side, below: the elephant's return; above, the Buddha telling Prabhāsa's story; above this, the scene of the furious elephant.

AVADĀNA n. 101

STORY OF ŚYĀMĀKA

When Śuddhodana died, the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu, his native city, and built a stūpa over his father's remains, honouring his memory. The monks asked whether it was just that the Buddha, detached from the world, should still be touched by affection, and Śākyamuni answered that parents must

be honoured by all, even by the Buddha. In another life, he said, he had been Śyāmāka (*sÑo bsans can*); his parents, having become blind, had retired into the woods, and Śyāmāka, refusing office at court, followed them and cared for them. As he was living with them in the hermitage, he went one day to draw water from the river, but he was mortally wounded by an arrow: king Brahmadatta, seeing a figure move behind the branches, had taken it for a gazelle and shot at it. Śyāmāka, serenely dying, did not curse the king, but recommended him to take the water to his thirsty parents at once. The king, in anguish, begged the old couple's forgiveness and took them where Śyāmāka's corpse lay. They invoked his pity, and Indra, as a proof of Śyāmāka's sincerity resuscitated him. Śyāmāka was the Buddha.²²²⁾

Under the central image, the Buddha near his father's great stūpa, to which other people are offering gifts. Brahmadatta in his palace; higher up, on the left margin, Śyāmāka is killed; the king's sorrow; Indra appears in the midst of a cloud; Śyāmāka resuscitated; higher up, Brahmadatta announces his death to his parents.

AVADĀNA n. 102

STORY OF THE LION

After the Buddha had converted Indra and Bimbisāra, he told the monks an ancient tale: once upon a time there were three merchants, who crossed the seas, eager for gain; on their way back, a huge dragon barred their path; they invoked the gods, and a lion, hearing their moans, ran to their help and, pouncing upon the dragon, killed it but was himself burnt up by its fiery breath. The merchants, having thus been saved, built a stūpa over his remains. That lion was Śākyamuni.²²³⁾

The scene unfolds above, to the left: the Buddha preaching to Indra and Bimbisāra; above, the fight between the lion and the dragon; the building of the stūpa.

AVADĀNA n. 103

STORY OF PRIYAPIṇḌA

For the monks' edification, the Buddha one day told of a good deed he had done in one of his past lives, when he had been born as the son of king Vajracāṇḍa (*rDo rje gtum po*) and of Rohiṇī (*sNar ma*) daughter of king Meru (*Lhun po*), whom Vajracāṇḍa had vanquished in battle. He grew up so wise and generous that he deserved the name of Priyapiṇḍa (*dGa' bai goñ bu*), and everyone loved him. Having become king, a wicked minister named Durmati (*Blo ñan*) wrote to Meru, stirring up memories of his former defeat and urging him to get even with his enemy; Priyapiṇḍa, rather than involve his kingdom in a war, went to Meru with the object of pacifying him and Meru, having seen a miraculous necklace, which by divine favour hung on Priyapiṇḍa's neck, actually repented and made peace. Thus an ancient karma had matured, when a Brahman named Mūlika (*rTsa ba can*) had offered medicine to a Pratyekabuddha and sheltered him under his parasol. Priyapiṇḍa was Śākyamuni and Durmati was Devadatta.

Still to the right, near the preceding scene, an elephant and a horse, with seated personages, allude to the rape of Meru's daughter. Then Priyapiṇḍa in his palace, distributing treasures to Meru's soldiers, the Pratyekabuddha's episode; exactly above the central figure, the Buddha telling the story.

TANKA n. 93 – XXIX left, 14 (Plate 129).

AVADĀNA n. 104

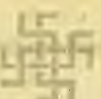
STORY OF THE HARE

Hamsa (*Ñañ pa*) became an arhat after many hardships, as he had never succeeded in detaching his thoughts from life; the Buddha, answering his monks who wished to know the cause of such an attachment to worldly objects, told them his disciple's ancient karma.





FIG. 120



Once an ascetic named Suvrata (*brTul žugs bžan*) lived in the woods; a talking hare followed him everywhere. A great drought broke out and life in the woods became difficult. Then Suvrata thought he would return to his village, but the hare advised him not to do so, saying she had rather jump into the fire than follow him on worldly paths. Suvrata repented and remained in his hermitage; a miraculous rain fell on the forest and quenched its thirst. Suvrata was Hamsa and the hare was the Buddha.²²⁴⁾

In the centre, below, the ascetic in a hut; near him the hare; the hare leaps into the fire and the ascetic tries to catch her.

AVADĀNA n. 105

STORY OF RAIVATAKA

Raivataka (*Rai va ta ka*) was a Kashmiri monk who lived in a hermitage; one day, while he was dyeing his clothes in a cauldron, a Brahman named Piśuna (*P'ra ma can*), seeking for his lost calves, came to him armed with a spade. As a consequence of wicked deeds done in a preceding existence by Raivataka, the dyed garments had assumed the appearance of meat and blood, so that Piśuna was sure he had found the thief, while Raivataka, certain of being the victim of evil arts, let the Brahman lead him unresisting to the king, who cast him in prison and forgot him there for twelve years. In the meantime Piśuna had found his calves, but said nothing to the king. One day the latter was awakened by a voice from heaven, he remembered Raivataka, acknowledged his innocence and set him free, regretting he had punished him so unjustly.

“Punishment falls on the just, when the king is at fault”, (30).

This had happened because in a preceding life Raivataka had been a cattle-thief; the herdsmen ran after him, but to put them off his tracks he had thrown shreds of meat at the feet of a Pratyekabuddha, so that the herdsmen,

supposing him to be guilty, had put him in prison and kept him there twelve days.²²⁵⁾

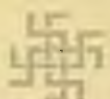
The avadāna is represented on the left side, below; the meeting of the Brahman with Raivataka; the monk dyeing his clothes; miraculous transformation of the clothes; the monk beaten; above, the monk is led into the King's presence; again below, the king apologizing for his error; monks flying through the air; above, the story of the slandered Pratyekabuddha.

AVADĀNA n. 106

STORY OF KANAKAVARMAN

In the town of Kanakavatī (*gSer can*) king Kanaka (*gSer*) had a son and a daughter Kanakavarman (*gSer gyi go c'a*) and Kanakaprabhā (*gSer 'od*). A minister's son fell in love with Kanakaprabhā and became her lover; the king was furious and condemned them both to death, but Kanakavarman, moved to pity, saved them both and his father sent him into exile. After long wanderings, one day he found his sister among the ruins of the city where she had taken refuge: demons had forced the population to flee. Kanakavarman vanquished the demons and destroyed them, all but one who made his submission. He got the citizens to come back, was elected king and ruled wisely, with his brother-in-law as minister. His father, being informed of his son's heroic courage and mercy, called him back and proclaimed him his heir. Kanakavarman was the Buddha.

Above the preceding story, to the left: below, the Buddha telling his monks his birth as Kanakavarman; above, to the right, the king and queen; to the left, the king orders Kanakavarman to have the minister's son killed; passing to the right, above the Buddha's head, the culprits, taken to the place of execution, are saved by Kanakavarman; the abandoned city; the yakṣas slain; returning to the left, on the upper margin, the sister and brother-in-law restored to the



throne; beneath, the seven gems, symbolizing kingship; Kanakavarman conversing with his minister in the royal palace.

AVADĀNA n. 107

STORY OF ŚUDDHODANA

A rich merchant, called Śuddhodana, lived in Benares; he was a close friend of the king. One day, having gone to the royal palace, he heard a very fine maxim sung by the king's daughter and insisted that she should tell him another; the princess consented, on condition that he give her his treasures: to the king's great wonder, he accepted the pact. Śuddhodana was then the Buddha.

To the left of the image, Śuddhodana collects his treasures; lower down, the Buddha tells the story to the monks; below, in two more scenes, Śuddhodana's house, to which beggars flock; to the left, in various pictures, his friendship with the king and the gift of a necklace in exchange for a maxim.

TANKA n. 94 - XXX left, 15 (Plate 130).

AVADĀNA n. 108

STORY OF JĪMŪTAVĀHANA

Jīmūtavāhana (*sPrin gyi bžon*) was the wise son of Jīmūtaketu (*sPrin gyi tog*) king of the Vidyādhara; his father, on becoming an ascetic, gave into his son's keeping, among other things, the heavenly tree which confers upon men all the good things they may desire. But Jīmūtavāhana could not live away from his father and followed him into the forest; the divine tree then returned to paradise. One day, by a spring of water, Jīmūtavāhana saw a divinely beautiful maiden and it was revealed to him that she was the king of the Siddha's daughter. The two young people fell in love; while they were talking an old man arrived, looking for the maiden, whom her father wished to give in marriage. Jīmūtavāhana, left alone with his love thoughts

was comforted by a friend, who announced that his marriage would soon take place. The wedding day approached, and in the Siddhas' city great festivities were celebrated, pending the arrival of the Vidyādhara's prince; he arrived on a celestial chariot and the nuptials immediately took place with great pomp. Six days later, in the forest, Jīmūtavāhana heard the piteous moan of a serpent, lamenting his son's approaching sacrifice: he was to be offered as a victim to a Garuḍa, according to an ancient custom. Jīmūtavāhana then decided to ransom the nāga by the sacrifice of his own life and having obtained by a pretext the red bands the victim was to wear, he went to the top of the mountain. The Garuḍa, flying in broad circles, pounced from the sky, tore Jīmūtavāhana to pieces with his claws and snatched the gem from his head. Jīmūtaketu, who had remained in the forest with his wife and daughter-in-law, was deeply grieved by his son's delay, being aware that on that same day the Garuḍa would descend; his trouble was much greater when the gem which had decked his son's head fell at his feet. He ran anxiously to the mountain, and got there just in time to hear the story of his son's sacrifice from the dying Jīmūtavāhana himself and from the serpent he had saved. The Garuḍa repented and swore to renounce forever the victims he had claimed up to that moment; meanwhile Jīmūtavāhana gave up his last breath and his wife prepared to die on his pyre, praying to be joined to her husband in their future life. But at that moment Pārvatī appeared and restored Jīmūtavāhana to life; the latter asked that the serpents killed by the Garuḍa in the past should also be revived. Jīmūtavāhana was Śākyamuni.²²⁶)

The scene is represented in the last tanka of the cycle; the scenes follow one another without an exact order. So, for instance, under the central image Jīmūtavāhana is seen going to the mountain on his coach; the scene of the meeting with his bride is on the right, on one side of the central image's head; here

is also represented the goddess Gaurī being propitiated; then Jīmūtavāhana and his bride. Going back to the left, near the first scene, we see the heavenly tree, from which all sorts of treasures are falling; underneath, the distribution of the treasures and the deity of the heavenly tree; Jīmūtaketu with his wife and son; still further above, to the left, the wedding celebrations, and to the right, in the palace, Jīmūtavāhana with his bride and attendants; to the left of the tanka, in two huts, Jīmūtavāhana's parents are preparing what is required for the wedding; underneath, processions of servants approaching the scene which represents the wedding, carrying gifts. In the square to the right, above, the bride ready to ascend the pyre; lamentations upon the corpse; Jīmūtavāhana revived, and in various scenes, the Garuḍa pouncing on the serpent, Jīmūtavāhana's interview with the serpent, the Garuḍa killing Jīmūtavāhana.

Underneath, after the scenes of the adoration of Gaurī, the Buddha telling the story to the monks.

Below, to the right, the donors of the pictures; above all the other figures towers that of Jambhala, the god of wealth, near whom are seated, in an adoring attitude, the two principal donors, a lama and a layman, followed by relatives and servants. The offerings are arranged in front of the god; according to the inscriptions, which can be read with great difficulty, the two princes are respectively called aGyur med ye šes ts'e brtan and aGyur med rnam rgyal rdo rje whom we already had the occasion to mention.

TANKA n. 95 (Plate 131).

This tanka belongs to a parallel series of the Buddha's preceding lives—not so ample and rich in episodes as the sNar t'añ's series, illustrated above. In this tanka are represented the Buddha's sacrifice of his life, to save a tiger's cubs, which their hungry mother was about to devour, and the Viśvāntara Jātaka.

On the left of the central figure, near its head:

1. *stag mo krems nas spru k'u* (for p'ru gu) *rnams za bar brtsams byañ sams pa* (for dpa') *des sñiñ rje k'ro ... te stag moi adun* (for mdun) *du bor te lus byin.*
2. *p'o brañ la rgyal bžugs pa.*
3. *rgyal k'ri... pa ci adod kyī... pa bter* (for ster).
4. *rgya byin gdan ts'ig* (for bden ts'ig) *rjod* (for brjod) *te spyān liar* (for sñar) *ltar sos pa.*
5. *nor bu ts'ogs sbyin pa gter* (for ster) *pa.*
6. *rgya byin kyī[s]* *bram ze rgan mo sprul te, spyān loñ pa la sbyin...*
7. *gnod byin bžis ri dags la sprul te šin rta grañs* (for drañs) *pa.*
8. *dei gñen pa rgyal p'ran žig t'os nas bram ze žig rgan po de nañ* (for btañ?).
9. *glañ... bram ze ter...* (for ster).
10. *rgyal po de sbyin pa mi rig pa yab kyī[s]* *gtān te yul.*
11. *šin rta kyañ bram ze la sbyin.*
12. *ris nas lugs (?)... stegs byin pai bžis... ts'ul sras dañ bcas te rna* (for sna) *ts'ogs kyī.*
13. *ri bo bañ grai nags sleb du rgya byin gyis šin k'añ sprul te bžugs pa bram ze žig gi[s]* *sras gñis gloñs pa sras lag gñis bgis* (sic) *ciñs te k'rid.*
14. *bram zei... rab tu byuñ ba c'uñ ma.*
15. *btsun mo no... sleb nas... k'or te sras gñis min pas mya ñan gyi rgyal ba rgyal ba nas... drag pos logs su rgyud.*
16. *bram zei gyon gyi btsun mo bzuiñ te gyas pas... p'yag...*
17. *sams dpa' c'uñ mas nags... adod dañ... p'yir.*
18. *ts'oñ dpon bka' t'ub bšad pai* (for pas?) *c'uñ ma mya ñan gyi non pa.*
19. *ts'oñ dpon bka' t'ub la nags su c'os...*
20. *rgyal poi druñ du p'ebś c'uñ mai ma p'yin nas bu mo k'yim.*
21. *ka* (for bka') *t'ub la gžugs.*
22. *bstan la ... la gžugs mi sred la c'os bśruñs ts'ul.*
23. *bram ze yab yum sras.*

1. A hungry tiger about to eat her cubs: the bodhisattva, out of compassion, approaching the tiger offers her his own body.

2. The king in his palace stands.

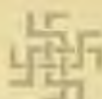
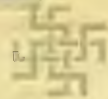




FIG. 121



3. On the royal throne, what they desire he gives.

4. rGya byin, as he had sworn on the truth, restores the eye to him as a reward.

5. Riches he gives.

6. rGya byin transforms himself into an old Brahman, and (Viśvantara) gives a blind man his eyes.²²⁷

7. Four gNod sbyin, transformed into gazelles, draw his chariot.

8. A petty rival king, having heard this (sends) an old Brahman.

9. The elephant to the Brahman (he gives).

10. Because the king believes that it is not right to give it, his father sends him into exile.

11. Also the chariot to the Brahman he gives.

12. Together with his son ... many ...

13. When he got to the forest of mount Bañ gra,²²⁸ rGya byin caused a wooden hut to appear; a Brahman who was in it asked for his two sons, and having bound them, led them away.

14. Of the brahman ... the wife as a novice.

15. His wife ... arrived; because her sons were not there, she fainted away because of her sorrow; from hers swoon (being recovered) ... aside.

16. The Brahman with his left hand his wife takes, and with the right ... the hand ...

17. The bodhisattva's wife in the forest, because of the desire ...

18. When the merchant speaks of his penances his wife by grief is overcome.

19. The merchant for penances in the forest ... the Law.

20. ... having gone to the king, his wife's mother arrived ... the daughter in the house.

21. Performs asceticism.

22. Living in ... he observed the Law, free from desire.

23. A couple of Brahmins, a son.

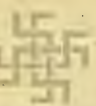
(Underneath Maitreya's figure, in the centre, above).

"Ma p'am pa' miraculously born, does homage ..."

TANKA n. 96 (Plate 132).

It represents a *dGe lugs ts'ogs žiñ*, that is the world of the *dGe lugs pa* congregation.²²⁹ In the centre towers Śākyamuni in *bbūmi-sparśamudrā*; above, in the centre Ts'e dpag med from whom revelation proceeds through Atiśa, represented under him, between two disciples. Next, Tson k'a pa and his two pupils. Below, in the centre, a Jigs byed between two forms of the mGon po, the *yi dam* of the Yellow Sect; on each margin, rNam t'os sras and dPal ldan lha mo: around, choirs of saints and masters unfold, whose identification cannot be ventured upon, as there are no inscriptions. Clearly the painter has wished to represent the *sampradāyas*, the various spiritual currents which, proceeding either from some revelations of the Buddha himself (as in the upper right-hand corner) or from those of other masters, are all finally gathered together and find a common outlet in the *dGe lugs pa* school.

This picture then is an abbreviated modulation of an artistic type whose other, more complex forms, are known to us: for instance the tables in the frontispiece of GNB or the more widespread type well represented by nn. 50-51 of the present collection.



TIBETAN "SETTECENTO", VARIOUS SCHOOLS

TANKA n. 97 (Plate N).

This is an extremely delicate miniature, representing an ascetic: his white apparel shows him to be a *ras pa*, a *grub t'ob* of the bKa' brgyud pa school, one of those who have become experienced in the exercise called *gtum mo* (yoga practices producing voluntary hyperpyresis) and wear white robes. This ascetic is seated on an antelope's skin, according to the Indian yogins' custom. One might think of Mi la ras pa, but such an identification is ruled out, because the latter is regularly represented with his right hand on a level with his ear, in the attitude of one singing.

TANKA n. 98 (Plate 133).

This painting, though unaccompanied by any inscription, is not difficult to interpret: the person seated on the throne, wearing rich draperies, carries on his right hand lotus flowers and on his left a *cakra*, the wheel symbolizing royal rank; he has a diadem on his head. He can only be Sroñ btsan sgam po, the founder of Tibet's historical dynasty. Tradition considers him an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara; he is a fresh manifestation, in the Country of Snows of the "Great merciful,, who, in the dawn of history, became its spiritual patron by getting himself incarnated into an ape with the intention of leading one day to salvation the beings who might be born of his union with the cruel witch, who before his epiphany ruled over Tibet. For this reason, in the upper right-hand corner of the tanka, sPyan ras gzigs' eleven-headed figure appears: precisely to represent by a symbol this relation between the two

manifestations, embodiments of the same divine essence. In front of sPyan ras gzigs there is the figure of an Arhat; in the background, in front of the king, a large landscape of Lhasa, or rather of its temples, unfolds; this is an allusion to the first construction of Lhasa's shrines, ordered by the king immediately after his conversion. He was converted, it is well known, by his two wives, the Chinese and the Nepalese; hagiography considers them two incarnations of sGrol ma, the green and the white Tārā; they are seen on each side of the throne. Below, between two figures of deities, the picture of a divinity which I am unable to determine.

Although the pictorial representation is reduced to its essential elements, there seems to be no doubt that, in the present case also, the artist has taken literary tradition for his starting-point; of course his literary source can only have been the *Ma ni bka' abum*, attributed precisely to Sroñ btsan sgam po; not only does it relate the king's legend, but it states his quintessential identity with Tibet's protecting god: sPyan ras gzigs.

TANKA n. 99 (Plates 134, O).

rDo rje ac'an towers in the centre of the tanka - he is of a dark blue colour. He is the symbol of the supreme Being from whom all emanates: in his hands he clasps the rdo rje and the bell, well known symbols of Tantric gnosis. Above, on each side, two coupled figures, many-armed and many-headed, Kyai rdo rje and bDe mc'og. The most remarkable part of the tanka is the lower one, where the donors are represented, all in the typical costumes of Eastern Tibet and precisely of Mi ñag; they form an extremely lively picture, in which accurate design is joined to bright colours.

TANKA n. 100 (Plate P).

This tanka is very difficult to interpret: in the centre Lhai rgyal po, the king of the gods, is seated on a richly wrought throne, draped in kingly robes, a diadem on his head. Around him personages and episodes arranged in the following order beginning above, on the left: *rgyal po bde mc'og* / king *bDe mc'og*; *bDe mc'og* is the usual translation of Śamvara, a well-defined Tantric cycle, which has nothing to do with this figure.

In the halo: *sgrol ma ral gri gnañ pa*, "sGrol ma presenting a sword"; in the centre a figure in monastic apparel / *Señ ges* (sic) *sgrol* / above: *dge sloñ bde ster*, "the monk *bDe ster* ...

Below a hunter chasing an antelope, in the act of shooting an arrow: *rgyal po spyod med* "king sPyod med", and above the inscription: *t'og babs spyod med sdig las bzlog pa*. "A falling thunderbolt restrains (king) sPyod med from committing a sin ...

Below the king of Tibet: *Mu k'ri bzañ po*.

Still below: *sPrul pai dge sloñ* / in the lower right-hand corner: *rañ lus gcan spyañ byin pa* "he gives his own body to wolves and beasts of prey ...

The figure of the monk immediately following represents *dGe ḁdun ḁp'el*. In the centre of the tanka, the figure of an ogre, with eyes all over his body: *steñ gdoñ btul ba* / ... *steñ gdoñ*'s submission.

The figure in the left-hand corner represents: *p'o riñ ra dsa grags*, "the famous king of P'o riñ", and near him, in the interior of a house: *p'ul pai dge sloñ*: "the miraculous monk ...

Above, the images of two young men: *kun tu bzañ po dañ spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pai k'yeu gñis*, "two boys, incarnation of Kun tu bzañ po's and sPyan ras gzigs' ...

Above, a lion, a tiger and a snake. *klui ts'o ḁp'ul stag señ lto agro byuñ pa*: "the klu's miracle, a tiger, a lion and a serpent appearing ... Still above, among the leafy branches, a parrot ... *ne ts'o ... smra* "the parrot speaks ...

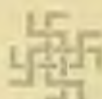
The meaning of this tanka can partly be made clear by comparing it with a chapter in the works of Klon rdol bla ma, the *Miñ gi grañs* which we have quoted several times in the course of this book. It gives a list of the Dalai Lama's past incarnations, beginning from sPyan ras gzigs.²³⁰⁾

We have already seen, in the section on literary history, that the first attempt at reconstructing the spiritual pre-history of the Yellow Sect's supreme dignitaries is to be found in a work by Blon bzañ rgya mts'o: Klon rdol bla ma's booklet is the point of arrival; there is evidently an intermediate version from which Klon rdol bla ma has drawn his list, but this is not known to me; in it the legendary biographies of these incarnations were probably related at length. In the tanka we find records of: *Lo sgyu ma sprul pa šes pa lha yi rgyal po* (= N. 33) in the centre; *rGyal po bde mc'og* (= N. 22); *P'o riñ ra dsa* (= N. 26); *dGe ḁdun ḁp'el* (= N. 24); *Señ ge sgra* (= N. 21).

TANKA n. 101 (Plate 135).

It represents the celestial image of sGrol ma, seated on the symbolical lotus rising from the waters; on each side, according to the rule, 'Od zer can ma and Ral gcig ma, the former pacified and the latter with an angry mien. The divine pagoda lifts up its gilded roofs and is multiplied in galleries and pavilions of a Chinese design. In the interior of the palace mC'od pai lha mos play and sing in the goddess' honour. Below, in the centre, the seven gems of the Cakravartin; to the left a man relaxed as if in illness and great suffering, leans back against a wall; a lion furiously rushing, an elephant, the same man in an adoring attitude; to the right a dragon in the midst of a turmoil of clouds. Thus are represented the eight perils from which the goddess saves those who invoke her earnestly and devoutly, according to the directions of famous litanies (see tanka n. 36).

Above, to the right, *rDo rje ajigs byed*, to the left *gSañ ba ḁdus pa* and *bDe mc'og*.



TANKA n. 102 (Plate 136).

Its subject is again sGrol ma, Tārā, the goddess of salvation. She is seated on a lotus, wearing rich draperies. As her colour is green, the picture clearly represents Khadī-rāvaṇī Tārā, whom the Tibetans call sGrol ljañ as well, that is "green Tārā". Under the image is written in Tibetan and in Mongol:

Namo ārya ta ra ye / ap'ags spyān ras gzigs dbaṅ p'yug t'ugs rje gter la p'yag ts'al lo / om rje btsun ap'ags ma sgrol ma la p'yag ts'al lo.

"Honour to Ārya-tārā; honour to sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ p'yug, treasure of mercy.

Honour to the noble Tārā ..

On each side of the goddess stand two figures; according to the inscriptions, also in Tibetan and in Mongol, which accompany them, they are 'Od zer can, (Mārīcī)²³¹ on the right and Ral gcig ma (Ekajātā) near whom are seen eight mC'od pai lha mos, holding fly-whisks and carrying gifts. Below, in the centre, aP'ags pa spyān ras gzigs; to the right Lha gcig Sroṅ btsan sgam po and on the left aJig rten dbaṅ p'yug. Above, in the centre, aJam mgon Tsoṅ k'a pa c'en po, T'ams cad mk'yen pa mk'as grub rgya ts'o and Paṅ c'en bsTan pai ṅi ma, who died in 1854. This date then is the *terminus post quem* of the tanka, which nevertheless follows the noblest artistic traditions of Tibetan painting. Although the tanka has been bought in Nepal, it is clear that it comes from some locality in Mongolia or in Tibet on the frontier of Mongolia.

TANKA n. 103 (Plate 137).

In a heavenly vimāna sits a female deity, wearing a crown of skulls; round her waist a band from which hang human heads freshly severed. She has eight arms, which bear the khatvāṅga, the skull-cap, ḍamaru, and the gri gu, the trident and the noose, all symbols of the terrific deities, but the two principal hands have the same posture as those of sGrol dkar, and she is seated in the same

way as this goddess. For this reason there seems to be no doubt that this figure must be recognized as one of the many manifestations of sGrol ma, the goddess of salvation. I have not been able to ascertain which.

TANKA n. 104 (Plate 138).

A master rÑiñ ma pa, surrounded by lesser figures of personages, almost all belonging to the same school.

Above, in the centre, aJam dpal; on his left Žabs druṅ²³² and Padmasambhava, to the right other masters; only the last one's inscription is legible: Śā kya c'en.

Below, rDo rje bdud ajom, K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, then to the right, one under the other, three more figures: the first one's inscription is illegible, the other two read: Gu ru C'os kyi dbaṅ p'yug and Gu ru C'os dbaṅ: to the right; C'os rgyal ral pa (can); bDe legs and Ni ma 'od. In the last row only the inscription belonging to the first figure on the left is legible: bKra šis stobs rgyas.²³³

The central figure remains unidentified.

TANKA n. 105 (Plate 139).

In the centre of a circle of masters, a female deity of a dark blue colour is seated and violently shakes a tambourine in her right hand, while in the left she holds a skull-cap. On her left shoulder rests the khatvāṅga. The symbols, there is no doubt about it, show that the deity is a mK'a agro ma; it is difficult to say which. Above, as a symbol of the spiritual plane whose emanation she is, rDo rje ač'añ.

TANKA n. 106 (Plate 140).

It represents a lama on a throne in *vitarkamudrā*; above him an Indian master; on the edge the view of a great monastery at the foot of a mountain. The cap leaves no doubt that he belongs to the aBrug pa school; nothing more definite can be said.



TANKA n. 107 (Plate 141).

Padmasambhava according to traditional iconography. Above, two masters. Below mGon po p'yag gñis pa and mK'a agro ma sen ge gdon ma.²³⁴⁾

TANKAS nn. 108-112 (Plates 142-146).

These are dedicated to Padmasambhava (cfr. n. 33). Tanka n. 108, according to what we read from the remains of an inscription traced on the back, is the first of a series of twelve, only six of whom have come into my possession. The inscription tells us that the 12 tanka were painted by order of Kun dga' rnam rgyal, a merchant of mK'ar,²³⁵⁾ with the object of reproducing the Buddhas of the past present and future surrounded by the arhats and Padmasambhava's eight aspects, on the base of the PTY; the monk who, at the moment of consecration, wrote the inscription on the back was called Pad mai miñ can:

*mk'ar ts'on dpon kun dga' rnam rgyal gyi(s) dus gsum sañs rgyas la gnas bcus bskor ba dan slob dpon c'en po mts'an bgyad la t'an yig ltar rnam t'ar rgyas pas skor bai bris t'an bcu gñis zeñs pai skabs rgyab byañ bu rig pa adsin pa pad mai miñ can gyi(s) bris pa.*²³⁶⁾

Although the tanka are twelve, they are particularly dedicated to the Master's eight fundamental aspects, of which, in the six tankas of this collection, only the following four appear: Pad ma dbaṅ p'yug, Ñi ma 'od zer, Pa dma sam bha va, Śā kya sen ge; the fifth, represents Padmasambhava according to his traditional iconography. What the Master's remaining four aspects and names are, can be read in a famous hymn, extremely popular with the rÑiñ ma pa schools, contained in the PTY (p. 88): Pad mai rgyal po, rDo rje gro lod who is in tanka n. 112 under the central figure, Sen ge sgra sgrogs, Blo ldan mc'og sred.

The narrative begins from the top of tanka n. 108, with the five divine emanations of Amitābha's spirit. In the ancient age, when king bZaṅ mc'og reigned on earth, Amitābha,

although he remained in the bDe ba can heaven, projected on a lotus, miraculously born by his will in the centre of the milky ocean ('o ma can gyi mts'o) five of his emanations, which were the origin of the five mystical families called by the rÑiñ pa school: t'od ap'reñ rigs lña "the five mystical families crowned with skulls",.

They also symbolize the five gnosés we have already mentioned. The scenes on the tanka follow the order of the chapters of the PTY summarized in the hymn I have translated; to explain the tanka we have only to read the inscriptions, which declare each episode. Leaving aside the central figure, which represents Padmasambhava according to traditional iconography and on each side of whom are kneeling his two wives, Lha lcām and mTs'o rgyal, let us pass to the lesser pictures. In the centre of the tanka, above, Ts'e dpag med sits enthroned in the bDe ba can heaven, easily identified by the figure of a lama, reborn in his presence upon a lotus (see tanka n. 33); the god is accompanied on each side by the two usual Bodhisattvas.

The inscription needs no commentary: dan(po) (bde ba) can nas sañs rgyas ts'e dpag med t'ugs kyi sprul.

"Above all, T'se dpag med's spiritual emanation (projected) from the bDe ba can,,. To the left the five mystical families' miraculous birth: five Buddhas seated on lotuses sprung from the milky sea:

t'od ap'reñ rigs lña 'o ma can kyi mts'or ltams pa, "the birth of the five mystical families, crowned with skulls, from the milky ocean,, (chapp. I-II, stanza 5 of the hymn).

Still further to the left, on the extreme margin of the tanka, king bZaṅ po mc'og in his palace.

Underneath, the king with his retinue in front of five divine children who are taken to the royal palace on a chariot drawn by lions: t'od ap'reñ rigs lña groñ du spyān adreñ ba "the five mystical families crowned with skulls are taken into the city",.



Here ends the second chapter of the PTY. Turning back, above, to the right, under Am itābha's figure, are represented Padmasambhava's manifold manifestations in various worlds and among different kinds of creatures, told in the third chapter of the PTY (stanza 6) as follows:

Master of the Gods, Lhai gu ru gSer t'ub adsin;

Master of Men, Mii gu ru Šā kya seŋ ge;

Master of the Asura, Lha min gu ru rNam par rgyal;

Master of the Preta, Yi dags gu ru rNam snañ byañ;

Master of Infernal beings, dMyal bai gu ru rNam par gnon;

Master of Animals, Byol soñ gu ru Señ rab brtan.

Coming back to the right of the central figure, a scene follows in which a god is seen speaking with four personages seated in front of him: the inscription is almost illegible: (*rnam*) *par snañ byed*... "Vairocana,,; it very probably alludes to the birth of the five Buddhas, see chap. IV of the PTY.

The figure of a monk is seen immediately underneath; the inscription: *t'ub dka' gžon nu dan t'ar nag skyes rgyud* shows that this figure introduces a new narrative, the one concerning T'ub dka' and T'ar nag, told in the 5th and 6th chapters of the PTY (stanza 7).

Once upon a time there was an ascetic, T'ub dka' gžon nu, famous for his wisdom and virtue. Kau kun dkris and his servant Brahmadeva addressed themselves to him to receive instruction in the Law. Having taken vows, one was named T'ar nag and the other Dan p'ag. The latter fully understood the hidden meaning of the doctrines and was able to follow the rules; the other, led astray by his self-conceit, broke the precepts and sunk to the extreme depths of evil. He expelled T'ub dka' gžon nu and became tainted with all kinds of sin; at the end of his earthly life he was hurled into Hell and successively migrated through an endless series of lives.

At last he was incarnated as Rudra, who at the head of his invincible army of demons, forced his rule on the world. But by the Buddha's will, T'ub dka' gžon nu and Dan p'ag, having assumed the form of a horse and of a boar, obliged the evil one to sue for grace and to make his submission.

The story, outlined on the right of the central figure, continues on the left with the following scenes.

Ru tra skyes ts'ul, "Rudra's birth,,; Rudra issuing from his mother's body, while three persons, three ogres, are looking on. (PTY, chap. VI).

rTa p'ag gñis kyi(s) ru tra btul ts'ul: "Rudra's submission at the hands of the horse and the boar,, that is, as we have seen above, of two monks who had been incarnated in those forms. Then Rudra is seen crushed by the mountains in whose caves he had sought refuge; he is dominated by a terrific deity whose head shows a horse's muzzle: this is rTa mgrin, alias the monk T'ub dka' gžon nu. The inscriptions runs: "*Ru tra sgral ba*, the crushing of Rudra,,. To the left the demon's blue figure, which seems to come out of the ground: *ma ro dur k'rod ñams par skyes ba*, "He is born destroying the cemetery and his mother's corpse,, because the people, terrified by evil omens, had buried him with his mother, and he fed on her corpse until, having grown up by eating her flesh, he issued from the tomb to accomplish the havoc he had planned.

Immediately underneath "*btul ma*,,: "the conversion,,; an ogre is seen going with open arms towards a demon, on whose head is a boar's muzzle: this is Dan p'ag's incarnation.

Turning again to the right we see Padmasambhava's upbringing in his last incarnation; the episodes related in chapp. VII-XVIII are omitted. The child is seen respectfully kneeling in front of a master seated in a small shrine: *sman la sbyañ ba*, "he learns medicine,, (PTY, chap. XXIV).

Sgra dan yi ge la sbyañ ba, "he learns grammar and writing,, (PTY, chap. XXV).

sḍsa (= *rdsa*) *la sbyañ ba*, "he learns the potter's art," (PTY, chap. XXV).

rtsis la sbyañ ba, "he learns astrology," (PTY, chap. XXIV).

A little further to the left, on the axis of the tanka:

dur k'rod bsil ba ts'al, "the cemetery bSil ba ts'al,"

bSil ba ts'al is the name of a cemetery near Bodhgayā, founded by Nandikeśvara; the latter is seen on the extreme edge of the tanka, riding on a lion. In this cemetery Padmasambhava performed terrible acts of asceticism: he fed on corpses, he converted the Dākiṇī and obtained great power to work miracles. This scene then precedes the others, and corresponds to chap. XXII of the PTY. The scenes which follow on the right are accompanied by the inscription: *saṅs rgyas ston la dbaṅ bskur žus ts'ul* "he asks the thousand Buddhas for initiation,". This scene refers to the taking of religious vows; there is another step backwards, as the story is told in chap. VII.

Tanka n. 109 immediately follows the preceding: the centre is occupied by the figure of another aspect of Padmasambhava: that of rig adsin mc'og sprul pai sku bskal bzaṅ Pad ma dbaṅ p'yug. Underneath is painted the figure of gNod sbyin rtsiu dmar po. Above, the highest manifestation of Truth, miraculously revealed to him, from which Padmasambhava learnt the secrets of the doctrine, that is the blue Kun tu bzaṅ po (chap. XXX); in the centre the white rDo rje sems dpa' (chap. XXX), to the right Kun tu ač'aṅ du gyur pa, Kun tu bzaṅ po (chap. XXXII) embracing his Śakti. To the spectator's left then begins a representation of the principal cemeteries where, according to the legend, Padmasambhava spent many years, meditating and attaining that power to work miracles which enabled him to rule over the forces operating in the cosmos. I have spoken at length about these cemeteries elsewhere, and it would be a needless repetition to go back

to them and to their meaning in the liturgy and mysticism of Buddhist esoterism; they are a sign of the corruption of everything born, and at the same time the symbol of victory over the attachment to life, and therefore they signify the uprooting of the eight kinds of consciousness, which represent a tie between ourselves and the world and keep us bound to the world.²³⁷⁾

They are always marked by a stūpa, a tree, a serpent, a lake, a mountain, each of which naturally has, according to the case, different names and aspects.

1. Dur k'rod bde ba can brdal (PTY, chap. XXX) in Kashmir.

2. Sku la rdsogs pai dur k'rod (PTY, chap. XXIX) in Baiddha, Videha.

3. dGa' bai ts'ul gyi dur k'rod (PTY, chap. XXXVIII).

4. Lo ka brtsegs pai dur k'rod, in Khotan (PTY, chap. XXXIII).

5. gSaṅ c'en rol pa (?) (PTY, chap. XXXIV) in Sā la.

Passing to the right:

6. Pad ma brtsegs near Oḍḍiyāna (PTY, chap. XXXIII, p. 145).

7. La (ṅka?) brtsegs pai dur k'rod near Za hor (PTY, chap. XXXIII, p. 141).

8. Lhun grub brtsegs pai dur k'rod, in Nepal (PTY, chap. XXXI, p. 139).

In the lower corner, to the left of the spectator, is a monk shaving a person who kneels in front of him: *Kun dga' la(s) rab tu byuṅ ba* "he is consecrated by Ānanda,". Here is recalled the story, summarized confusedly by PTY, chap. XXVII ff., according to which Padmasambhava, in the Buddha Śākyamuni's times, was no other than the Bodhisattva Sumitra, who received his initiation from Ānanda. A little above we see Padmasambhava kneeling in front of a master seated in a cave: this is, as we read in the inscription, his meeting with Prabhāstina, which happened in Brag dmar bya skyibs ts'al (XXVII), although the name of this place is not found in the text. A little further



to the right, surrounded by purple clouds, a blue deity in front of whom Padmasambhava is kneeling:

sprin adus pai dur k'rod du bde ba bzañ skyon,
“(apparition of) bDe ba bzañ skyon in the cemetery of sPrin adus pa,,.

On that occasion a god thus named, who was a manifestation of Vajrapāṇi, revealed to the miracle-worker the Tantra of the most secret class, that is, of the Anuttarayoga.

In the last pictures to the right, figures of masters and deities, inside temples or houses: the first scene is not difficult to interpret: *rtse p'rul rin c'en sgañ du dga' rab rdo rje dan ajal ba* “The meeting with Lalitavajra in rTse p'rul rin c'en sgañ,,. This meeting is described in the PTY, chap. XXXII, from p. 142. The other scene immediately following leaves me in doubt.

In the tanka n. 110 the central figure represents Padmasambhava, no longer in his usual attitude as a miracle-worker, but according to the type of the Indian ācārya, the skull-cap in his left hand; his right hand in the mudrā of protection. Immediately underneath, seated on an extremely rich throne, another of his hypostases, namely Padma rgyal po.

The first scene above, to the left of the spectator represents an ascetic seated in a cave; he clasps a knife in his right hand; in front of him a demon appears among the flames, holding in his hand a skull-cap full of blood; higher up, a monk in an adoring attitude; the inscription explains: *šan pai groñ k'yer sdig c'en* “the city of executioners, called sDig c'en,, (in the mss. of the PTY, *sdig can*); the picture therefore refers to the PTY, chap. XXXVI, in which is related how Padmasambhava, in the city of executioners, converted its inhabitants by adapting himself to their ways and pretending to lead, like them, a life of sin.

Proceeding to the right, Padmasambhava in a cave, speaking to four persons who are kneeling in front of him. As we read in the inscription: *Ya' ri goñ gi brag p'ug*, the

scene refers to the story related in the PTY, chap. XLV: how in one of his past lives he had spent twelve years in that cave in meditation, waited upon and venerated by king Nu ša ru pa. The wild beasts around him were about to die of hunger and as their karma had not matured and Hell would have swallowed them, he began to think out a way of saving them, and perceived that Nu ša ru pa's daughter, a reincarnation of king gTsug lag adsin, could accomplish the miracle; he sent for her, told her about the destiny which was in store for those wild beasts and induced her to sacrifice herself by predicting to her a new birth in Tibet as king Sroñ btsan sgam po. This episode related in the same chapter of the PTY, is represented in the following scene:

man de bzañ mos lus sbyin par pa: “Mande bzañ mo gives up her own body,,. In the scene immediately to the left we see the master in front of an altar on which a maṇḍala appears; near the altar a kneeling person: *brag p'ug mā ra ti kar ts'e'i dños grub sñed pa*, “In the cave of Maratika, in the rocky caverns, he obtained Ts'e's mystical realizations,,. This alludes to the revelation he once had of Amitāyuh and of his mystical wisdom (PTY, chap. XLIV).

The scene painted on the right of the central image takes us back to other evocations: we see there a figure, in an adoring attitude, in front of the master: *ko ša tsan dan gliñ du dños grub sñed pa:* “he attains mystical realizations in the cave of Kośacandanadvīpa,,. Kośacandana is in Nepal: in this place Vajrapāṇi appeared to Padmasambhava (PTY, chap. LIV). The picture which follows below is larger: inside a temple two kneeling figures on each side of the Buddha's image. The inscription reads:

rdo rje gdan du bde mc'og dus sñiñ gi rgyal po klui k'yab ajug btul ba, “king Klui k'yab ajug mc'og's submission at the hands of bDe mc'og dus sñiñ in Bodhgayā,,.

The episode is related in the PTY, chap. LII, which says that, as Padmasambhava

did not wish to overcome himself the cruel king Klui k'yab ajug, who reigned in Bodhgayā, protecting heretics and persecuting Buddhism, he made use of De mc'og dus sñin po, who had miraculously arrived, of a Brahman's daughter and of a fish. That god easily prevailed over the king, while the city of Bodhgayā was destroyed by a fire, which is represented in the lower left-hand corner of the tanka.

To the left of the central figure is represented, summarily, K'ri sron lde btsan's invitation to the master to come to Tibet. In the first picture Padmasambhava, seated in the temple, receives four personages, who kneel before him: they are the four messengers sent by the Tibetan king with the proposal that he should come to the Country of Snows. The inscription reads:

rgya gar rdo rje gdan du bod kyi ban c'en bži zu brten p'ul ba "In Bodhgayā in India four Tibetan messengers bring him the invitation,,. Padmasambhava is then seen after his arrival in Nepal, taking leave of the messengers whom he sends on before him: "*bal yul p'eb nas ban c'en rnams sñon la (btañ) ba* ,, as it is told in the PTY, chap. LIX.

Next his arrival in Guñ t'añ of Mañ yul is represented, and his meeting with another three messengers, namely dPal rtsegs, rDo rje bdud ajoms and Klui rgyal mts'an. The scene represented in the right corner should precede the latter, because it refers to an event which happened in Nepal near lake Ñi ma k'ud, when the miraculous saint was joined by another seven messengers the king of Tibet had sent him (PTY, chap. LIX, p. 243).

Bal yul ñi ma k'ud du rgyal poi šog mi bdun dañ ajal ba, "In Nepal, near Ñi ma k'ud he meets another seven of the king's men, who repeat the invitation to him,,. Padmasambhava's coming to Tibet represents, according to Tibetan tradition, which is far from truthful, Buddhism's final triumph in the Country of Snows. Its miracle-working powers destroyed, expelled or converted

the fiendish forces which had prevailed there unopposed. Padmasambhava, on his arrival in Tibet, immediately waged war without quarter against the Bon po religion. His fight against the Bon po is certain, that he succeeded in overcoming them and spreading Buddhism throughout the country is quite another thing: it would be nearer the truth to say that finally the two religions came to an unspoken understanding: Bon was coloured with a tinge of Buddhism and Buddhism did not scorn to receive into its pantheon and its liturgy Bon po rites and deities.

Whatever Padmasambhava's action may have been, it is certain that it never succeeded in supplanting the ancient faith, which a century and a half after his departure was so strong, that it prevailed again, also in the political field. But in K'ri sron lde btsan's time there was strife and it was bitter; its memory survives in Padmasambhava's legend which, evidently exaggerating, assigns to the wizard an absolute and final victory over the genii, ghosts and fiends who ruled Tibet and Tibetan consciences before the advent of Buddhism.

Tanka n. III recalls the most important events in this religious triumph: the deity occupying the centre is always Padmasambhava, in the aspect called Ñi ma 'od zer: solar light. He is not represented in a terrific manner, but in the likeness of a Grub t'ob (*sid-dba*). The figure immediately underneath represents, as the inscription says, *Señ ge sgra sgrog*, an exorcistic form of Padmasambhava. Tradition is not in complete agreement on this aspect of his: some sources, like the PTY say that he assumed that name after the penances he had sustained in the Lhun grub rtsegs cemetery in Nepal; others, like the biography of the RC (p. 13 and following) state that he received the name in Benares when, with the Dākinī's help, he succeeded in overcoming the heretics who meant to silence the Buddhist masters with their logical arguments and to convert them by force to their faith.



Beginning above, on the left, the scenes are in the following order:

1. *mañ yul guñ t'añ la mk'ar p'eb pa*, "arrival in La mk'ar in Guñ t'añ in the country of Mañ yul,,.

Guñ t'añ is the name of highlands in the province of Mañ yul, on the frontier between Tibet and Nepal. La mk'ar, the castle on the pass, is a place-name, (see PTY, chap. LIX, RC, p. 21 a).

2. *Žaṇ žuṇ dgra bya*: according to the RC this should be *dgra bla*, a local deity called Mu tsa med, who wanted to crush Padmasambhava between two mountains as he was passing through their gorges with K'ri sroñ lde btsan's messengers; he stopped the rocks with his staff, and the divinity was converted and took the name of Yum c'en rdo rje gyū bun ma.

In the painting we see the divinity kneeling, while Padmasambhava towers above her, in the act of performing the exorcism with a rdo rje (RC, p. 21 a, PTY, chap. LX).

3. *Gaṇs dkar ša med*. Padmasambhava is represented in the act of overcoming by the power of his spells a deity plunged into a lake on whom he has flung the vajra.

The deity, elsewhere, (PTY, chap. LX, RC, p. 21 a-b) is called: (*gaṇs dkar*) gNam sman dkar mo²³⁸) and it is told that while the master was crossing gNam t'añ in the North, she had planned to strike him with a thunderbolt, but Padmasambhava, knowing her purpose, escaped the ambush and, retaliating, forced her to seek refuge in lake dPal mo dPal mts'o, which, in obedience to the wizard, began to boil, and the divinity's flesh was separated from her bones; next Padmasambhava deprived her of an eye, she then declared herself repentant and was converted, assuming the name of Ša med gaṇs dkar rdo rje spyān gcig ma.

The story then continues again on the left of the central image: Padmasambhava is represented in the act of exorcising twelve female figures, who turn to him, six on each side, imploringly, with clasped hands.

The inscription reads: *brtan bcu gñis btul* "he converts the twelve brTan ma,, , malignant deities of ancient Tibetan mythology who were transferred to Buddhism and assumed the character of protectors of the Law and guardians of oaths. The PTY, chap. LX and the RC, p. 21 b relate that while the Master was passing beyond the 'O yug district, they had plotted to crush him under the huge rocks where they lived, but Padmasambhava caused the mountains to collapse, so that the brTan ma, vanquished and crushed turned in repentance to the miracle-worker and became the bKa' sruñ of Buddhism. The small picture which follows a little lower down bears the inscription *yar lha gšam bu*; this is the name of a god who assumed the shape of a terrible and vicious white yak and was conquered by Padmasambhava (PTY, chap. LX; RC, p. 22 b) with a leash and a magic chain. We now pass to the left side of the image; a large serpent uncoils threateningly while lower down a kneeling person offers Padmasambhava a dish full of gifts. The inscription says: *t'añ lha btul ba*, "submission of T'añ lha,, , told by the PTY, chap. LX, immediately after the tale we have just summarized (cfr. RC, p. 22 a).

In the latter work the demon is called gÑan c'en t'añ lha, and is considered an incarnation of the yakṣa Zur p'ud lña, Pañcika. Underneath we see an ogre in the act of rushing against the Master, who brandishing his vajra resolutely moves towards him; next, a small kneeling figure represents the same demon, who humbly asks forgiveness and is converted. The episode here represented then follows the one just related (PTY, chap. LX; RC, p. 22 a); the inscription entitles it: *tiñ t'iñ lo sman btul ba* "Tiñ t'iñ lo sman's submission,, . Tiñ t'iñ lo sman, together with sTag sman zor gdon ma and Byañ p'ug ma, were three deities of the frozen Northern winds; they had planned to freeze the master to death, but Padmasambhava, by a fire he had miraculously caused to blaze up, melted the snowy

mountains on which those fiends lived and forced them to submit (PTY, chap. LX).

The scenes which follow immediately below do not seem to be arranged according to a fixed order and are all related, more or less at length, in the literary sources: in the lower corner on the spectator's right we find the bTsan's submission, which happened in K'al brag (RC, p. 22 b), the submission of Ma sañs gya' spañs skyes lying on the ground at the feet of the master, who is touching him with a staff; the submission of the P'o rgyud and of the Mo rgyud; T'eu bran's submission.

It is therefore clear that this tanka is dedicated to the conversions of Tibetan demons, accomplished by Padmasambhava when he came from Nepal to Tibet. The representation is strictly founded on chap. 60 of the PTY. In the centre of tanka n. 112 towers the image of Śā kya señ ge, another of Padmasambhava's manifestations. Below rDo rje gro lod, riding a lion. All around are represented the main events of the master's residence in Tibet.

On the top of tanka 112, Padmasambhava touching a rock with his staff and water miraculously issuing from it. This recalls the prodigy that happened in gŽon: the spring retained the name of "divine water...". The inscription is clear: *gŽon lha c'u* "divine water in gŽon...". Still on the right a great temple, with three figures seated in the centre: in the middle Padmasambhava, on his right another master, Śāntarakṣita; on the left K'ri sroñ lde btsan. The inscription is largely erased: [*bsam yas mi*] *aggyur lhun (grub) gtsug lag k'añ rab gnas mdsad*, "the consecration... chapel of Mi gyur lhun grub in bSam yas...". Underneath is seen Padmasambhava in the act of seizing the vajra and the magic dagger (*p'ur bu*) while four figures are kneeling round him asking for grace: *bas po rir lha adre la bka' bsgo mdsad pa*, "The order given to gods and ghosts in Has po ri...". The scene then represents the miracle-worker's injunction to all the gods of Tibet, to protect and defend the new law he

had introduced, and particularly the temple of bSam yas (chap. LXII, p. 257).

Then we see a number of stūpas in a line, whose meaning is clear when we read the inscription: *sdig šags mc'od brten* (sic), "the stūpa built in expiation of sin...". Of course this alludes to the stūpa erected by king K'ri sroñ lde btsan when he repented of his hesitation in doing homage to the master he had invited to Tibet and bent his knees only when the saint conquered him by the majesty of his power (chap. LXII of the PTY). We must now pass to the other side of Śā kya señ ge's figure to find an episode preceding the one we have recalled, which indeed was its cause: on a level with Śā kya señ ge's right shoulder Padmasambhava is seen, accompanied by his retinue: in front of him richly dressed personages bow and offer gifts, as the inscription says: *lo bi ta agram du rgyal po dan ajal ba* "meeting with the king on the banks of the Lohita...", that is, the Brahmaputra, where, according to the legend, Padmasambhava and K'ri sroñ lde btsan are said to have met for the first time (PTY, chap. LXI). In the picture immediately above we see a convent and near the edge of the painting two lamas are sunk in meditation, seated in two caves; the inscription is illegible.

Above, in a temple, the images of three Buddhas; the inscription is largely erased; one can only read: *lha ldan ra sa k'rag*, "Lhasa, Ra sa and K'ra brug monasteries...", which is enough to understand the painter's allusion to the consecration of some leading monasteries, symbolizing the consecration of a hundred chapels, opened at the same time to the Buddhist cult by Padmasambhava, as it is told in the PTY, chap. XCIX.

In most of the remaining small pictures, Padmasambhava is represented meditating in rocky caves, among snowy peaks and near blue water-courses flowing precipitously. Thus the painter has wished to represent the most celebrated localities where Padmasambhava deposited the sacred books that had been

revealed to him, which according to tradition were discovered later in miraculous circumstances by his distant disciples. These are the *gter ma*, the "hidden books", which form the greater part of the rñiñ ma pas' orthodox literature as stated in another part of this book.

To the left of the figures, one near the other, in succession:

mK'ar c'u PTY, p. 373 (381);

Yañ rdson (in the inscription: *rdson*, perhaps Yañ p'ug riñ mo, PTY, p. 373);

Šel brag PTY, p. 373 (385);

Sams bu (šam po) PTY, p. 373;

rDo rje gro bo luñ;

Gau bzai.

To the right we see:

Mon k'a sen ge rdson (sdson) PTY, pp. 373, 382, 398;

gYa' ma luñ PTY, p. 392;

Yer pa zla ba p'ug PTY, (p. 375).

To the right, below, figures of the Yon gyi bdag po, that is the person who ordered the tanka and paid for its execution: a sheaf of light descends upon him from the heart of Padmasambhava, who is seated between his divine consorts, in a superb palace, a symbol of his heaven Zañs mdog ri.

TANKA n. 113 (Plate 147).

This was bought together with preceding series and is by the same hand, but it does not belong to the series; it represents bDe skyoñ ye šes skyoñ mdsad dbyiñs kyi yum, "mother of the absolute", the gnosis which, according to a classical definition, by Diñnāga, is at the same time truth ontologically conceived and the revelation of truth. In this picture she is symbolized with four arms, which hold in the right the khaṭvāṅga and the skull-cap, in the left the sword and the curved knife called *gri gug*. She is surrounded by four mK'a' agro ma. All together they compose the cycle of the dByiñs kyi yum lña.²³⁹ The entire cycle represents the five mystical families.

Above are represented three lamas who can be recognized by their typical cap as masters of the rñiñ ma pa school. As any inscription is lacking, it would be difficult to identify them.

Below P'yag na rdo rje (ācārya).

TANKA n. 114 (Plate 148).

This tanka is dedicated to Kurukullā.

Kurukullā is another of India's many tribal deities. The fact that some *sādhana* call her Oḍḍiyāṇā-udbhavā, "risen in Uḍḍiyāna", that another is attributed to In-drabhūti, that among the goddesses of her maṇḍala Vajragāndhārī is found, induces us to think that she may have originated in the North-Western regions of India. Having entered the Vajrayāna pantheon late, she was assimilated to Tārā, and hence some call her the red Tārā. She is particularly invoked in magic operations, to touch the heart of beloved or fear-inspiring persons.

Like Tārā, she also passed into Hinduism; so her name is found among the thousand epithets of the *devī*, see *Lalitāsahasranāma*, Nir-ṇayasāgara ed. fifth Śataka, v. 144. As may be desumed from the *Lalitāstavaratna*, quoted by Bhāskara Rāya, *ibid.*, she was inserted into the symbolology of the *śākta* schools.

The goddess stands dancing on a lotus which blooms in the middle of a mountain landscape, i. e. the Kurukullā mountain. She has four hands like Tārodbhavā and Uḍḍiyāṇa-Kurukullā; in the left she holds the bow and a red lotus flower; the right hand clasps an arrow and pulls the bowstring. She is of a red colour.

Above, a figure of Amitābha, whose incarnation the goddess is considered; on each side the white Tārā and mGon po, six-armed.

Below Uḍḍiyāṇa-Kurukullā, identifiable by her diadem of skulls, dancing on two corpses, Maheśvara's and Śiva's; on each side the figures of Saraśvatī and Mañjuśrī.

Putting aside Amitābha's and Kurukullā's images, in the upper and lower part of the tanka we have a group of 5 deities, who remind us of Kurukullā's maṇḍala, made of five gods, very common in Tantric iconography. But while this maṇḍala is easily identifiable and consists of Kurukullā amidst 5 dākinī grasping a skull and a knife, (*rje btsun kurukullāi gsañ sgrub lha lñar byin rlabs kyi c'o ga gsal bai sgron me* in *Grub t'abs kun btus*, vol. ña), I do not find in the liturgical literature to which I have access any record of the group represented on this tanka.

TANKA n. 115 (Plates 149, 150).

It is dedicated to rTa mgrin yab yum, which is its central deity, but it is clear, from the scene represented around it, that in this case rTa mgrin is considered a manifestation of Padmasambhava, whom the rÑiñ ma pa school places on the same level with the supreme essence of all things. This relation is by no means arbitrary; indeed according to some liturgies rTa mc'og, that is rTa mgrin, is the sambhoga-kāya of the triad; dhar-makāya-Kun tu bzai po, Samantabhadra, unalterable light, synthesis of all Buddhas; sambhogakāya = rTa mc'og; nirmāṇakāya = Padmasambhava; see, for instance, *Bla mai rnal abyor sogs bla mai rnal abyor gyi rim pa*, by Blo bzai bstan pai dbai p'yug aJam dpal rgya mts'o, vol. Ka, p. 24 b.

The scenes which the painter has represented all around illustrate in a summary manner some moments and aspects of the miracle-worker's life, according to the classical narrative of the PTY (see also tanka n. 33).

1. – Upper left-hand corner:

Or gyan sman gyi lha dan dbyer med pa.

"Or gyan (pa) identical with the gods of medicine,,.

2. – Upper right-hand corner:

Or rgyan mk'a' agro nor lbai ts'ogs dan bcas.

"Or gyan (pa) together with the mk'a' agro ma and the gods of riches,,.

3. – To the left of the central figure:

Or gyan dpa' bo [br]gyad dan bcas.

"Or gyan (pa) together with the eight dpa' bo,,.

4. – On the right:

Or gyan yi dam lha dan dbyer med.

"Or gyan (pa) identical with the protecting deities,,.

5. – Under n. 4:

Dad can agro bai don du gter adon.

"In the devout creatures' interest he extracts the hidden books,,.

6. – On the left, below:

Or gyan dpa' bo giñ dan sruñ mar bcas.

"Or gyan (pa) together with the dpa' bo Giñ and the bsTan sruñ ma,,.

7. – To the right, under n. 5:

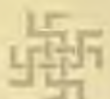
Or gyan bži (sic for gži) bdag gñan poi ak'or dan bcas.

"Or gyan (pa) together with the gži bdag and the gñan po,,.

This means that the painter has wished to represent Padmasambhava's manifold manifestations, his appearing under this or that aspect and his identity with the greatest deities of the lamaist pantheon.

TANKAS nn. 116, 117 (Plates 151, 152).

These two paintings are dedicated to a well-defined cycle, namely to the deities governing the destinies of all created beings, during the intermediate existence called Bar-do. As it is amply told in the *Bar do t'os grol* (accessible to scholars in Evans Went's translation, and in one of my own, more complete, which is now being printed) when men die, their destinies vary. Those who, with a pure consciousness, recognize in the light shining before them at the moment of their agony the splendour of cosmic consciousness, plunge into that light, become consubstantiated with the body of the absolute, and are never born again. When a man is not ripe for such a destiny, after his death the



conscious principle, detached from the body, sees various lights appear, some attractive, others fearful, all symbolizing various forms of existence. By recognizing them for what they are, as projections of his karma, man can still set himself free. If this is not the case, deities, first beatific, then terrific, appear to him; if they are justly taken for what they are, creations of a faulty human consciousness, they dissolve, leading the dead man's conscious principle towards a good destiny. This drama unfolds in 49 days, at the end of which, if the deceased has not been sustained by the reading of the *Bar do t'os grol*, or by the memory of its teachings, he is born again into undesirable forms of existence and is once again incarnated in the samsaric cycle.

The theory of the intermediate existence is not a creation of Tibet; it goes back to the most ancient Buddhism, although some schools denied its possibility (Lokottaravādin, Mahāsaṅghika and Theravādin), it is certain that it is derived from beliefs found by Buddhism on Indian soil. Vasubandhu mentions it in the *Abhidharmakośa*²⁴⁰ quoting the discordant opinions of the various masters on the duration of this *antarābhava*, which some state to be seven days, others 49, as in the Tibetan treatise. But on reading the *Bar do t'os grol* we see that, although some passages taken from the *Abhidharma* are occasionally inserted into it, on the whole it breathes an atmosphere different from that of the ancient schools: the atmosphere of the Vajrayāna. The essence, beyond phenomenic illusion, is the 'Od gsal, the universally luminous consciousness; its fulfillment in the deceiving world of forms is expressed through the symbols of the pantheon of the adamantine vehicle. Through the Vajrayāna India's folklore and her mythical world flow into it, with their monstrous and misshapen gods and goddesses, and some native beliefs, more or less tinted with Buddhism, also find access to it. The book's eschatological meaning soon ensured its fortune; the Tibetans, ever anxious to

know the mysteries of death, had faith in its description of the world beyond the grave and in the soteriological doctrines expounded in the book. The Bon po too were captivated by it and had their own *Bar do t'os grol*. We cannot say when the book was written. It is a *gter ma*, its chapters, called *Zab c'os ži k'ro dgoṅs pa rañ grol*, were buried by Padmasambhava. Like all the *gter ma*, it is known in different versions, which differ both in the particular readings of some passages and in the order of the chapters. The book was later brought to light by Kar ma gliñ pa. In fact we read at the end of the 2nd chapter of the *Bar do t'os grol*: "The chief spiritual son of the ascetic Ni zla sañs rgyas, namely the ascetic Kar ma gliñ pa, drew out this book, hidden in a place called *Lha brañ gar byed pa adra ba*, situated on mount sGam po brdar, on the bank of the river Ser ldan; it was then given to the disciple C'os rje gliñ pa and the secret instructions (which explain its meaning) were transmitted up to my master Sūryacandra. From him I, Gāyādharmadharma samud tra, (viz.: Dharma-samudra) with devotion asked for it,,.

Kar ma gliñ pa, i. e. he of Kar ma gliñ, is the name of a famous discoverer of sacred texts. We do not know when he lived, and we cannot say that much information concerning his life has reached us. It is true that there is a collection of biographies on the greatest gTer ston, but the allusions to Kar ma gliñ pa are extremely scarce; we desume from them that he was considered an incarnation of Klui rgyal mts'an, one of the most ancient and celebrated translators of the sacred texts of Buddhism from Sanskrit into Tibetan. Kar ma gliñ pa should then be a native of sTod k'yer grub in Dvags po. At the age of fifteen, according to predictions, he discovered in the above-mentioned place (sGam po gdar instead of brdar) the book "on spontaneous liberation, based on the understanding of the pacified and terrific deities,,.

Any chronological reference is lacking. But as, after him, T'an ston rgyal po is mentioned, it is natural to think that Kar ma gliñ pa had preceded that famous ascetic, to whom tradition assigns the construction of the most famous bridges over the twelve rivers of Tibet. And as T'an ston rgyal po flourished as we saw, in the XIVth and XVth centuries (he was born in 1385), we must conclude that Kar ma gliñ pa lived in the XIVth century.

The deities appearing in this state of Bar do are distinguished in two groups, Ži and K'ro, that is beatific and terrific; our two tanka are dedicated respectively to each of these cycles.

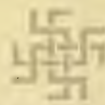
Similar representations are already known: I refer for instance to those published by EVANS WENTS in his *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, pp. 118 and 136; they too come from Gyantse, where those of the present collection were also bought. The first tanka represents the deities appearing from the second to the sixth day; under rDo rje sems dpa', towering in the centre of the tanka, is seen rNam par snai mdsad, embracing his śakti; around him, placed in the four corners, in the circle of as many maṇḍala, to the West sNañ ba mt'a' yas; to the East rDo rje sems dpa', to the North Don yod grub pa and to the South Rin c'en abyun ldan. Each of these Buddhas of the supreme pentad clasps his own śakti and is attended by four accolytes:

sNañ ba mt'a' yas by aJam dpal, sPyan rasg zigs, Gi sti (= gītā), A lo (kā) (= apparitions of the 4th day, EVANS WENTS, p. 112 and following); rDo rje sems dpa' (= Akṣobhya) by Sa sñiñ (Kṣitigarbha) and Byams pa (Maîtreya) and the two goddesses La se ma (Lasyā) and Pu spa ma (Puṣpā) (second day, *ibid.*, p. 108 and following); Don yod grub pa by P'yag na rdo rje Vajrapāṇi and sGrib nam sel [Sarva]nīvaraṇa-viskambhin and Naivedyā and Gandhā. Rin c'en abyun ldan by Nam mk'a' sñiñ (Akāśagarbha) and Kun bzañ (Samantabhadra), and Dhupā and Mālā (fifth day, *ibid.*, p. 110). This whole

choir descends from the hypostasis of the Dharmakāya, plane of the absolute, represented by the symbol of Kun tu bzañ po embracing his śakti, at the top of the tanka; the figure of rDo rje ac'añ, represented under him, is the link between them.

Above and below, three on each side, six figures of standing Buddhas, symbolizing the six kinds of existence which open up before the deceased's conscious principle, when he is unable to free himself from them. They are: the Buddha of the world of devas, dBaṇ po rgya byin; the Buddha of the Asura, T'ag bzañ ris; the Buddha of men, Śākya sen ge; the Buddha of the animal world, Sen ge rab brtan; the Buddha of Preta, K'a aḅar; the Buddha of Hell, C'os rgyal.²⁴¹ In the tanka each name, written under the figures, is accompanied by brief iconographical indications, for instance. Śa kya sen ge, pu sti t'in "Sen ge with the book, blue,, (t'in for mt'in), (dBaṇ po) brgya byin pi wañ dkar "with the lute, white,, etc. T'ag bzañ ris go ts'on (for go c'a; ts'on c'a), "T'ag bzañ ris with a cuirass and arms,,. On the four corners of the corresponding picture, or on the four doors of the maṇḍala, four terrific deities, coupled; they are, beginning from the upper left-hand corner and proceeding towards the right, bDud rtsi dkyil ba (but in the tanka abyī gram?) with Dril bzin (= adsin) ma, "she who hold a bell,, rTa mgrin with lCags grogs "she who bears a chain,, gŠin rje gšed with Žag pa ma, "she who holds the lash,,; rNam ma rgyal with lCags kyu, "she who carries a hook,,; below, in the centre, Ekajaṭā; to the left aDod k'ams [dbaṇ p'yug ma];..., Dam can rdo rje legs, to the right: Rāhu and Šan dmar gnod sbyin. On each side of Kun tu bzañ po, Śrīsimha and dGa' rab rdo rje. Thus is completed the maṇḍala of the 42 deities who are precisely those described in the *Bar do t'os grol* (EVANS WENTS, p. 121).

The painting n. 117 represents the maṇḍala of the terrific deities and of the Rigs aḁsin,



amply discussed in the same book (*ibid.*, p. 127 and following).

In the centre towers C'e mc'og Heruka's terrific figure, round whom are arranged, on the four points of the compass, his four hypostases, corresponding to the mystic families: Padmaheruka, Ratnaheruka, Buddhaheruka and underneath Vajraheruka.

This is a well known cycle, which the *Bar do t'os grol* treats at great length (pp. 137-140, cfr. *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part I, p. 137).

All around unfolds a terrific pageant of deities, monstrous in appearance: first of all the eight Keurima (or Gaurima) which appear as the conscious principle of the dead in the bardic state, on the thirteenth day after death; they are an expression of the karmic force produced by intellect, and therefore imagined as issuing from the brain. They are thus disposed according to the points of the compass:

East: Keurima; South: Tseurima; West: Pramoha; North: Petali; South-East: Pukasi; South-West: Ghasmari; North-West: Tsandhali; North-East: Smasani.

Arranged around the latter we find the eight P'ra men ma, each in a determined point of space and with an animal's head: East, lion's head; South, tiger's head; West, fox's head; North, wolf's head; South-East, vulture's head; South-West, cemetery-bird's head; North-West, raven's head; North-East, owl's head (*ibid.*, p. 143).²⁴²⁾

On the four corners of the maṇḍala resulting from this assembly of deities are the four keepers of the gates: East, tiger's head; South, boar's head; West, lion's head; North, serpent's head. In the four corners are disposed, in circles of seven, the 28 deities of the extreme maṇḍala, described in detail in the same work, pp. 144-145. In the upper right-hand corner, the wind-goddess with a wolf's head; the ibex-headed goddess, the dragon-headed, boar-headed, raven-headed and elephant-headed goddesses, and the water-goddesses, with serpents' heads - the latter correspond to the North.

In the lower right-hand corner: the yak-headed goddess, Brahmaṇī serpent-headed, leopard-headed and brown bear-headed goddesses; Indraṇī white bear-headed; ape-headed to the East, in the lower left-hand corner, two goat-headed goddesses to the South; lion-headed to the West; serpent-headed to the North.

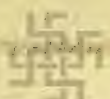
Above, the maṇḍala is completed by a triad of masters: Padmasambhava in the centre between his greatest disciple Vairocana and the no less celebrated discoverer of secret texts Or gyan gliṅ pa. Underneath Ye šes mts'o rgyal, the miracle-worker's wife.

Below, another triad: dPal mgon ma ṇi between Ts'e riṅ ma and Lha mo ma mo kun la btul. We will treat at length of the offerings to the terrific deities, skulls etc. when we come to tanka n. 177.

We have thus seen how the two tankas briefly described above sum up and illustrate pictorially one of the most celebrated books of Lamaism, the one from which dying men take comfort, evoking, as they read it, the awareness necessary to escape the danger of a new existence or to become free from unfortunate rebirths. The tankas are like a warning: as the eyes of the living rest upon them, memory absorbs and preserves a picture which, remembered in the hour of trial, casts out error and leads to salvation.

TANKAS nn. 118, 119 (Plates 153, 154).

They are two modulations of the same theme. The central deity represents, in both cases, sPyan ras gzigs in the shape known by the name of Śadaḥsara-Lokeśvara: Lokeśvara of the six mystical syllables - *om maṇi pad me hūm*.²⁴³⁾ In this hypostasis of his, he is always attended, as in our picture, by two acolytes, Maṇidhara on his right and Śadaḥsara Mahāvidyā, symbol of the mystical six-syllable formula, on his left. These acolytes' iconography is identical with that of the central deity.



This is, among sPyan ras gzigs' shapes, the one most widespread in Tibet, placed, as we know, under his protection. The great king Sroṅ btsan sgam po, during whose reign Tibet first heard of Buddhism, is his incarnation: now the Dalai Lamas impersonate him on earth. The palace where the Dalai Lamas reside in Lhasa is actually called Potala after the place where that god presides over the choirs of the blessed. There is a certain analogy of representation between the two pictures, hence it is clear that they reproduce an identical myth. From the way the figures are arranged and from the fact that sPyan ras gzigs is painted inside a large pavilion, one is led to infer that both tan-
kas represent Avalokiteśvara's heaven. The celestial abode of this god is called precisely Potala and is imagined similar to the Sukhāvātī and Abhirati heavens. But while the position of Amitābha's and Akṣobhya's heavens is vague, Potala or Potalaka is imagined in Buddhist literature to be on the South or on the South-West of India. So that the difference between those two heavens and Potala consists chiefly in the fact that the former have no geographical reality, i. e. that they are the projection into an undetermined point of space of the expectation of eternal bliss, which mortals in all climes have always hoped for as a reward for their daily toil.

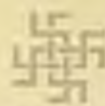
Potala, on the other hand, is less remote: Sudhanakumāra in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (ed. Suzuki and Idzumi, p. 209) was able to reach it. Hsüan Tsang also mentions it as a mountain near mount Malaya. To the North-East of Potalaka should be Seng ka lo, Simhala, Ceylon. The Chinese pilgrim describes it as a rocky mountain, extremely difficult to reach; on the top of the mountain there is a lake, from which a river issues and flows into the sea. Near the lake is Avalokiteśvara's palace.

To conclude, although a myth has grown up round Potalaka also, believers may still

hope that Potalaka can be reached (once they have overcome the difficulties precluding its access to such as are not pure) without waiting for death: men of flesh and blood thought they might walk upon that hallowed ground.

Indeed Tāranātha received this tradition from the master Buddhagupta, who had gone to look for Potalaka overseas, very probably in some island between India and the African coast. He says that various Indian Siddhas had penetrated its mysteries: Śāntivarman, by divine assistance, reached the top of the mountain, but found that Avalokiteśvara's palace had been abandoned; another saw the god's stone image, a third heard celestial music issuing from the mysterious spot. Hence Potalaka should not be linked up with the Sukhāvātī and the Abhirati, but rather (even if it has never possessed the same certain geographical reality) with localities transformed by religious tradition into sacred territories and mysterious abodes of divine beings, when it had become increasingly difficult or dangerous to get there. I refer for instance to Sāmbhala, where the Kālacakra was revealed and which, vaguely assigned to the environs of Turkestan, also had the same destiny.

The voyage to Potala became gradually mixed up with the perilous landings of many Ratnadvīpas, told and retold in an endless variety of folk-tales and hagiographical narratives. One of these itineraries, preserved in a Tibetan translation, is the *Po ta la kai gro bar lam yig*, *Potalakāgamanamārgapāṭṭrikā*, bsTan agyur, LXXII, p. 51, the same referred to by Tāranātha (SCHIEFNER, p. 142). It is attributed to Potalakabhaṭṭaraka, that is to Avalokiteśvara himself. It is a long list of places through which one has to pass in order to reach the god's palace, in his island paradise. To put it briefly, the road is through Sloṅ pai yul (Kaṇḍā?), aBras kyi p'uṅ, (Dhānyakaṭaka) Malaya, Udumbara forest, the river *Rigs ldan ma* (Kulikā), Dri med ldan (Vimala), lake Ts'an, fields



of thorns, *bilva* forest, lake bDag po med, (*Nairātmya*), Jambu forest, the Srin mos' lake, mountains, bands of apes, bands of boars, tigers, lions, huge forests, city of Kḷa klo (Mleccha), pleasure-gardens, ponds, Ketaka gardens, quicksilver lakes where girls of sixteen are found; then the way is beyond lake gSer ldan, in the realms aDod pai rgyal mo, Lha ma yin, Seṅ ge sgra, Nag po c'en po. Viṣṇu, dBaṅ p'yug c'en po, the liṅga, and at last a great cliff is reached, upon which stands the Potala. The treatise furnishes every time brief directions as to the mantras one must recite to avoid dangers, as to the acts which must be performed or left undone, the fruit to select in going through endless forests and the fruit that should not be eaten, the manner of resisting temptations and overcoming perils.

The description of Buddhagupta is more detailed and is here appended since, after it was made known by Tāranātha, it became popular in Tibet. "Thence he joined some merchants going to some small islands to the East and after one month of navigation he reached an island in which there was Potala, the King of the mountains. According to some this is the small Potala. Anyhow it is evidently the Potala on earth, accessible to men. There he visited a rock-crystal cave, the place sacred to Sudhanakumāra, then the place sacred to Bhṛkuṭī; the cave of the Asura of the golden door, the place sacred to Tārā and the places sacred to Brahmā; Viṣṇu; Mahendra, each one with a self-created temple in the mountain. Moreover he visited the place where it was possible to have the vision (of the god). He also made the *pradakṣiṇā* of the mountain. There was a celestial wood famous as the abode of Mañjurśrī and the water falling down from that place was really running there,."

It is therefore evident that our tankas are based upon a literary tradition which in the form of popular tales was largely diffused all over Tibet so that everybody looking at

such-like tankas could easily understand their meaning.

In our picture we find the sea and the boat (tanka n. 119, extreme lower right-hand edge) and the image of Tārā mentioned by Tāranātha; the ape he speaks about in his itinerary, the cliff on which stood the Potala, the stone image, Bhṛkuṭī: we also find two goddesses stretching a scarf on which persons worthy of coming into the god's presence pass. In Tāranātha's description of Śāntivarman's journey, there is a serpent instead of a scarf.²⁴⁴ But in both cases, as in the Zaṅs mdog ri legend (see tanka n. 570) the scarf and the serpent are variants of a theme well known to eschatological literature: the bridge which, like the *Činvat* of Iranian visions, unfailingly distinguished sinners from the chosen few flinging the former into an abyss and leading the latter to salvation. Pilgrims follow one another in their journey facing Nag po, in the city of the Kḷa klo, who are represented in armour, and in the *rākṣasī*'s palaces. In both tankas, within the enclosure where the god sits enthroned, are represented the gods Indra and Brahmā, Maheśvara, Viṣṇu, Garuḍa, as in the Lam yig and in Buddhagupta's account and choirs of *Ap-saras* and *Gandharvas*.

In both pictures, in the centre and below, sGrol ma, the feminine hypostasis of that same spirit of mercy symbolized by sPyan ras gzigs.

In tanka n. 119, above, Padmasambhava between his two wives and Ts'e dpag med between mGon po and sGrol ma.

TANKA n. 120 (Plate 155).

This is one of the most recent in the collection, but also one of the most interesting, not so much for its artistic merits as for the subject represented. It is a Bonpo tanka, on which are pictured some of the most important deities of this religion prior to Buddhism. Although purchased in Western Tibet, the

tanka was certainly painted in Eastern Tibet, in K'ams. It was given to me by Nam mk'a' ajigs med rdo rje (concerning whom see TUCCI-GHERSI, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 149, and TUCCI, *Santi e briganti*, p. 53) one of the most cultivated men I met in Tibet. In his first youth he had been educated in the Bonpo school, which is now nothing but an impure survival of Tibet's native religion largely mixed with Buddhism. Later he was converted to Buddhism entering into the rÑin ma pa sect of the rDsogs c'en, the most esoteric of the rÑin ma pa schools, whose doctrines and liturgy have many analogies with those of Bonpo. The two schools, having lived long one near the other, have exchanged their books and dogmatics, their rites and ceremonies. Nam mk'a' ajigs med rdo rje, having become rÑin ma pa, did not forget his former faith.

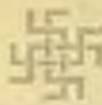
The tanka, painted according to the patterns and methods of Lamaistic tankas, is dedicated to a widespread Bonpo cycle, the one of Ts'e dbaṅ rig ḁsin, who in these schools corresponds to Ts'e dpag med, Amitāyuh of the Mantrayāna and symbolizes the god of infinite life.²⁴⁵ Iconographically, he resembles a bodhisattva: he carries in his right hand a disc on which is written the letter "a,, and in his left the Bonpo svastika, whose limbs turn to the left. All around his retinue is represented,

namely, beginning from the first figure above on the left and proceeding towards the right:

1. Rin c'en ts'e dbaṅ
gSaṅ ba ḁdus pa
Bon sku Kun tu bzaṅ po
Dran pa nam mk'a'
2. Pad ma ts'e dbaṅ
Ts'e dbaṅ rgya gar ma
Ts'e dbaṅ bod yul ma
3. Ral k'ri ts'e dbaṅ
mK'a' agro t'ugs rjes kun sgrol
4. gYun druṅ rigs kyi ts'e dbaṅ
5. aK'or lo rigs kyi ts'e dbaṅ
Bon skyon Rin c'en rgya mts'o
Bon skyon A bse rgyal ba.

It is enough to glance at this list of names, besides the iconography of the deities, to perceive that we are in the presence of a pattern borrowed from Buddhism: here, as in Buddhism, there is a pentad, with its corresponding mystical families (1-5) symbolized by five corresponding deities: the family of gems, of the lotus, the sword, the svastika, the wheel.

The deities' very names bring us back to the latest Bon, to its contamination with, or rather its copy of, Buddhist theology and dogmatics: nothing is left recalling primitive Bon, which had an entirely different religious background and whose gods had nothing to do with these.



K'AMS STYLE

TANKAS nn. 121-136 (Plates 156-170, Q).

These tankas belong to a well known series: they represent the cycle of the sixteen arhats, to whom the Buddha Śākyamuni entrusted the task of protecting the Law, of being present wherever a good deed was done and of rewarding virtue in various manners. Later, the gloom of sin, little by little, would envelop the world; men would continually have recourse to arms and slay one another; the average human life would decrease to ten years and the Law would be forgotten. After a long era, by the revival and the triumph of virtue, man's span of life would be extended up to a century. The arhats would then again appear on earth, while men's lives would become longer and longer, reaching 70.000 years. Next Śākyamuni's doctrine would be obliterated for ever from the face of the earth, in expectation of the new Buddha Maitreya's coming. With the disappearance of the Law, the arhats' task would be over, and they would all enter *nirvāṇa* together and for ever.

This is related in one of the most famous books about the arhats' cycle, the "Relation concerning the Duration of the Law, revealed by the Great Arhat Nandimitra",²⁴⁶⁾

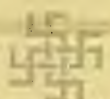
The Indian tradition then was acquainted with a cycle of sixteen arhats, which probably developed, as Lévi and Chavannes have shown from an original nucleus of four. Sixteen has been, ever since Vedic times, the perfect number, the square of four; there are four quarters, which the arhats protect, together with the four Kings watching over the four points of the compass, the *dikpāla*, *rgyal c'en sde bži* who constantly accompany the arhats in every Tibetan painting. The series of the arhats symbolizes the diffusion of the

Law in a spatial sense; their quaternary division is related to the division of the world into the four orients of mythical panindian cosmology. But as the arhats will be precluded from *nirvāṇa* until Maitreya appears, their cycle also assumes a temporal meaning: namely, it represents the continuity of the Law in the period between the two Buddhas: the Buddha of the present era and that of the future era, in other words the spatial and temporal revolution of the Law.

In China the Indian tradition was altered by degrees: beside the list of 16 arhats we also have a list of 18 arhats, spreading in China about the IXth century: that is, two arhats were added to the sixteen of the Indian legend. The two new arhats are called by K'ien lung "the one who vanquishes the dragon", and "the one who tames the tiger". Tiger and dragon are animals well known to Chinese folklore: the former presides over the West and the latter over the East; the animals of the other two points of the compass being a bird and the tortoise, according to popular astrology. They again point at a spatial temporal revolution, as that of the sun.

Be it as it may, the dragon and the tiger, these two demons of Chinese astrology, were admitted into the Buddhist pantheon, in the company of two new personages, whose names waver between Piṇḍola Bharadvāja (a duplicate of the other Bharadvāja), Nandimitra or Kāśyapa and were imagined as being subdued by them.

Between the Indian tradition of 16 arhats and the Chinese tradition of 18, Tibet was unable to make a final choice, and followed now one model now another; the 16 arhats (*gnas brtan bcu drug*) have had, and still have today, a remarkable share in the lamaist cult; some sects, like the bKa' gdams pa,



have included them, since Ji tsam and Po to pa's times (XIth century) among the principal *c'os skyon* (*bKa' gdams gsar rñin*, p. 16 a). A vast hagiographical and liturgical literature has therefore developed around them.

But Tibet is not unacquainted with the list of 18 arhats. I am not aware of any text which definitely mentions them, but their pictorial representations are well known, for instance the one reproduced by Oldenburg (*Sbornik izobraženii 300 burchanov*, Bibliotheca Buddhica, V^o, nn. 209, 210)²⁴⁷) or the woodcuts of sNar t'an where to the series of 16 arhats are added Hva šaṅ and Dharma-ta la.

These two names show, that the Tibetan list of the 18 arhats does not correspond to the Chinese list, the two supplementary arhats of the Chinese cycle being in Tibet replaced by two different personages.

Dharma-ta la is the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese Ta mo to lo 達磨多羅 which, in its turn, is the usual transcription of the Sanskrit Dharmatrāta. This Dharmatrāta has been identified by Lévi and Chavannes with the compiler of the *Udānavarga*, but, as we shall see, the Tibetan tradition seems to turn him into a different person, who lived in the T'ang period.

Hva šaṅ is the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese Ho shang, which in its turn transcribes, through a Central Asian medium, the Sanskrit title: upādhyāya; this naturally recalls to our memory that Hva šaṅ who, in the times of king K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, while Padma-sambhava's schools introduced currents of Indian thought from India, carried into Tibet echoes of Chinese Buddhism.

But, while Tibetan literary tradition follows the Indian one or draws its inspiration from it, the artistic representation of this cycle is under Chinese influence. And in reality this influence has been so strong, that it is almost invariably to be found in the pictorial or plastic representations of the arhats; only a few exceptions being known to this rule.

Tibetans themselves unanimously state that the most common pictorial type of

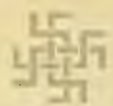
the arhats, is derived from China, but not all are agreed as to when or by whom it was introduced. A well informed historian, gZon nu dpal, the author of the *Deb t'er shon po*, vol. na, p. 7, says, for instance, that the cult and the representation of the arhats were brought into Tibet (*gnas brtan bcu drug spyān adren pa po*) by princess Kon c'o, one of Sroṅ btsan sgam po's two wives.

Too many things and events have been laid at the door of this lady, who was considered an incarnation of sGrol ma, so that the legend cannot be accepted with entire confidence, and we must be all the more cautious in accepting it, since another tradition, also based on good sources, attributes the introduction of that same cycle into Tibet to a much later epoch.

The briefest account is to be found in the history of the *bKa' gdams pa* (p. 16). Through the agency of a Ji tsam t'on pa, the *bKa' gdams pa* accepted the 16 arhats as their *c'os skyon* and this came about in the following manner:

A King of China, who was an incarnation of a Jam dbyaṅs, had sent as his messenger the minister dBaṅ Hva šaṅ; the latter was invited to participate in the prescribed summer retreat; when it came to an end and each went his own way, the model of the 16 images, which he had caused to be painted on linen, was taken to Klu mes aBrom c'uṅ, who had just then gone to China, and brought to Yer pa, whence it became diffused.

Another source, which I found in a manuscript of the monastery of Hemis²⁴⁸) relates the same event in greater detail. "The ten masters (*mi bcu*) who contributed to the revival of Buddhism after gLaṅ dar ma's great persecution, brought into Tibet proper from mDo smad, some painted tankas (*bris t'aṅ*) of the arhats, and placed them in four temples. Next Klu mes aBrom, having gone to China, took copies of the whole cycle from the temple where the arhats' images were kept, including Dhar ma ta la and the Hva šaṅ, getting a tanka made of each one,,. Klu mes is said to have alluded to this fact in a



metrical treatise, preserved in the monastery of sNar t'an. These paintings are stated to have been made by Klu mes, who took as models the images existing in a temple in China, where the 16 arhats had appeared in person in the times of a T'ang emperor; they left him their effigy, since they could not accept his invitation to remain there for ever themselves, for their duties required them to go elsewhere. It is not explained whether these images were statues or paintings, but the fifth Dalai Lama, in the treatise we shall presently mention, uses, in the case of the Chinese images, the word *sku* "body", while he calls the paintings by Klu mes *abris sku* "painted bodies", "paintings".

Klu mes placed these paintings in the temple of Yer pa, and there they became the inspirers of the new cult, when Atiśa's disciples introduced from India a systematic liturgy meant for this cycle.

From the above accounts, then, we gather that Tibet already knew about the arhats, their cult and their iconographic representations, through China, before Atiśa's times. Tibetan tradition insists on the diffusion of that cult in China under the T'ang, relating various fables about the reasons of its favour, and then follows its development in bordering countries, for instance among the Mi ñag, one of whose kings is said to have been delivered from a disease by the arhats grace; these same Mi ñags, when attacked by the Hor, were saved through the intervention of one of the arhats, who showed the besieged where water could be found underground, after the Hor had changed the course of the river which brought water to the city. Moreover, in both the documents referred to above, the first who introduced the iconographic type of the arhats in Tibet from China is said to have been Klu mes, before Atiśa ever came to Tibet.

If this Klu mes is the brother of Klu mes ts'ul k'rims šes rab we know his approximate date, his elder brother being included among the ten masters, five from dBus and five from gTsañ, who, after gLañ dar ma was

killed (842) had revived the faith. Klu mes ts'ul k'rims was a disciple of dGoñs pa rab gsal; the latter came from dGoñs ka, near the rMa c'u, in the Southern part of Amdo, and was ordained as a monk by Rab gsal of gTsañ, who had fled from Tibet during gLañ dar ma's great persecution. Klu mes must therefore be placed in the first part of the Xth century; indeed, according to some Tibetan calculations, (which, if not absolutely accurate, cannot be very far wrong), in the year "water-bird", 853, or "earth-tiger", 858 he settled in bSam yas, where he became an active preacher (See BUSTON, OBERMILLER, pp. 201 ff.; PS, p. 178; DT, Ka, p. 28, K'a, pp. 5, 6).

Although information about Klu mes abounds, I have nowhere found references to his or his brother's journey to China, which was the occasional cause of the introduction of the 16 arhats into Tibet.

But this is not the only motive which induces us to suspect the Tibetan tradition which, when Lamaism penetrated into China, was accepted by learned Chinese circles, to whom Klu mes's name was then made known.²⁴⁹ Indeed no information is to be found in China concerning either Dharma-tala or the Hva šaṇ as supplementary figures of the 16 arhats cycle; on the other hand the Hva šaṇ's presence takes us back to a religious and cultural environment which is purely Tibetan. Furthermore, as we can gather from other tales inserted in the above-quoted book by Nag dbaṇ sÑan grags dpal bzaṇ, the stories about Dharma-tala and Hva šaṇ are assigned to two different periods: the Hva šaṇ, in fact, is supposed to be a monk who lived under the Ming dynasty; fleeing from punishment decreed by the Emperor, he arrived after a long journey to the sea; at that moment, out of pity for the Hva šaṇ and in order that the Emperor's merits should not be impaired, the arhats came out of the sea and entered the palace. As to Hva šaṇ's iconographic type, it is inspired by the "Maitreya of the big belly", of popular Chinese Buddhism.

Dharma-ta la, on the other hand, is supposed to have been a pious layman (*dge bsñen*) in charge of the temple where, in the times of the Emperor T'an dsui dsun (T'ang Jui Tsung) (710-713) the arhats images were placed. The arhats revealed themselves to him; once, while he was sweeping the temple, a tiger issued from his right knee. This legend is evidently an explanation of the tiger's presence in Dharma-ta la's image (see sNar t'an woodcut, fig. 122).

Be it as it may, clearly two different traditions were current in Tibet: while one of them attributed to Klu mes the introduction of the whole iconographic cycle of the 18 arhats, with Dharma-ta la and Hva šaṅ, the other attributed the two latter arhats to two different periods; at first only Dharma-ta la was known, later Hva šaṅ also appeared. Anyhow these traditions, however confused, show that the cycle of the 16 arhats, with the addition of Dharma-ta la and Hva šaṅ, is an interpretation independent of the Chinese cycle of the 18 arhats. Therefore the Tibetan cycle of the arhats, as it appears in the sNar t'an woodcuts and in Pander's Pantheon, has a long story behind it, which it is still very difficult to reconstruct.

That the Hva šaṅ's presence should take us back to a Tibetan religious and cultural environment and that neither Hva šaṅ nor Dharma-ta la should be found in the Chinese lists, does not mean that these new personages have been introduced by the Tibetans *ex novo*. Although in Chinese literary and artistic sources there is no allusion—as far as my knowledge goes—to a cycle of 18 arhats in which Dharma-ta la and a Hva šaṅ appear as two supplementary figures, it is certain that Dharma-ta la is found in the representations of the arhats which have come to light in Central Asia; I allude to the pictures published in A. STEIN's, *The Thousand Buddhas*, Tav. XXXIII and in PELLLOT's, *Les Grottes de T'ouen Houang*, vol. IV, tav. 3. In these instances the arhats is represented in a Central Asian costume, bearing a parcel of books on his back, with a tiger and a

vase for holy water.²⁵⁰) This figure was identified by its analogy with the reproduction of the same personage in the late pantheon published by Pander, but the likeness is much greater to some images of the same arhats which we have already met with in our tanka. I allude particularly to the tanka n. 11 (cfr. n. 22), where Dharma-tala is represented in a manner almost identical with the Central Asian painting (compare especially the way he holds his books), so that we are led to think that in this case the Tibetan pictorial tradition draws its inspiration directly from those models of Central Asian style, or has been deeply influenced by them.

More than one example proves that in Tibet, side by side with the classical list of 16 arhats and with the other list where they are 18, there was a third list of 17 arhats: this is their number in the tankas n. 11 and n. 18. Indeed this is confirmed by a late but extremely authoritative quotation. I allude to a book by the fifth Dalai Lama.

Blo bzaiṅ rgya mts'o has written a book about the arhats, upon which, to this day, the prestige of its great author is reflected. This treatise, which is particularly concerned with the liturgy prescribed for the arhats' cult, and sets forth the advantages accruing to those who worship them, contains valuable information both about the penetration of the arhats' cult and of its literary sources in Tibet, and about the pictorial representations of the cycle. In this treatise, entitled *gNas brtan c'en po bcu drug gi mc'od pa rgyal brtan adsad med nor bu*,²⁵¹) the cycle of the *gnas brtan* is composed of the 16 original arhats, with the addition of Dharma-ta la and of the four *rgyal c'en*; as in the text of Nag dbaṅ sñan grags dpal bzaiṅ po, Dharma-ta la is placed in the times of the T'ang Dynasty.

Nor is the fifth Dalai Lama the only literary source which assures us of the existence of a Tibetan cycle of the 17 arhats, that is comprising the usual 16 personages with the addition of Dharma-ta la. I can quote a text earlier than Blo bzaiṅ rgya mts'o, the

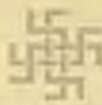
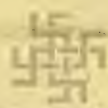




FIG. 122



T'ub dbaṅ gnas brtan bcu drug ak'or dan bcas pai p'yag mc'od rjes gnaṅ dan bcas, included in the great collection of *Sādhana Grubt'ab rgya mts'o*, sDe dge edition, vol. Ca. This brief treatise was written by the spyan sña C'os grags rgyal mts'an, and was corrected and revised by Sa skya pa sñags ac'an Nag gi dbaṅ po Kun dga' rin c'en, whom we have mentioned elsewhere. This small book is thus specified in the colophon: *bsTan pai gtso bo t'ub pa c'en po ak'or gnas brtan bcu drug dge bsñen dbar ma ta la dan bcas pai rjes gnaṅ bya ts'ul gsal bar bkod pa* "clear explanation on the manner of imparting liturgical instructions on the Great Ascetic, surrounded by the 16 arhats and by the *dge bsñen* Dharma-ta la,.. It contains the iconographic indication of each personage and particularly dwells on Dharma-ta la's description.

Arhat	right hand	with both hands	left hand
1. Rāhula	diadem	—	—
2. Culla Panthaka	—	—	samādhimudrā
3. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja	book	—	pot for alms on his palms in samādhi-mudrā
4. Panthaka	—	—	dharma-vyākhyānamudrā
5. Nāgasena	vase	—	staff
6. Gopaka	—	book	—
7. Abhedā	—	stūpa	—
8. Āṅga	—	vase for perfume	fly-whisk under his left armpit
9. Ajita	—	samādhi	—
10. Vanavāsin	tarjanīmudrā	—	fly-whisk
11. Kālīka	—	earrings	—
12. Vajrīputra	tarjanīmudrā	—	fly-whisk
13. Bhadrā	dharma-vyākhyānamudrā	—	samādhimudrā
14. Kanaka-vatsa	—	precious noose	—
15. Kanaka-bharadvāja	—	samādhi-mudrā	—
16. Bakula	—	mongoose	—

These 16 Arhats are imagined on the petals of the lotus drawn in the maṇḍala, in the middle of which the Buddha is placed: "on the four doors of the maṇḍala are found the four Lokapāla and the dGe bsñen Dharma-ta la, who holds in his hand the fly-whisk and a vase; he wears his hair tied in a topknot and on his back he bears the burden of many books; in front of him, in the air, appears the Buddha sNaṅ ba mt'a' yas; he wears an ample silk dress. His left knee is uncovered; from the right one a tiger is miraculously issuing; he is together with many dGe bsñen,..

This Dharma-ta la therefore has nothing in common with the Dharma-ta la of the Udānavarga.

This identification, which was proposed by Lévi and Chavannes, in the above quoted paper, is ruled out for two reasons: first of all, while the Dharmatrāta of the Udānavarga is called *btsun pa*, *bhadanta*, Dharma-ta la is constantly called *dge bsñen*, *upāsaka*, which, as it is well known, is an appellative given to lay devotees. Moreover Dharmatrāta's name is in Tibetan *c'os skyob*, "Law-protection,, (see for instance TĀRANĀTHA, p. 297), while the name of our Dharma-ta la is rendered by Blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o with *c'os ap'el* (*ap'el* corresponds to the root *vrddh*): "Law-growth,,

Moreover, as Waley has shown (*Cat.*, p. XLIII), there are in Buddhism many personages called Dharmatrāta or such-like names transcribed with the Ch. Ta mo ta lo.

1) the first Dharmatrāta Fa chiu 法救 is the compiler of the Udānavarga, generally called the Bodhisattva (LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, Introd., p. XLVII);

2) one of the masters of the Vibhāṣā, often called simply Bhadanta, although for others he was a Sarvāstivādin;

3) the author of the *Samyuktābhidharmabhrdaya-sūtra* (TAISHŌ, XXVIII, p. 869);

4) a master of the *Satyasiddhiśāstra*;

5) the author of a Dhyāna book (TAISHŌ, XV, p. 300);



6) Dharma-to-lo, according to a Ch'ang (*dhyaṇa*) text, the *Li tai fa pao chi* 歷代法寶記 discovered in Tun huang, is identified with Bodhidharma, and indeed the latter is there indifferently called Bodhidharma-to-lo 菩提達摩多羅 or only Dharma-to-lo 達摩多羅 (TAISHŌ, LI, p. 180 a-b).

Is it possible that we have before us a list elaborated in *dhyaṇa* circles and enriched by one of their most famous patriarchs? It would be premature to come to a conclusion, but from the above text it appears that *dhyaṇa*, which had spread in Central Asia, knew Bodhidharma under the name of Dharma-ta lo; on the other hand *dhyaṇa* penetrated into Tibet in very early times, beginning with the epoch of the royal dynasty.²⁵²⁾ It is not in the least unlikely that, through the same channel, a representation of the 17 arhats inspired by the types already ascertained for Central Asia, should have reached the Country of Snows.

Anyhow, if Dharma-ta la's iconographic type did not penetrate into the Chinese representation of the arhats' cycle (the personage having remained unknown to China), it was certainly adopted by Chinese portrait-painting, for instance in a celebrated picture of the Sung dynasty, which represents the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan tsang in the same dress and attitude as Dharma-ta la, carrying books.²⁵³⁾

As to the Hva šaṅ, he is quite unknown to Blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o's treatise; this silence may be explained either by supposing him to have been included in a list which Blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o did not consider authoritative, and therefore did not use, or by assuming that he was added on after Blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o's time. The latter hypothesis might be confirmed by the fact that some of the literary traditions we have quoted concerning the Hva šaṅ, attempt to make of him a late personage, of the Ming period, and there is no doubt that his modern representation (as it appears, for instance, in the tanka of sNar t'aṅ) is inspired, as already stated, by the type of the big-bellied Maitreya of popular Chinese iconography.

This late appearance of the Hva šaṅ in the Tibetan lists seems to be confirmed by the fact that he is missing in the tankas n. 11 and n. 18, which thus agree with Blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o's silence; hence we might be led to think that he has been introduced during the infiltration of Chinese ideas and models in the course of the XVIIIth century, when relations with China became more frequent, and Tibet finally passed under Chinese rule. However, against this hypothesis stands the well-established fact that some Guge tankas, which are evidently ancient, know the cycle of the 18 arhats, for instance the tankas nn. 13, 15 and 21. But the eighteenth arhats has nothing in common with the pot-bellied Hva šaṅ of the sNar t'aṅ series: in the tanka n. 21, for instance, this personage has a dark complexion and is represented after the manner of the Indian Siddha; although his belly is suggested in the tanka n. 13, he has not the appearance of a caricature, like the Hva šaṅ of late XVIIIth century representations, but conforms to the model of the Indian ascetics.

Moreover there is another detail: in the beautiful tanka n. 20, each arhat is given his name which, save for slight orthographical variations, corresponds to the traditional name. In the case of the 18th arhats, the name undergoes an odd deformation: instead of Hva šaṅ (a word which, although of Chinese origin, is commonly used in Tibet and frequently found in sacred scriptures) we find: *A bor ša*. Who may be hidden under this name I cannot say, whether the Hva šaṅ or a personage who has nothing in common with this; this anyhow takes us back to a Tibetan environment, and cannot presume to be on a level with his great comrades' ancient glory and memory.²⁵⁴⁾

Thus, when we sum up the literary data and the conclusions which may be drawn from our iconographical documents, the certainty is reached that the Tibetans knew a cycle of 16 arhats, a cycle of 17 in which Dharma-ta la was added to the list already known, and a cycle of 18 in which to Dharma-ta la is

added a second personage, called in an ancient tanka A hor ša and in later ones Hva šaṇ, whose images are characterized by the figures of one or more children.

Buston in the XIVth century seems, anyhow, to know as authoritative a cycle of 16 arhats only.

As to the iconography and to the styles, while the type of Dharma-ta la seems to take us back to Central Asian inspiration, some representations follow Indian types very closely.

Among the tankas we have published, there is one in which the cycle of the arhats displays traits which have nothing in common with its Chinese interpretation. I refer to the tanka n. 18 where, in the frame surrounding the central image on the right, on the left and below, the cycle of the 17 arhats is represented. They all except Dharma-ta la have the appearance of monks, and each is distinguished by his *mudra*; some of the symbols which used to characterize them in the pictures inspired by the Chinese manner, for instance the fly-whisk, are missing.

A third type, by far the most common, is the one which represents the cycle in the Chinese manner. Such a plurality of styles in representations of the arhats is recognized by our literary sources: the book quoted above mentions three manners of representing this famous cycle: the first is the Indian manner (*ap'ags yul gyi lugs*), introduced by one of the three pandits who accompanied Atiśa: he is supposed to have revealed it to rNog Byaṇ c'ub abyuṇ gnas, who, following his instructions, painted the series of the arhats on a tanka. The second is Chinese (*rgya nag lugs*) and the third Tibetan (*bod lugs*). "Wishing to represent the arhats' images according to the Indian system, one must draw them as monks, with the triple religious garment and with an outer dress of a blue, red and yellow colour; the symbols are those described in their birth-stories (*avadāna*): staff, bowl for collecting alms, water-jar, a jar for offerings (*gtor bum*). They sit on a jewelled throne of mats and blankets, they are surrounded by

monks, Indians and people of various countries, who bring them offerings of precious objects. Around them are broadly drawn fields, cities, huts, rivers, meadow and woods, as they are found in India.

"Wishing to represent them after the Chinese manner, the models are taken from the T'ang period: their clothes are of a sombre hue, like those of the Chinese scholars; they wear ample silken robes. Their main symbols are those of their birth-stories, the others may vary: for instance a staff made of a banana-stalk or of osier, a vase for perfume, porcelain cups, etc. They sit on jewelled thrones, surrounded by cliffs, animals, dragons, people of noble race, dressed in silk, Chinese scholars, men of various races carrying fans and different objects as offerings; around them are seen pleasure-grounds, fields with palaces ornamented with lattice-work and caves surrounded with grass and trees.

"Wishing to represent them in the Tibetan manner, the arhats with their attendants appear as monks, with the symbols as described in their birth-stories; they are clad in silk, wearing the ascetics' three garments, they are seated on a throne; around them are seen jewelled rocks, on which gifts given in homage have been placed; in the background fields, terraces and snow-topped mountains unfold,...

Naturally these classifications have a literary origin and they are so schematic and definite that they cannot be believed to reproduce faithfully the crossing and overlapping of different artistic currents; neither do they contain a vestige of those Central Asian influences to which we have traced the model of Dharma-ta la; nor can we know the origin of the pictorial series which Klu mes placed in Yer pa. The term China is very vague, and it is far from unlikely that Klu mes and his collaborators, having lived for a certain time in the provinces to the extreme East of Tibet, in times of great political upheavals in Central Asia, where the cult of the arhats was widely diffused, may have become acquainted



with Central Asian rather than with Chinese representations. As regards the connection between Tibet and Li yul (Khotan) besides the facts stated in THOMAS, *Lit. Texts* and in *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, it is very important to remember that the masters of Klu mes, if our Klu mes is the younger brother of Klu mes ts'ul k'rims šes rab, seem to have had some relation with Central Asia which they reached in their flight from Tibet through upper mNa' ris and the country of the Garlok and in their attempt to take refuge among the Hor (see above, p. 83). Then they settled in Amdo, on the borders of Tibet and Khansu. On the other hand, we know that Rab gsal of gTsañ, the teacher of Klu mes, presented Gar ma Yon tan gyuñ druñ with an image of Byams pa made in Li yul, by the king Dharmika Zla bzañ together with a wooden statue of Jo bo in sandal wood of one cubit and another image of Jo bo of one span. These images were then placed in the temple of 'Ol dga' (*Vai dū rya dkar po*, p. 155).

But this does not exclude that some monasteries in Tibet may have become acquainted with the pictorial cycle of the arhats issued from the school of Kuan Hsiu 貫休 (832-912), which inspired a long artistic tradition, alongside of that later tradition which draws its origin from Li Lung mien 李龍眠 (ca. 1040-1106) of the Sung period. The succeeding representations of this cycle are but modulations of these two manners. The arhats personality was emphasized by the first manner and the result was grotesque, almost a caricature, but extremely expressive: huge head, misshapen skulls, a frightful thinness. The second manner was more austere and dignified.

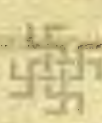
The tradition concerning the Indian manner is equally subject to caution, because while, according to the fifth Dalai Lama, the bKa' gdams masters took for their model the representations of Yer pa, according to the text of Hemis, the series of the arhats inspired by the iconography and the liturgy which one of Atiśa's disciples had introduced, was probably painted by rNog Byaṅ c'ub abyuñ gnas.

Be as it may, the Chinese influence, either direct or from Central Asian models, prevails over all the others, but this derivation must be understood very broadly: the inspiration came from China, the models always remained Chinese, the representation was always conceived in the Chinese manner, but this influence, however tenacious, could not but yield to the traditions of Tibetan painters and to their talent. Generally we are confronted not with the imitation of an original, which the artists copy over and over again, but rather with an initial impulse, derived from China or Central Asia, which remained active through the centuries, though gradually much of its efficiency was lost.

The initial influence, in course of time, was toned down by the Indian manner, especially by the Nepalese manner, which ruled over Tibetan art throughout its development, as we have seen more than once. And if the Chinese influence is clear in the reproductions we are about to speak of, which go back to the XVIIIth century, this depends not so much from Klu mes' ancient tradition, as rather from that recrudescence of the Chinese style which is a distinctive character of the XVIIIth century in Tibet, and which was particularly conspicuous in the K'ams region.

For these reasons the distinction between the three styles mentioned in the above-quoted text is rather theoretic: practically it is next to impossible to make a distinction. Nevertheless in the present cycle, more perhaps than in any other, (except in the cycle of Vaiśravaṇa and, in general, of the Kings of the four points of the compass) the Chinese stamp prevails.

The tankas reproducing the sixteen arhats are very common in monasteries and can be reduced to three fundamental types: 1) the entire cycle in a single tanka (f. i. G. ROERICH, TP, pl. I); 2) the cycle divided between four tankas, with a certain number of figures, not more than four, in each, two supplementary tanka for the four *dikpāla*, and Hva šaṅ and Dharma-ta la and the central tanka, like the



series published by ROERICH (*Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 1930), which comes from K'ams; 3) the series of the sNar t'an woodcuts, in seven tankas. The latter has acquired in a short time such a notoriety, as to prevail over any other composition on the same subject. The worshippers who throng to the convent get copies of this image printed on paper or linen, so that local painters, scattered throughout the Tibetan provinces, draw their inspiration from them or use them as models.²⁵⁵⁾

We can establish when it was that these woodcuts were engraved in the great monastery, because at the bottom of the first tanka is reproduced the image of a dignitary who devised the work and became its patron. This prince was the C'os rgyal bSod nam stobs rgyas of P'o lha, well known to us as the successor of the regent bSod nam rgyal po, murdered in 1727; the Chinese government had made him the political head of Tibet, with the title of viceroy. He had already been the patron of an edition of the Buddhist scriptures in that same convent of sNar t'an; from the colophon of the *bsTan agyur* we know that the woodcuts were executed in that monastery in the year *c'u k'yi*, that is in 1742. In front of the king we see, with their typical fur hats, two Tibetans from K'ams, or more exactly from Mi ñag, who are being offered a banquet, while servants bring gifts and bags before the king. These Tibetans are surely the *sbyin bdag*, the actual donors, who, complying with the *c'os rgyal's* proposal, furnished the means whereby to carry out his pious purpose. They are aGyur med rdo rje rnam rgyal and Ye šes ts'e ldan brtan, namely the same persons who had the Avadānakalpalatā series cut in wood. They are the two sons of P'o lha nas, and aGyur med rdo rje rnam rgyal succeeded his father when the latter died in the year 1747.

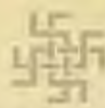
By the side of these fundamental types, which vary greatly according to the greater or lesser liberties which local painters take when they draw their inspiration from the most

celebrated models, there exists another representation²⁵⁶⁾ of this cycle, in which each arhat has a tanka all to himself, exactly as in the series we reproduce here. This series I bought from an officer of Central Tibet, in the environs of Gyantse, but it is clear that it comes from K'ams, that is from the Eastern province of Tibet.

The style of K'ams, as we have seen in the introduction, has deeply felt, also on account of geographical propinquity and continual trade relations, the influence of Chinese art: in the tankas we are studying, the Chinese stamp (even aside from those Chinese elements which, through the century-old tradition, had become characteristic of this cycle) is so very evident in the plan of the paintings, in their backgrounds and details, that it would be superfluous to dwell upon it. In the landscape, in the clouds which roam about in the sky, in the waterfalls, we find an echo of the Chinese manner, adapted, of course, to the Tibetan artist's abilities and limitations. I cannot tell when this series may have been drawn, but I do not think we would be mistaken in considering it a contemporary of the other series engraved at sNar t'an in the middle of the XVIIIth century.

From an iconographic point of view, the tankas are not in any way remarkable, as they faithfully follow traditional schemes.

The tankas of this series are not numbered, so that their succession cannot be ascertained. As they form a sequence, we are led to wonder according to what order the Tibetans used to arrange such a set of tankas and, in general, according to what standards they used to arrange, and consequently to represent, the series of the arhats. And as representations of sacred subjects are regularly modelled on the corresponding liturgical literature, to answer these questions is tantamount to establishing the liturgical sources, connected with the arhats cycle, from which Tibetan painters drew their inspiration.²⁵⁷⁾ We know several lists of the arhats, from those contained in the Indian sources, like the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* and the *Nandimitravadāna*, to the



Tibetan sources. Let us then make a summary of these different lists, so as to see clearly the different literary classifications of this cycle. This will necessarily lead us to notice also the analogies and inconsistencies between different lists where the arhats geographical localization is concerned.

C – *Nandimitrāvadāna* – Tibetan translation, bsTan agyur, vol. 90, n. 272 ²⁵⁸)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, bha ra dha dsa bsod sñoms len | 9. Gopaka, ba lan skyon |
| 2. Kanakavatsa, gser be'u | 10. Panthaka, lam pa |
| 3. Bharadvāja, bha ra dha dsa | 11. Rāhula, sgra gcan ḍsin |
| 4. Abhedā, mi p'yed | 12. Nāgasena, klu sde |
| 5. Bakula, šin šun can | 13. Aṅgaja, zur gyis šes ²⁵⁹) |
| 6. Bhadrā, bzan po | 14. Vanavāsin, nags gnas |
| 7. Kālīka, nag po | 15. Ajita, mi p'am pa |
| 8. Vatsaputra, bad sai bu | 16. Cūḍapanthaka, gtsug gi lam |

D – *Nandimitrāvadāna* – Chinese translation

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Piṇḍola bharadvāja | CHAVANNES: Kanakaparidvāja ?) |
| 2. Kanakavatsa | |
| 3. Chia no chia po li to she, Kanaka bharadvāja (LÉVI- | 4. Su p'in t'o (LÉVI-CHAVANNES: Su bindu) |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 5. Nakula | 11. Rāhula |
| 6. Bhadrā | 12. Nāgasena |
| 7. Kālīka | 13. Yin chieh t'o (LÉVI-CHAVANNES: Inḡada) ²⁶⁰) |
| 8. Vajraputra | 14. Vanavāsin |
| 9. Shu po chia (LÉVI-CHAVANNES: Śvapāka) | 15. Ajita |
| 10. Panthaka | 16. Cūḍapanthaka |

E – *Nandimitrāvadāna* – Khotanese translation

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Piṇḍola bharadvāja | 10. Rāhula |
| 2. Kanakavatsa | 11. [Cūḍapanthaka] |
| 3. Kanakabharadvāja | 12. Nāgasena |
| 4. Abhijit | 13. Aṅgiras (Aṅgila, Inḡana) |
| 5. Bakkula | 14. Śāṇāvāsa (Vana-vāsa) |
| 6. Kāṇtha (Kāḍa) | 15. Aśoka |
| 7. Bhadrā | 16. Panthaka |
| 8. Vajraputra | |
| 9. Gaupāka (Gopaka) | |

F – Atiśa's Hymn and Poem by mC'mis ston Nam mk'a' grags

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Aṅgaja | 9. Bakula |
| 2. Ajita | 10. Rāhula |
| 3. Vanavāsin | 11. Cullapanthaka |
| 4. Kālīka | 12. Piṇḍola |
| 5. Vajrīputra (rdo rje mo gi bu) | 13. Bharadvāja |
| 6. Bhadrā | 14. Panthaka (lam bstan) |
| 7. Kanavatsa | 15. Nāgasena |
| 8. Kanakabharadvāja | 16. Gopaka |
| | 17. Abhedā |

The geographical distribution of the world among the different arhats has varied with the schools and the times. According to the *Nandimitrāvadāna* they are distributed by localities as follows.

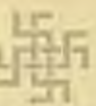
A – Chinese		B – Tibetan	
1. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja	Aparagodaniya	1. Piṇḍola Bhar.	Aparagodaniya
2. Kanakavatsa	Kāśmīra	2. Kanakavatsa	Pūrvavideha
3. Kanakabharadvāja	Pūrvavideha	3. Bharadvāja	Kāśmīra
4. Su p'in t'o	Uttarakuru	4. Abhedā	Jambudvīpa
5. Nakula	Jambudvīpa	5. Bakula	Uttarakuru
6. Bhadrā	Tāmradvīpa	6. Bhadrā	Tāmradvīpa
7. Kālīka	Samghata	7. Kālīka (nag po)	Simhala
8. Vajraputra	Po la na	8. Vajrīputra (bad sai bu)	Pa na sai gliṅ

A – Chinese		B – Tibetan	
9. Svapāka	Gandhamādana	9. Gopaka	Gandhamādana
10. Panthaka	Trayastrimśa	10. Panthaka	Trayastrimśa
11. Rāhula	Priyaṅgu	11. Rāhula	Priyaṅgu
12. Nāgasena	Pan-tu-po	12. Nāgasena	sKya bo (Pāṇḍava)
13. Yin kie t'o (Ingaḍa)	Vipulapārśva	13. Zur gyis šes (Aṅgaja)	Vipulapārśva
14. Vanavāsin	K'o chu	14. Vanavāsin	Lus ap'ags (Videha)
15. Ajita	Gṛdhrakūṭa	15. Ajita	(gNa šin [aḍsin]) Yugandhara
16. Cūḍapanthaka	Nemindhara	16. Cūḍapanthaka	Gṛdhrakrūṭa

C – Khotanese

1. Piṇḍola bharadvāja	Aparagodaniya	9. Gopaka	Gandhamādana
2. Kanakavatsa	Kāśmīra	10. Rāhula	Trayastrimśa
3. Kanakabharadvāja	Pūrvadvīpa	11. [Cūḍapanthaka]	Prabhaṅkaradvīpa
4. Abhijit	Uttarakuru	12. Nāgasena	Kailāsa
5. Bakkula	Jambudvīpa	13. Aṅgiras	Gṛdhrakūṭa
6. Kāntha (Kāḍa)	Siṃhaladvīpa	14. Śāṇāvāsa	Udayagiri
7. Bhadra	Tāmrāparṇikadvīpa	15. Aśoka	
8. Vajraputra	Yamuṇāparṇikadvīpa	16. Panthaka	Vaidehagiri

D – K'ro lotsāva			E – According to the Paṇ c'en Blo bzan ye šes dpal bzan po		
1. Aṅgaja	Ti se	Kailāsa	1. Piṇḍola	Lus p'ags gliṅ	Videha
2. Ajita	Draṅ sroṅ ri	—	Bharadvāja		
3. Vanavāsin	Lo ma bdun ri	Saptaparni	2. Kanaka	Ka c'e	Kāśmīra
4. Kālīka	Zaṅs gliṅ	Tāmradvīpa	vatsa		
5. Vajrīputra	Siṅgala	Siṃhala	3. Kanaka	Ba laṅ spyod kyi	Aparagoda-
6. Bhadra	Ya mu nā	Yamunā	Bharadvāja	ri bo	niya
7. Kanakavatsa	K'a c'e	Kāśmīra	4. Panthaka	Lhai gnassu sum	Trayastrimśa
8. Kanakabharadvāja	Nub gliṅ	Aparadvīpa		cu rtsa gsum	
9. Bakula	sGra mi sñan	Uttarakuru	5. Rāhula	Pri yan kui gliṅ	Priyaṅgu
10. Rāhula	Pri yan ku	Priyaṅgu	6. Nāgasena	Nos yaṅs ri bo	Vipulapārśva
			7. Aṅgaja	Gaṅs ti se	Kailāsa
			8. Vanavāsin	mÑan yod kyi lo	Saptaparni
				ma bdun pai ri	(in Śrāvastī)
			9. Ajita	U ši ra	Uśira
			10. Abheda	Šambhala dan ñe	Himālaya,
				bai rii rgyal po	near Šam-
				gaṅs can	bhala



D – K'ro lotsāva			E – According to the Paṇ c'e Blo bzañ ye šes dpal bzañ po		
11. Cullapantha- ka	Bya rgod ri	Gṛdhrakūṭa	11. Bakula	Byaṅ sgra mi ñan gyi ri bo	Uttarakuru
12. Piṇḍolabha- radvāja	Šar gliñ	Pūrvadvīpa	12. Bhadra	Ya mu nai gliñ	Yamunā
13. Panthaka	Sum c' u gsum	Trayastrimśa	13. Kālīka	ṇDsam gliñ gi zañs gliñ	Tāmradvīpa (in Jambu- dvīpa)
14. Nāgasena	Ños yañs ri	Vipulapārśva	14. Vajrīputra	Siñ ga lai gliñ	Siṃhala
15. Gopaka	Bhi hu la ri	Bhihula	15. Gopaka	Bi hu la (ri)	Bhiula ²⁶¹⁾
16. Abheda	Gañs ri	Himālaya	16. Cūḍapan- thaka	Bya rgod ri	Gṛdhrakūṭa

Ñag dbaṅ sñan grags dpal bzañ po's text attempts to classify and distribute the 16 arhats according to the scheme of the *maṇḍala*. Eleven are assigned to the ṇDsam bu gliñ and the other five to other localities. Those of the ṇDsam bu gliñ are thus distributed: five in the Madhyadeśa, ²⁶²⁾ the middle country, that is, the country which tradition connects with the Buddha's preaching, five in the border countries (*mt'a'*), one not definitely placed: it is difficult to establish whether he was in Madhyadeśa or in barbarous countries.

We have then the following schema:

Madhyadeśa	{	Gṛdhrakūṭa in Magadha
		Uśira
		between Yamunā and Gaṅgā
		Vipulapārśva
on the frontiers	{	Kailāsa
		Śambhala
		Kāśmīra
		Priyaṅgu
difficult to place:	{	Tāmradvīpa
		Bhi hu la

In other continents:

East: Videha
West: Aparagodaniya
North: Uttarakuru
South-East: Siṃhala
Zenith: Trayastrimśa

We have, then, before us two different lists; one of them goes back to Nandimitra's prophecy, the other, handed down by Tibetan sources, to the tradition introduced in Tibet by Atiśa.

What conclusion may we draw from these lists? First of all that though the catalogue of the arhats was subject to small variations, their localization in the various places progressed with the diffusion of Buddhism. We see, for instance, in the Khotanese redaction the Kailāsa appear; in the catalogue of the Paṇ c'en the Himālaya and then Śambhala, the mythic place of the Kālacakra are added to it. The various localities where the arhats were supposed to dwell changed according to the times and the places where the books concerned with the arhats circulated, with a freedom which does not affect the arhats themselves. The Tibetan author who arranges the arhats according to the diagram of the *maṇḍala* does not introduce anything new but clearly follows an ancient tradition. This is evident if we compare his arrangement with the catalogues of Nandimitra; here also a *maṇḍala* is at the basis of the list; the Trayastrimśa, being gods, are on the top; they are the ideal centre round which the *maṇḍala* evolves; the Nemindhara on the other hand is the outer circle of the world, so is also the Yugandhara though there is a difference as

regards the sources, some of them considering the Nemindhara the inner and others the outermost of the seven rings of mountains encircling the world. Anyhow either of them is the limit of earth and an external circle of the maṇḍala. Then there is an inner circle in which four continents are placed: Pūrvavideha, Jambudvīpa, Aparagodanīya, Uttarakuru, then another circle referring to Jambudvīpa proper: Tāmradvīpa, Sīṃhala, Gandhamādana, Kāśmīra; two localities Gr̥dhrakūṭa and Vipula near Rājagr̥ha are the very core of the maṇḍala since they represent the places where the Law was revealed, one of them, the Gr̥dhrakūṭa being changed into a kind of mythical paradise where the Buddha preaches the Mahāyāna from time immemorial.

The other remaining countries or continents are difficult to locate, being mythic continents encircling the Jambudvīpa.

The list according to Atiśa and to the lotsāva mC'ims ston, thanks to the authority derived from its authors and to the influence of their hymns upon the liturgy connected with this cycle, was substituted for the one contained in the Indian books (with some exceptions, as in the case of that of the Pañc'en) and was generally included in the litanies and prayers;²⁶³ Pander's list (from which WADDELL'S and GRÜNWEDEL'S are derived) can be traced back to it:

Āṅgaja	Bakula
Ajita	Rāhula
Vanavāsin	Cūḍapanthaka
Kālika	Piṇḍolabharadvāja
Vajrīputra	Panthaka
Bhadra	Nāgasena
Kanakavatsa	Gopaka
Kanakabharadvāja	Abheda

The Tibetan text, which I have often quoted, based upon good sources, follows, on the other hand, this succession:

Rāhula	Piṇḍolabharadvāja
Cūḍapanthaka	Panthaka

Nāgasena	Kālika
Gopaka	Vajrīputra
Abheda	Bhadra
Āṅgaja	Kanakavatsa
Ajita	Kanakabharadvāja
Vānavasin	Bahula

The divergence, however, is only apparent: it is enough to read the second list beginning from n. 8, that is from Āṅgaja, and thence from Bakula to Abheda, to realize that it is the same; there seems therefore to be no doubt (keeping in mind the exceptions pointed out by the fifth Dalai Lama) that we too should arrange these paintings in the same order, conforming to the general custom of liturgy and iconography.

The lists given above confirm what we have already said, that Dharma-ta la's and the Hva šaṅ's names are alien to normal tradition and represent a late addition. They were certainly not used in the times of mC'ims, who was a great abbot of the sNar t'añ monastery, always considered one of the most noteworthy centres of the arhats cult, where Klu mes is believed to have placed copies of the Chinese paintings. This said, we may pass, without more ado, to the illustration of each single tanka.

The iconography of the arhats too was characterized very early: each of them has his own particular *mudrā* and his own symbol, which allows us to identify him at once and with certainty. On the other hand it is more difficult to establish with what event the personages who accompany the arhats in the series herein reproduced, are connected: the presence of some of them may be explained by the legends of hagiographic tradition concerning the arhats; others perhaps allude to the continents or localities where they exercised their spiritual protection; still others must remain doubtful until some text is found, dealing with this cycle more extensively than the treatises to which we now have access.

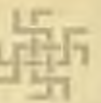


Plate n. 156. – Aṅgaja (*Yan lag abyun, Yan lag skyes, Mes skyes,*²⁶⁴) *Zur kyis šes*) carries a fly-whisk, resting on his right shoulder, and a vase for perfume in both hands. He is in the act of handing it to a monk who approaches him as if to present him with a censer. This happened, in accordance with the tradition, in the Gandhamādana. According to the Tibetan text quoted above, a fly-whisk should be in the left hand. Below, a monk and a warrior.

Plate n. 157. – Ajita (*Mi p'am*); in front of him two figures offering gifts; below, an Indian ascetic and a divinity in the act of doing homage to him. Ajita has his outer garment (*bla gos*) pulled over his head and his hands, although covered, in the meditative attitude.

Plate n. 158. – Vanavāsin (*Nags na gnas*) is represented in the posture called *lalitākṣepa*; in his left hand he holds a fly-whisk, which is also an attribute of Aṅgaja. Near him a god; below, disciples and a tiger, to recall the woods in which he lived, near Mount Saptaparna (*Lo ma bdun*).

Plate n. 159. – Kālīka²⁶⁵ (*Dus ldan, Dur k'rod pa, Nag po pa*) holds in his hands two large earrings (*rna skor*) which, according to the legend, were given him by the gods of the Kāmadhātu when, having ascended to their heaven, he preached the Law to them. Near him a monk, and below divinities in the act of offering gifts as a souvenir of that sermon.

Plate n. 160. – Vajrīputra (*rDo rje moi bu, Bad sai bu*) is represented seated on a wooden throne in the European fashion; he holds in his left hand, a fly-whisk (*rña yab, cāmara*) which according to the tradition was offered him by the gods. A monk is offering him a vase of perfume, while a person covered with leaves is in the act of presenting him humbly with some fruits; to the left, another monk brings gifts on a dish; below, a dancing Turkoman. The person covered with leaves is a *gandharva* (*dri za*), in whose territory Vajrīputra went to beg; the converted *gandharvas* offered him medicines and perfumes.

Plate n. 161. – Bhadra (*bZaṅ po*) is represented with his right hand in the attitude of the explanation of the Law, while the left is in the attitude of meditation, precisely as the Tibetan text says.

To his left a *garuḍa* is seen descending from the sky and astonishing the monks, one of whom tries to hide a person under his cloak.

Plate Q. – Kanakavatsa (*gSer beu*) is seated on a throne and holds in his hands a string on which gems are strung. This string was given him, according to the legend, by the *nāgas*, when he went down into their country to convert them to the Buddhist faith.

Plate n. 162. – Kanakabharadvāja (*Bha ra dva dsa gser can*) is represented with his hands resting one upon the other, in *samādhimudra*.

Plate n. 163. – Bakula may be recognized by the ichneumon which he holds under his left hand; below, figures of *yakṣa*; the ichneumon (called *nakula* in Sanscrit) was the origin of the arhats name which is precisely Nakula in Nandimitra's relation, and then became Bakula and also Bakkula.²⁶⁶ Ladhak and Zanskar claim the glory of having given hospitality to his incarnation, in the monastery of Ri rdson.

Plate n. 164. – Rāhula (*sGra gcan ḡdsin*) seated on a decorated seat of Chinese style; he holds in his hands a diadem, in remembrance of his visit to the Trayastriṃśa's heaven to preach the Law and of the gift of their own diadems, which those gods made him. By his side is seen the image of a *deva*.

Plate n. 165. – Cullapanthaka (*Lam ḡp'ran bstan* or: Cūḍapanthaka, *gTsug gi lam*) is represented seated, with his hands in the meditative posture; by his side, gods in an adoring attitude. On either side, two *deva* and two monks.

Plate n. 166. – Piṇḍola²⁶⁷ Bharadvāja (*Bha ra dva dsa bsod sñoms len*); his characteristic symbols are the book and the bowl for alms (*lbun bzed*) which should represent, according to the Tibetan tradition, his miraculous power of granting the wishes of those who pray to him.

Plate n. 167. – Panthaka (*Lam bstan*) is represented seated on a throne, cross-legged, holding a book in both hands.

Plate n. 168. – Nāgasena (*Klui sde*) is represented with the vase for libations (*gtor bum*) and the staff (*mk'ar bsil*). The former, according to the legend, was presented to him by the four kings of the points of the compass and is used to wash off the sins of created beings; the latter is used to heal sickness. Around him divinities and praying monks.

Plate n. 169. – Gopaka (*sBed byed, Ba lañ skyon*) or, according to the Tibetan text quoted above, Gopati: he carries on his right hand the book which is considered his symbol. Below two lions between a monk and a barbarian clutching a monkey with his right hand.

Plate n. 170. – Abheda (*Mi p'yed*) is represented holding in his hands a *stūpa* of that particular type called in Tibetan *byaṅ c'ub mc'od rten*: the Buddha gave it to him when he went into the Northern countries to convert the *yakṣas*, in order that its magic power might appease the calamities stirred up by the *yakṣas*. A converted *yakṣa* is represented on the right of the arhats.

TANKA n. 137 (Plate 171).

A single figure, seated on a rock, stands out from the empty background, soft and slender. He holds with both hands a book in its envelope, after the Chinese fashion. The whole atmosphere of the painting is Chinese, as perhaps no other tanka in the collection: its light colours, the gay flower-patterns, the scope given by empty spaces, in which Indian artists are fond of heaping multiplied and overlapping figures. Two peacocks are strolling below, free and untrammelled. Above, lying on a mass of clouds, a meditating

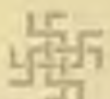
Buddha: his solitude transforms him into a light and airy vision. I cannot tell who the personage may be: probably a bodhisattva, but he wears his hair long like an ascetic. A beatified ascetic or a god? We have every reason for thinking that the artist has followed a Chinese model, which he had before him or which was present to his mind's eyes.

TANKA n. 138 (Plate 172).

sGrol ma: on the upper part aJam dpal dbyaṅs between two lamas aBrug pa. Below, the Sruṅ ak'or, a cycle of protecting deities: Ts'e riñ ma and two terrific deities riding in a circle of flames, Mohabhairavavajra on horseback (CLARK, p. 54, n. 566).

TANKA n. 139 (Plate R).

This picture also can be considered an excellent specimen of K'ams art: its vastity of space, the animals' graceful and natural liveliness, the landscape and the very type of the monks represented, all takes us back to pictorial traditions akin to the Chinese school. In the centre of the tanka a female deity holds in her arms a musical instrument, the *viṇā*; she is therefore no other than dByaṅs can ma, Sa-rasvatī, the goddess of eloquence. In Indian mythology she is Brahmā's bride, and in the Buddhist pantheon she has kept the same characters: she is the goddess of eloquence, learning, literary talent, therefore all masters are anxious to obtain her favour, that she may through her grace sharpen and stimulate their wit and ennoble their style. This explains why many *sādhana*s dedicated to her are to be found in the SM, and why Tibetan exorcists and masters should have been much concerned with her liturgy.²⁶⁸⁾



CENTRAL ASIAN STYLE

TANKAS nn. 140, 141 (Plates S, 173-177).

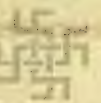
Vaiśravaṇa belongs to a very complex group of deities whose origins are various; they go under the name of Yakṣa and are earth-gods and gods of the woods; harmfully inclined, they were finally received into the Buddhist pantheon. Buddhism abounds in hagiographical legends relating their submission at the hands of Śākyamuni and of his disciples and their passing to the new faith. Every village had its protecting yakṣa or yakṣas; they were believed to live in trees or in certain stones placed at the feet of trees and were worshipped with regular offerings of flowers, libations and sacrifices. As soon as a deity takes a preeminent place over others of the same cycle, it assumes their names, virtues and qualities; its original character is thus enriched with new elements, becomes more and more complex, is transfigured. The same process took place with Vaiśravaṇa.

We do not presume, starting from this tanka, to write a monograph on such a complex subject as Vaiśravaṇa's figure; nevertheless it is necessary to establish what his essential characteristics are. Vaiśravaṇa is regularly considered the patronymic of Kubera, who in the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* already appears as the king of the Yakṣa and of wealth: *Kuvero Vaiśravaṇo rājā*. The complexity of his figure appears from the very fact of his double paternity: now he is Pulastya's son, now the son of Viśravas: tradition solves the contradiction by a mythological device: the *Mahābhārata* (*Rāmopakhyāna*, III, p. 274) relates that Vaiśravaṇa was the son of Pulastya by a cow; one day he deserted his father to serve Brahmā, but the father created by himself another son, Viśravas, who became Vaiśravaṇa's rival; the latter, to appease his father,

made him a present of three beautiful Rākṣasī. Always according to the *Rāmopakhyāna*, he reigned in Laṅkā, whence he was expelled by Rāvaṇa, the son of one of those Rākṣasī he had given his father. On the other hand Brahmā, to reward his devotion, made him lord of the Yakṣas, gave him power over treasures and conferred upon him the office of lokapāla, protector of one of the four points of the compass.

Thus, already in Brahmanic tradition, some uncertainty appears concerning Vaiśravaṇa, Viśravas and Kubera. Vaiśravaṇa is not in all our sources the son of Viśravas: his abode is Laṅkā, later occupied by the ten-headed Rākṣasa, on the other hand Kubera's reign is in the North, in Sumeru or Kailāsa (*Kailāsanilaya*, as the *Mahābhārata* says). His wives were Rddhi and Bhadrā. According to the Buddhist tradition, he lives in the Himālaya, in Visāṇā, citadel of Ālakamandā; indeed, according to the *Dīghanikāya*, III, p. 201, he owes his name not to his father Viśrava but to the name of his abode: "*Kuverassa... Visāṇā nāma rāja-dhāni tasmā Kuvero Mahārāja Vessavaṇo ti pavucchati Vesavā*...". His wife's name is Bhuñjati. The name of the city where he resides varies: as Kubera's abode, it is called Alakā, (which is given as his residence even in the *Mahābhārata*) Ālakamandā, Alakavatī; as Vaiśravaṇa's abode, Āṭānātā (thus already in the text and commentary of the *Dīghanikāya*, XXXII).

It is thus clear that different elements come together to form the Yakṣa's figure: Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa; but it is difficult to ascertain whether we should consider this a case of assimilation between parallel deities, or rather of a double form of the same deity. The problem is difficult because of the continual overlapping and blending of mythological



types which is a constant phenomenon in the development of Indian religion: local and tribal deities, when they are similar, melt one into the other, through the channel of certain predominating characters common to all; their original names survive as particular denominations which throw light on this or that aspect. However, in the present case, beside the process of convergence, we also notice, indeed we shall see it prevail, an opposite process of dissimilation.

Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa, who appear identified in the most ancient tradition (whether this identity be original or secondary), later become independent figures; for instance, already in the *Lalita-Vistara*, Kubera is different from Vaiśravaṇa: “*Śivaskandhanārāyaṇakubera-candrasūryavaiśravaṇa*,,, p. 120. So also in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, ed. Lévi, s. v., with the literary anticipation of a fact which we see documented by iconography. Later, at the height of Mahāyāna, we find by the side of Vaiśravaṇa the form Vaiśramaṇa.

The BÖHTLINGK-ROTH *Lexicon* considers the form Vaiśramaṇa an error for Vaiśravaṇa: but the real existence of the two forms is proved by Tibetan traditions, which have for Kuvera: *lus nan* “bad body,,, for Viśravaṇa: *rnam t’os sras*, which is the most common form, and *nal bsos* “the reposing,,, for Vaiśramaṇa. Chinese transcriptions prove it still more: P’i sha men 毘沙門, Jap. Bishamon.

The Kubera, Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa type’s initial complexity increased when, following its diffusion in Central Asia, Buddhism came in contact with local cults and, according to its custom, absorbed them, identifying certain gods and genii, extremely popular in the conquered regions, with those figures of its own pantheon with which they seemed to have some mythological or iconographic analogy. It is not improbable that some such contamination may have happened in the case of the deity from which the kings of Khotan believed themselves to be descended. According to the *Li yul lun*

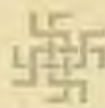
bstan pa and to the *Li yul c’os kyī lo rgyus* (see THOMAS, *Literary Texts*, pp. 98-99, 307-308 and *Some notes on Central-Asian Kharoṣṭhī documents*, BSOAS, XI-3, p. 520), they descended from Beśa-ramana; the same descent from Vaiśramaṇa, considered the protector of the country, is related by Hsüan Tsang who tells us that he enjoyed a special cult in Khotan, together with Śrī-devi. Anyhow, this god has two predominating characters: on one side he is the god of wealth, the Indian Pluto; speaking of a rich man, he is said to vie with Kubera, his house rivals Vaiśravaṇa’s in splendour. He is Dhanada, the dispenser of riches: Kubera guards treasures and helps his devotees to find them; he is therefore Nidhipati; by virtue of this character, he assimilates kindred deities, of different origin, for instance Jambhala, Jambhara who is also a Yakṣa.

On the other hand he is king of the Yakṣas, chief of their armies; together with Virūpākṣa, Dhṛtarāṣṭhra, Virūdhaka, he is one of the kings of the points of the compass, a Lokapāla, one of the four Caturmahārāja.

The latter were taken over very early by Buddhism as defenders of the faith: hence their protective character. They protect the Law against harmful forces; therefore their active character finally became predominant. In ancient Buddhism they had merely been faithful followers and guardians of the Buddha; later they became active custodians of religion. Thus already in the *Mahāvastu* Vaiśravaṇa appears between Śiva and Skandha, the god of war, in the list of devas. Mhv. III, p. 68; Ch. I, p. 399. *senāpatirūpeṇa vaiśravaṇarūpeṇa cakravartī-rūpeṇa*.

In the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* the Caturmahārāja reveal and accomplish the *rakṣā* or defences of the faithful: the same task is attributed to them in the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*.

This explains how, little by little, a warlike character was added to their primitive one. This double aspect favours the splitting up of an inglé god into two gods, which is



revealed by Sino-Tibetan iconography, where Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa-Jambhala as Pluto is distinguished from Vaiśravaṇa as Lokapāla.²⁶⁹)

The first is represented, like almost all Yakṣas, fat and half naked, through successive iconographic modulations, which go from the Kubera of Mathurā and Lahore to the Kubera-Jambhala figure of Buddhist art in the Middle Ages: his symbols are, as in the Lahore statue, the lance, which appears once more in Japanese iconography, and the money-bag, in the ritual of the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* (commentary by KARMAVAJRA, bsTan agyur, ju. XVII, p. 17, sword and arrow), or, generally, the mongoose pouring out riches from its mouth or the lemon (*jambhara*) or the gem. In a sādhana of Vaiśravaṇa with four arms (bsTan agyur, LXXXVI, 47, p. 163) his symbols are club (Kubera's weapon in the Epic) sword, *varada* and mongoose.

In Hindu iconography, if he has two arms, is in *varada* and *abhaya-mudrā*, or he carries a club in his left hand; if he has four arms, with the first two he embraces his *śakti* and with the others he clasps a club and an arrow (RAO, *Hindu iconography*, II, p. 537).

The Lokapāla's type has quite a different evolution: from the simplicity of the image in Gandharic art, where the four lokapāla are represented according to the devas' pattern (and there is nothing to distinguish them, except the scenes in which they appear) up to the Central Asian, Chinese and then Tibetan tradition.

Here a new iconographic type appears, which is not represented in India: this type preserves the treasure-pouring mongoose of Kubera-Jambhala and therefore is connected by this symbol with the original character of the god of riches, but in his other hand he brandishes the flag (*dhvaja*); he rides on a lion, while in the ancient tradition Kubera is: Naravāhana, "sits on naras", or is carried by horses or birds; he is usually dressed as a warrior, wearing a cuirass of Iranian pattern (STEIN, *Serindia*, p. 874). This warlike

character, predominating in Vaiśravaṇa's type, as a Lokapāla, is not to be explained only as the emphasizing of an aspect already belonging to Vaiśravaṇa in ancient Buddhist tradition, according to which he is a chief of the yakṣas and a defender of the faith; it is the consequence of new orientations, and perhaps of contacts with other mythical types, which ended by transforming Vaiśravaṇa into a god of war. In some Tantric texts like the *Mahāmāyūrī* or the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, Vaiśravaṇa is always the protector of the faith, the possessor of the *rakṣas*, the lord of the Vidyādharas, but he has not yet assumed that character of god of war which transpires, for instance, in some works included in the Chinese canon, T. 1247, *Pei fang p'i sha men t'ien wang sui chün bu fa ii kuei* 北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法儀軌; T. 1248, *Pei fang p'i sha men t'ien wang sui chün bu fa chen yen* 北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法真言; T. 1249, *P'i sha men ii kuei* 毘沙門儀軌 (2126). In these texts the god, represented in a terrific aspect, with a lance and stūpa, is greeted as "he who follows the armies to protect the Law". Being invoked by Amoghavajra when, in 742, Tibetans, Arabs and Sogdians attacked Ngan hsi, he caused the troops of his own son Naḍa to appear before the Emperor Hsien-tsung, who had gone into the temple with the Indian monk; at the same time (as it was later reported from the attacked city) a fearful army suddenly appearing amid a great earthquake put the enemy's troops to flight and delivered the city. Equally, in Balkh, he was supposed to have saved a great monastery from a Turkish attack.

These texts, in which the god's warlike aspect and attire are emphasized, are not based on an Indian tradition: Vaiśravaṇa, in India, is eclipsed by Kubera and Jambhala: in the *Sādhnamālā* he appears in fact as an acolyte of the latter god and has no independent life (in SM, p. 566, in the maṇḍala of Jambhala's eight gods, he is to be found

in the South, on p. 562 on the West). In the bsTan agyur only two sādhanas are dedicated to him: rGyud LXXII, p. 29 and LXXXVI, p. 47, and one Kalpa LXXII, p. 30. On the other hand he has a preeminent place with respect to the other three lokapālas in the literature of the Pañcarakṣā, according to which he is represented with four arms, an arrow, a sword, mongoose and vase (KARMAVAJRA's commentary, bsTan agyur, LVII, p. 17).

From what precedes, I should be inclined to assign a non-Indian origin to this new type of Vaiśravaṇa in a warrior's attire.²⁷⁰ It was probably formed in Central Asia, through a contact with other mythic cycles. This hypothesis is confirmed by the god's apparel, by his hat which STEIN, *Serindia*, p. 874 and MATSUMOTO (*Tonkō-ga no kenkyū*, p. 463 ff.) justly connected with the Sassanid kings' crown MATS. compares the figure of Khusraw II, in the famous dish of the Bibliothèque Nationale *Survey Persian Art*, vol. IV, pl. 214, and we can also add *ibid.*, p. 218, and above all the Naqsh-e Rostam reliefs, representing Shapur's triumph, *ibid.*, p. 155 a whose crown has a great analogy with that of our tanka n. 140.

For his armour, with figures of lions on the shoulders, see STEIN, *ibid.*, LE COQ, *Bilderratlas*, p. 65, fig. 91.

In Tibet this warlike character, which Central Asian and Chinese traditions were introducing, must have favoured the fortunes of the god and of his myth, for his quality of protector of the North, so represented in a warrior's costume, would fatally approach him to Gesar, who is also a god of war and in the division of the world is assigned, among the four Kings, precisely to the North. This is confirmed by a tradition sufficiently ancient, contained in the *Pad ma bka' t'an* (PKT, chap. II, THOMAS, *Literary Texts*, p. 266). According to this text, Gesar king of the Hor is the king ruling the North, while to the East is the king of China, to the West

the king of Ta zig (Persia) and to the South the king of India.

It is thus quite probable that, in some Central Asian environment, two different orders of ideas again should have melted one into the other, meeting upon the type of Vaiśravaṇa: on one side the Lokapāla, keeper of one of the four points of space, and on the other the "king of horses", one of the four kings among which the rule over the Jambudvīpa is divided. The "king of horses", was in the North, and in some Buddhist traditions he is already identified with the Turks, Ge sar's Hor, as in the Tibetan echo of the same legend mentioned above. We are led to the same consideration by the presence of the eight *aśvapati*, *rta bdag*, "lords of the horses", who accompany Vaiśravaṇa in Tibetan iconography.

The Buddhist gnosis, changing the character of the Yakṣas and Guhyakas of whom Vaiśravaṇa Kubera was the overlord into faithful attendants of the Law transformed, then, this god into a Vidyādhara, the emperor of the Vidyādharas; and this made him akin to Vajrapāṇi equally assumed to the rank of Guhyādhipati.

It was necessary to premit all this in order to understand the singularity of Vaiśravaṇa's Tibetan type as it appears on two of our tankas; it points as its models to the Central Asian and Chinese Lokapālas and has no relation with the Indian iconographical tradition of Kubera-Jambhala (see, for instance, GNB, plate XLIII d). Indeed, according to the tradition concerning the aPyon rgyas family's origin, and its relations with the Bhaṭa Hor, (see p. 643), the Tibetans attributed the prototype of rNam t'os sras, Vaishravaṇa's image to an artist from Ljañ, on Tibet's extreme Eastern frontiers, when, during the war between Tibet and China, Vaiśravaṇa, surrounded by eight horsemen, his brothers, led the Tibetan troops to victory. Chroniclers of aP'yon rgyas' family thus repeat a story which does not differ much from the one told by Taishō n. 2126 though located in a different place.



Vaiśravaṇa's iconographic representation preserves in Tibet its Central Asian character through the centuries. While the other deities are nearly always represented according to the patterns of the sādhana, fundamentally inspired by Indian models, the Tibetan Vaiśravaṇa has nothing to do with India: armour, accoutrement, cuirass, apparel of the god and of his acolytes, point beyond discussion to a Central Asian origin.

There are naturally some differences between one tanka and another: this variety consists in a greater or lesser adherence to models more decidedly Chinese, as in tanka n. 141, or rather to Central Asian interpretations in which Iranian reminiscences are not rarely perceived. Moreover, tanka 141 n. is richer in personages representing the complex cycle connected with Vaiśravaṇa.

Tanka n. 140, Pl. S offers no difficulty of interpretation. In the centre rNam t'os sras, wearing an armour; he is seated on a lion, which instead of being white, according to the most common iconography, is of a blue colour. In his right hand he holds the flag (*dhvāja*) and in his left the mongoose, from whose mouth jewels and precious stones issue rather like a cascade. The acolytes surrounding him are easily identified. Eight are on horseback: therefore they are the eight rTa bdag, whose list I will give later.

The two figures in Chinese costume on the god's right represent a man and a woman: the man carries a sceptre and the woman a bowl, as if to make an offering to the god. This attitude of both personages makes it impossible to consider them rNam t'os sras' parents: they are rather the king and queen of the nāgas, who come to do him homage after having been conquered. The painting much resembles the one in the *Thousand Buddhas*, Pl. XXVI (WALEY, Cat., p. 41) which bears an inscription saying that it represents Vaiśravaṇa "crossing the ocean,, in relation with the nāgas' and the nāginīs' submission, accomplished by the

Mahāsāhasrapramardanī-vidyā (see *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, p. 14).

Each of the other three smaller figures represents perhaps one of Kubera's sons, who, according to the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, p. 10, are: Sañjaya, Janaka, Mahāgraha, Kalaśodara.

The second tanka is more complex; it represents, under the form of a maṇḍala, the whole of Vaiśravaṇa's heaven, i. e. the celestial city where he resides, Aḷakavatī, lCaṇ lo caṇ. The city is built according to a fixed pattern, which is found in all iconographic representations of Vaisravaṇa's maṇḍala: in the centre stands a palace with three roofs one over the other, of Chinese style (*rgya p'ib*): the god is seated inside it. On the four sides of the palace we see four smaller dwellings with only one roof, four more stand at the intermediate points: all around run three corridors (*ak'or sa*) in which various deities are placed.

According to the system of the Lotsāva of Zaṅs dkar, which seems to have enjoyed great diffusion and authority in Tibetan schools and which the painter of this tanka has generally followed, in the eight images regularly arranged on the four sides and in the four corners we must recognize the eight rTa bdag "the horsemen,,. As to the identification of the other personages of rNam t'os sras' cycle, we can rely on a vast Tibetan liturgical literature, where the first place is occupied by a treatise of Buston: *rGyal po c'en po rnam t'os sras kyī bstod pa rgyal poi t'ugs rab tu mñes byed*.

Naturally this pamphlet summarizes the Indian tradition, which has its centre above all in the literature of the Pañcarakṣā: the *Mahāmāyūrī*, and particularly the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, which completes and develops the elements already contained in the *Āṭanā-tīyasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* and in the *Āṭanā-tīyasūtra*, being enriched by new elements.

In this literature is contained a description of Aḷakavatī, considered as a heaven where the pious go (*Mahāsāh.*, p. 7), and lists are made of the groups of deities considered as Vaiśravaṇa's acolytes. To these treatises must

be added the *Mabāsabāsrāpramardanīsūtraṭīkā* by Karmavajra, bsTan agyur, LXVII.

The rTa bdag are:

	to the right	to the left	colour
to the East: Jambhala	symbol gem	MONGOOSE	yellow
to the South: Gañ ba bzañ po	vase		yellow
to the West: Nor bu bzañ po	gem		white
to the North: Kubera	sword		blue
to the S. E.: Yañ dag šes	scimitar		yellow
to the S. W.: aBrog gnas	lance		yellow
to the N. W.: lNa rtseñ	pagoda of gems		pale yellow
to the N. W.: aJam po ak'yil pa	sword and shield		white

The names correspond respectively to: Jambhala, Pūrṇabhadra, Mañibhadra, Kubera, Sañjaya, (on him see *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* chap. 12, Sañjñeya) Āṭavaka, Pañcika, Mrḍukundalin.

Thus we see that the list only in part corresponds to that of Vaiśravaṇa's eight brothers and hence of the Yakṣas, which is given by other sources, for instance by Taishō, 1796, 1 and is quoted on this base by the Hōbōgirin (Mañibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Pañcika, Śātagiri, Haimavata, Viśakha, Āṭavaka, Pañcāla).

In the third corridor are placed the eight nāgas, accompanied by their various retinues.

The second corridor is divided into two orders (*rim pa*). In the first are represented the following 28 govenors (*sde dpon*) of the Yakṣas (their list is also in KARMAVAJRA's treatise, p. 14):

To the East:

Riñ po Gañ po
Mig bzañs Ser skya

To the South:

Señ ge

Duñ can (or Dus can,
Karmavajra)

Ñe bai señ ge

dGa' bo

To the West:

Señ ge

Bla ma

Señ gei ral pa can

Ser skya

To the North:

aDsin pa

brTson skyoñ

aDsin dga' (adsin pa
dag, Karmavajra)

K'yab ajug

To the South-East: Ts'ig(s) lña ser po

To the South-West: Ri mñam

To the North-West: Ser c'en

To the North-East: lNa skyoñ (lNa spyod
Karmavajra)

and further on the zenith: Sa pa: Šin tu
sa pa; Nag po; Ñe nag po. Then, in the
intermediate space: Ñi, Zla, Me, rLuñ.

Iconographically, they are all alike; they clasp a sword in their right hand and hold a shield in their left.

In the third order are found the 32 *sTobs c'en* (mahābala), called by the *Mahāmāyūrī* the Dharmabhrātṛ, Vaiśravaṇa's brothers according to the Law, listed according to the *Āṭanātikasūtra*, ed. Hoffman, pp. 72 and 100, and Karmavajra, p. 14 ff. (cfr. *Mahāmāyūrī*, ed. OLDENBURG, *Zapiski*, 1897-98, pp. 236-237):

To the East:

dBañ po

Indra

Zla ba

Soma

C'u lha

Varuṇa

sKye dgui bdag po

Prajāpati

brDol pairgyal mts'an (in the *Āṭanātikasūtra*
and in Buston: Bha-
radvāja)

dBañ ldan

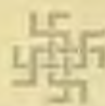
Iśāna

Tsan da na

Candana

aDod pai gtso

Kāmaśreṣṭha



To the South:

mGrin nian	(Kunikaṇṭha, in <i>Ma-</i> <i>bāsābasrapr.</i> : Maṇi- kaṇṭha)
mGul nes	Nikaṇṭha
Bha ti (Baḍi)	(<i>Ātānātikasūtra</i> : sTobs ldan = Balin)
Nor bu spyod pa	Maṇicāra
sGra rab	Praṇāda
Ñe rtser lña	Upapañcaka
Ri mñam	Sātāgiri

To the West:

gSer can	Haimavata
Gaṇ po	Pūrṇaka
Señ lden	Khadira
gYon can	Kovida
Ba lañ skyon (Bu- ston: ba glañ)	Gopāla
aBrog gnas	Ātāvaka
Mii rgyal po	Nararāja
rGyal bai k'yu mc'og	Jinaṣabha

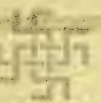
To the North:

Ts'igs lña ser po	Pañcālaganḍa
bZin bzan	Sumukha (in <i>Ātānā-</i> <i>ṭikasūtra</i> : Yid dga', Sumana)
Riñ po	Dīrgha
sNa ts'ogs sde	Citrasena (Karmavajra: Nags ts'ogs sde Cittravanasena)
Dri za	Gandharva
aBras bu gsum pa	Triphalin
mGul pa gsum pa	Trikaṇṭha
lCags mduñ riñ po	Dīrghaśakti
(lha las abyun bai)	Mātali
Ma ldan	

They are all equally dressed as warriors, hold a lance in their right hand and the sword in the left; they are attended by their retinue. In the outer corridor are the ten P'yogs skyon, the eight planets (gZa'), the 28 constellations, gods, nāga, Dri za, Yakṣa.

Then a list of protectors of the big places follows, which is similar to that contained in the *Mabāsābasrapr.* (p. 15).

places	deities
1-2. The sun and the moon surrounded by constellations	—
1. Pūṣpa	gSer gyi yan lag (but in the <i>Mabāsābasrapr.</i> Suvarṇavarṇa)
2. Magadha	aJigs byed (Rabheyaka)
3. gSo bai mt'a' (Bharukaccha)	Mi t'od can (Kāpalin)
4. Ko śa la (Kośala)	Rab tu dkar (Prapuṇḍaka)
5. Bzan poi yul (Bhadra, Madra)	K'a spu can (Śucīloma)
6. Gyad kyi yul (Malla)	Grag pa ḍsin (Yasódhara)
7. lNa ḍsin pa (Pañcāla)	sKrag byed pa (Vibhīṣaṇa)
8. rTa skye ba (Aśvaja)	Mig dmar (Lohitākṣa)
9. Sruñ byed pa (Avanti)	Ser skya (Piṅgala)
10. Sems dpa' (?)	Mig ser po (Kapilākṣa)
11. Beu las (Vatsa)	Bum pai lto (Kumbhodara)
12. dGa' bai yul (Sūrata)	Riñ por skyes (Dīrghila)
13. Ba lan ḍsin (Gandhāra)	Rab tu ajoms (Pramardana)
14. Duñ yul (Kambu)	Ñi mai gñen (Sūryamitra)



Then many other yakṣa are displayed in the maṇḍala of Vaiśravaṇa, as protectors of minor places, according to a catalogue very similar to that of the *Mahāmāyūrī*.

This, then, is another scheme of India's geographical division among various deities, less ample than the one of the *Mahāmāyūrī* but equivalent to it and reduced to its essentials.

Vaiśravaṇa as king of the Yakṣas accepts as his acolytes numberless local gods that, as *naivāsika*, were supposed to rule over a certain space upon earth. The plan of their catalogues is always the same: the four principal points of the compass, four intermediate points, nadir and zenith viz., the spacial expansion of the world with special regards to the earth inhabited by men.

Through these geographical catalogues, extremely common in Vajrayāna (besides this one, from the *Pañcarakṣā*, we can quote another, of the 24 divisions of the Vajrakāya, projected upon the earth according to bDe mc'og's cycle), Buddhism definitely included

in its pantheon stubborn survivals of India's native and primitive religions, which the masses, though converted to new and loftier doctrines, could never forget. Vaiśravaṇa's cycle, from this point of view, is one of the most interesting, because in it this process of assimilation, accomplished by Buddhism in India and then outside India, is revealed in its clearest and fullest form, by transferring into Vajrayāna that manifold world of the Yakṣas, with which India's religious experiences begin their history.

This character of Vaiśravaṇa by which he absorbed non-Buddhist gods explains his popularity in Tibet; his acolytes showed great analogies with the aboriginal deities; the *naivāsika* gods introduced in his cycle had the same nature as the *Sa bdag* and the *gNan*. In this way the *Pañcarakṣā* and its allied texts gave the Tibetan masters an opportunity to give a Buddhist garb to aboriginal gods so rooted in the souls of the people that it was impossible definitely to dispose of them.



TANKA n. 142.

An undefined deity: male or female? It has six arms and seems to be represented as an ascetic, with long hair and earrings. Above, on each side, rDo rje ac'añ yab yum and the Buddha; on each side and below, the donors.

TANKA n. 143 (Plate T).

It is one of the most beautiful *ser t'añ* in the collection. On the golden background the lines traced in black develop, clear-cut and flexible; the uniformity of the gold is interrupted by short red flames, blazing up and playing all round the deities of the *sruñ k'or* and by the flowers. On the throne very slight touches of blue.

The painting represents an aBrug pa master, perhaps the actual founder of the sect. Above, in the centre, Śākyamuni, on the left Ts'e dpag med, on the right, another master of the same school. Below, Beg tse and a bTsan.

TANKAS nn. 144-147 (Plates 178-180, U).

They are all by the same author and also numbered so as to form a cycle.

Tanka n. 144 represents Heruka; this god's manifestations are multiplied in small figures surrounding the central image; they only differ in this, that the latter is represented with 16 arms and eight heads, while the former represent him with only two arms and one head. Among the figures of the lower plane, mixed with other patterns, the seven gems.

Below the inscription:

Om svasti

*adi bskrun (sic) dge ba gañ žig t'ob pa des
dpal ldan bla ma rnam kyī žabs brten ciñ
bdag dañ mk'a' mñams sems can ma lus pa
be ru ka gi go p'an t'ob p'yir bsño*

"May the merit born of this (work) be devolved to the spiritual welfare of beings infinite as space, in such a manner that they, adoring the foot of the glorious masters, may obtain Heruka's spiritual condition,,.

As the other tankas have no inscriptions, it is clear that this one is the centre of the cycles; the others develop round the deity as its acolytes and emanations. For Heruka see what I wrote in *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part II, p. 6; cfr. J. PRZYLUŠKI, *Heruka-Sambara* in *Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, I, 1937.

Tanka n. 145 (Plate U) represents the white Tārā; she has already been mentioned in *Indo-Tibetica* and in the present book; there is no need of dwelling on her.

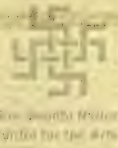
Tanka n. 146 represents aJigs byed; on his buffalo's head, the head of aJam dpal, whose terrific emanation he is; this god's image is also represented in the centre of his breast, to signify the essential identity of the two divinities.

Tanka n. 147 represents rNam par rgyal ma, with six arms, according to traditional iconography (see, for instance, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 201).

She is better known by the name of gTsug gtor mam par rgyal ma, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, and as such, various sādhana of the SM are dedicated to her. She has two, or eight arms, and in Tibet there is a liturgy, dedicated to her, which goes back to Maitrīpā. In our times, with the Yellow school, wide circulation is being given to a handbook of the Pañ cen bsTan pai ñi ma, called bCom ldan ādas rnam par rgyal mai sgrub dkyil ac'i med bdud rtsii bum byañ.

TANKA n. 148 (Plate 181).

It represents rDo rje gžon nu, i. e. rDo rje p'ur ba. We shall come back to this picture when illustrating tanka n. 167.



TANKA n. 149 (Plate 182).

This tanka, representing multiplications of the god pictured in the centre, is dedicated to rNam par snañ mdsad, that is to Vairocana, in the aspect proper to the Durgatipariśodha-na's heaven (*Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 119 ff.).

As I have discussed this god at length in *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 106 ff. I am now dispensed from saying anything further about him.

TANKAS nn. 150, 151 (Plates 183, 184).

These two tanka belong to the same series: on the red background the figures are drawn in gold. In tanka n. 150 the lesser ones develop round the central figure, representing rDo rje sñiñ pos rab tu ajom pa, surrounded by a choir of other personages; beginning from the first one above on the left, they are:

N. 150. Tsañ dan dpal, Candanaśrī
C'u lhai lha, Varuṇadeva
'Od dpal, Prabhāśrī
Tsañs pai 'od zer, Brahmajyotir
mTs'an dpal šin tu yoñs grags, Supra-
kīrtitanāmaśrī
Mi ak'rugs pa, Akṣobhya
rNam par gñon pas gšegs pa, Vikrān-
tagāmiśrī
Šin tu rnam par gñon pa, Suvikrāntaśrī
Nor dpal, Dhanaśrī
Sred med kyi bu, Nārāyaṇa

N. 151. In the centre: Śa kya t'ub pa
dPa' boi sde, Virasena
Rin c'en 'od ap'ro, Ratnārcih
dPal dgyes, Śrīnandin (CLARK, LP,
p. 246, n. 87: Vikramanandin; dpa'
for dpal)
Rin c'en zla 'od, Ratnacandraprabha
Rin c'en zla ba, Ratnacandra
Ts'añs pas byin, Brahmadata
Ts'an pa (=Ts'añs pa), Brahmā
Dri ma med pa, Vimala
dPal sbyin, Śrīdatta (CLARK, LP: Śura-
datta; dpa' for dpal)

Thus we see represented here those Bud-dhas we have very often found before as a secondary subsidiary cycle; they belong to the group of the lTuñ bšags, the Buddhas invoked during the confession of sins. We have already spoken about them above.

TANKA n. 152 (Plate 185).

This painting, of an extremely accurate design, is not precisely a *gser t'añ*, because the gold is deftly blended with silver; this gives the picture a fascinating sheen and subtlety. The figures, drawn with an exquisitely accurate touch, emerge, willow-slender, out of the diaphanous background, like a landscape just awakened, breaking loose from the night-mist, kissed by the sun's first rays. In the centre Mi skyod pa, Akṣobhya, stands out, his right hand in bhūmisparśamudrā, his left, the palm outstretched, supports the vertical rdo rje. The god, encircled with light by a double halo, is seated in the centre of a pavilion of Chinese style; under him unfolds a pageant of praying monks, nine on each side; the number eighteen would suggest the 18 arhat, and in this case we should infer that the painter, neglecting all the particular symbols which belong to each of the 18 keepers of the Law, has wished to represent them all together, as a uniform group. Then eight bodhisattvas represent Byañ c'ub sems dpa' brgyad's well known cycle. They are (see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, pp. 101 and 149, cfr. *sTon pa ñe bai sras brgyad ak'or dan bcas dkyil ak'or gcig tu mc'od ciñ bšags sbyon bya bai c'o ga rgyal sras dgyes pai lam ajug in sGrub t'abs kun btus*):

1. aJam dpal gžon nur gyur pa
2. sPyan ras gzigs dbañ p'yug
3. rDo rje adsin pa
4. Byams pa mgon po
5. Sai sñiñ po
6. sGrib pa t'ams cad rnam par sel ba
7. Nam mk'ai sñiñ po
8. Kun tu bzañ po



In *Indo-Tibetica* (*ibid.*) their meaning is explained.

In the two lower edges, two small temples with figures; in the interior, four on each side, eight figures of praying deities; there is no doubt that they represent the eight mC'od pai lha mo. On the right and on the left of the central figure, inside two pagodas, two images of the same god. The tanka represents, reduced to its essential lines, Akṣobhya's heaven, of which we have seen a much more remarkable specimen, from the iconographical point of view. Above, over Akṣobhya's head: rDo rje sems dpa' yab yum. Then, on each side and above, on the upper frame, eight images of

Akṣobhya resting on clouds which unfold their soft coils in the sky, perhaps to represent the multiplication of the god's images, which are offered to the contemplating devotee's meditation, when he is born again in the heaven presided over by Akṣobhya.

TANKA n. 153 (Plates 186, V).

Amitābha in the center; above, Amitāyuh. Gods, Bodhisattvas, monks and heavenly places are represented round the central figure. Probably the tanka is connected with the revelation of some book which I am not in a position to determine.



TANKAS OF THE M̐GON K'ANS

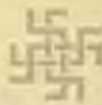
TANKA n. 154 (Celesia di Vigliasco collection) (Plate 187).

This tanka represents the C'os rgyal p'yi sgrub, i. e. the king of Death in his exoteric form.²⁷¹ He is also commonly known as gšin rje c'os kyi rgyal po. He has the face of a buffalo and two hands; in the right he brandishes the *t'od dbyug*, the club surmounted by a skull; the left, in the threatening mudrā, grasps a noose: he has three eyes, blazing like the fire that will consume the universe at the end of the cosmic aeons. On his left is represented Cāmuṇḍī, black, with red and yellow hair: she wears an elephant skin on her shoulders and grasps a trident and a skull-cap. They both ride buffalo. In the centre of the tanka, above, is represented a Jam dpal, on whose right stands Tsoṅ k'a pa; next other masters. Round the god, who lifts his club, a crowd of terrific creatures hovers weirdly; they brandish weapons, they twist their muscular bodies in violent contortions, as if swept away by a hellish fury; they rush off as though a hurricane scattered them about. But it is their inner fierceness which moves them and flings them into space with a sort of devouring frenzy. Some of them are female figures, although their monstrous aspect all but abolishes any distinction of sex: all the images are mingled in the same horror. But they can be recognized by their foul, pears-shaped breasts, hanging down huge and flabby. The female deities represent some of the 12 *ma mo c'en mo*, the King of Death's messengers, "the great mothers", described in liturgical literature as: gšin rjei p'o ṅa mo, black, with a hook, Dus kyi žags pa ma, black, with a noose; gšin rje dam sri ma nag mo, with a club; gšin rje sreg ma, black, with a tooth; Dus mts'an ma,

gSod ma, Nag mo, Nam gru, Ša ga li, gšin rje p'ebś ma, gšin rje mts'an mo, black. Some ride a three-legged mule, some an ass, another rides the wind, or a black bird; some carry a mirror on which are reflected the deceased's works and sins, some a bag containing diseases, or they carry a dagger, or a *bdud kyi k'ram šin*, the club with which demons are executed. Male figures also belong to the interminable retinue of the God of Death, supreme judge of those who have passed into the next world. These male figures belong to the troop of *dam can* who "take their joy of flesh, wallow in blood, are lacking in pity", (*gšin rje c'os kyi rgyal po p'yi sgrub la brten pai gtor c'en drug cu pai rnam gžag lag len dga' don gyi rim pa* of Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pai ṅi ma, Pañ c'en of Tashilunpo, complete works, vol. *Ta*, p. 5).

The god then is surrounded, in our tanka, by other demons of his numerous retinue: according to the most widespread liturgies, the C'os rgyal rules over an innumerable troop of creatures, among whom the following are the most eminent, and dwell around the central god, in eight iron castles: they are the eight great Yama: Yayāti, carrying a club; P'yva bsañś, carrying a cakra; rMig pa, carrying a pole on which criminals are impaled (*gsal šin*); Ral pa mts'ar dgu can, carrying a spear, dressed as a king, or as a minister or a general; gšin rje mig dmar, carrying a pole on which criminals are impaled; Tel pa, with a wheel; Glan mgo can, with a noose.

Hence it is clear that this cycle is a composite one, in the sense that it does not draw its inspiration from Indian sādhanā, but has been elaborated in Tibet, by joining Indian intuitions to native religious traditions. Thus side by side with Yayāti, the first ancestor according to some Indian myths, we find



P'yva bsans,²⁷² who is a Bon po god; (a P'yva sans 'ol la at'en is mentioned in the *Bon rgyal rabs*). rMig, "the hoof,, seems to have the same origin, and Ral pa mts'ar dgu can, "the god bearing nine wonderful manes,, too. The title *ral pa can* is common in the pre-Buddhist mythology of Tibet: we should remember, for instance, the lion having a turquoise mane, who mounts watch over glaciers, in the Ladakh wedding-songs.

With the eight iron castles, in which the eight Yama rule, the Indian influence is again evident; they are modelled on the eight hells of the most ancient Buddhist traditions.

In a second external circle, in 12 iron castles, the 12 great Ma mo' described above.

In 15 more iron castles, fifteen P'yogs skyon.

Then the eight Lha c'en, the eight Klu, the four Jig rten skyon, the 28 Nakṣatra, the 9 ajigs byed c'en po, the 75 bTsan.

TANKA n. 155 (Plate 188).

This tanka represents the C'os rgyal p'yi sgrub, like tanka n. 154, whose explanation may be consulted. Above, aJam dpal, on the right Mi gyo ba; on the left figures of a lama; below on the left, a bTsan on horseback, belonging to the god's retinue.

TANKA n. 156.

It represents the God of Death aC'i bdag nag po gšin rje, who emerges from the seventh circle under the earth, in the South. He, unlike the p'yi sgrub form we have already met, has no śakti; his symbols too are different: he does ride a buffalo and has a buffalo's head and two hands, but in his left hand he carries the noose he uses to seize and tie the bGegs, and in his right he brandishes a club (*dbjug pa*) (see *dPal rdor rje ajigs byed rnal abyor dan ahebs drug cu rtsa bži gtor c'og gi dga' don k'ams gsum zil gnon*, by TĀRANĀTHA, complete works, vol. t'a, p. 16).

Round the figure flutter p'o ña and p'o ña mo, male and female messengers of the god of death.

TANKAS nn. 157-160 (Plates 189-193).

These tankas represent various modulations of the same theme and contain the same type, rendered according to different iconographical patterns: rDo rje ajigs byed, Vajrabhairava, Mañjuśrī's terrific manifestation expelling and suppressing the forces adverse to law and goodness. He triumphs even over death, because when passions are extinguished and the darkness of error is dispelled, continual rebirths come to an end and nirvana is achieved. In *Indo-Tibetica* (III, part II, p. 76 ff.) I have already dealt with this god and his meaning according to the esoteric schools of Tantrism; I shall refer the reader to those pages.

The liturgical literature concerning him, which is extremely vast, is divided into two groups: in one of them Vajrabhairava is represented alone, according to the type of the *ekavīra*, the "lonely hero,,; the other type shows him with his śakti (i. e. *yab yum*). Tankas nn. 159, 160 (Plates 192, 193), belong to the latter current, nn. 157, 158 (Plates 189, 191) to the former. I will add that tankas nn. 159, 160, come from dGe lugs pa schools and probably from Tashilunpo; indeed one of them, n. 160 is copied from a woodcut engraved in the Tashilunpo monastery.

Tanka n. 157 does not represent the most common cycle of his acolytes, the one described in detail by the Lotsāva of Rva, preferred by Lamaist liturgy up to this day. Round the flaming halo which encircles him on every side and frames the god's black bulk with red, are painted the eight cemeteries symbolizing the eightfold conscious activity which keeps us bound to life and hence to death: indeed, they are the kingdom of death, which gnosis, impersonated by rDo rje ajigs

byed, annihilates and destroys. Next, framed by a sinuous design of twining climbers and tendrils, we see the figures of lamas: the masters who have been initiated into this god's mysteries and have handed on his secret experiences. In the centre, above, two small figures of rDo rje aḥ'añ, one white and the other black, on the very axis of the tanka, to represent the essential relation binding the various divine emanations together; below, under the throne, donors and bearers of offerings, kneeling round a lama and minor deities: Jambhala the dispenser of wealth, Bya rog gdon can, the four-armed mGon po, dPal ldan lha mo, gŠin rje and various figures of Tārā, the goddess of compassion - Uṣṇiṣavijayā.

In tanka n. 159 (Plate 192) we see, above, Tson k'a pa between two disciples: on the left of the spectator rDo rje sems dpa', on the right aJam dpa'. Below, on the left, slob dpon bsTan p'el, and on the right rje btsun Blo bzañ ye šes dpa' bzañ po, Pañ cen of Tashilunpo. On each side of the god sGrol ma and Ts'e dpag med. Below, Tra kšad nag po, mGon po p'yag bži, C'os rgyal, rNam t'os sras.

In tanka n. 160 (Plate 193) in the centre, above, a lama who, as he carries a wheel on the palm of his hand, can only be a Dalai Lama, and precisely the fifth Blo bzañ rgya mts'o (see tanka n. 46). On the spectator's right, dPal aḥ'or lo sdom pa, on the left gSañ ba aḍus pa; on the god's four sides: to the right, Yid bžin nor bu dkar po, mGon po p'yag bži pa, on the left mGon po p'yag drug pa and Gur mgon. Below the C'os rgyal between another aspect of mGon po p'yag bži pa and dPal ldan lha mo. Below rNam t'os sras, Beg tse between two deities on horseback; the one on the right is lNa yi dge bsñen c'en po (fig. in lNa yi dam c'os bsruñs rnams la brten pai bka' bsgo byed ts'ul dan lha srin sde rgyad klu sogs la c'ab šog bka' bsgoi rim pa p'yogs gcig tu bsdebs; see also tanka n. 120).

Below, in the centre, Mahākāla, two-armed; his right hand brandishes the *gri gug* in the left a skull-cap; on his left dPal ldan lha mo and on his right one of his messengers.

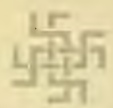
TANKA n. 161 (Plate 194).

It represents rNam par ajoms, as K'ro rgyal, i. e. rDo rje sems dpa's angry form, with his typical symbols, the vajra and the bell. Around, images of lamas and terrific deities; below, in the first row, various aspects of Lo ma gyon ma, (Pārṇaśavarī), in the second row, sGrol ma, rNam par rgyal ma, dPal ldan lha mo, rDor rje sems dpa', aJigs rten dbaṅ p'yug, mGon po with six arms.

TANKAS nn. 162, 163 (Plates 195, 196).

These are two representations belonging to different schools and different epochs, but to the same cycle. Both represent the six-armed mGon po po p'yag drug or Ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug; one of them, Tanka n. 162, comes from Western Tibet, belongs to the Guge school and may be placed between the XVIth and the XVIIth centuries; the second was bought in Gyantse, but from Tashilunpo monks; it cannot be earlier than the XVIIIth century. The mGon po p'yag drug is one of the *yi dam*, protecting deities, most widespread in Tibet; although his popularity is greater with the Sa skya school and the dGe lugs pa, he is not ignored by the other sects. His omnipotence, whose help is invoked against the powers of evil, is acknowledged by all, and everyone bows in awe before him. In fact the mGon po p'yag drug is a symbol of the warlike (*k'ro bo*), power of Mi bskyod pa which reduces to dust demons (*bdud*) and forces adverse to the Law (p. 1).

The origin of this cult must be sought in India: as we read in the *Grub t'abs kun btus* (vol. Ta: dPal ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug pai sgrub t'abs rjes gnañ dan bcas pai skor rnams) it is derived from a vision of this god, seen by



Śavari-pā in the cemetery of bSil pai ts'al in Southern India; he then wrote on his vision a *sādhana*, called precisely *Adiṣṭhānamabākala-sādhana* (bsTan agyur XXVI, p. 79 and LXXXII, p. 95, cfr. SM, II, p. 590). The method of meditating which leads to the god's epiphany in the evocative process based upon him, was transmitted by Śavari-pā to Maitrī-pā, who then revealed it to Abhiyuktapāda, and the latter to Advayavajra, this to K'yuñ po rnal abyor: with this master its penetration and diffusion in Tibet begins.

This god, commonly known also by the name of Myur mdsad in the liturgical literature which concerns him, is hardly ever alone: rather he is the centre, the essential deity, *gtso bo*, of a cycle of other deities which surround him: he cannot be considered separately from these acolytes, to whom he is joined in the unity of the maṇḍala. In fact the present two pictures are also maṇḍala, one more the other less complete, of the tantric cycle dedicated to Ye šes mgon po p'yag drug.

When we remember Ye šes mgon po's popularity in Tibet, it will not be surprising to find that the liturgical literature concerning him is very rich: I shall select some of the most significant and widespread *sādhana*s, which will enable us to understand in all its details the symbolism of these two paintings and thence to determine the sects which inspired them. I will quote, to begin with, two works by Tāranātha: *dPal ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug pai sgrub t'abs gtor c'o ga dañ bcas pa* (complete works, vol. ma) and: *dPal ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug pai sgrub t'abs gtor mai c'o ga dañ bcas pai ap'rin las gter mdsod*. Next the: *Myur mdsad ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug pa la mc'od bstod t'ugs dam bskañ pai rim pa*, by the Pañ c'e lama Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pai ñi ma. The difference between the construction of the maṇḍala in either text is of the slightest, as both are derived from the *sādhana* already quoted by Śavari-pā.

The mystic, in the evocative process, or the painter who starts from it in painting his

tanka, begin from the pedestal on which the god is standing; this pedestal symbolizes a cemetery, the Mi bzad dur k'rod, from which a lotus springs, issuing from the syllable *pam*; on the lotus, from the syllable *ram*, the sun will rise; from the sun a white elephant, will be born viz. Ts'ogs bdag po, Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa). Above Gaṇapati, the black bulk of Myur mdsad ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug's body, corpulent and monstrous, like those storm-clouds which, at the end of aeons, will cover the world to dissolve it in the cosmic waters. He is represented with a face, three eyes and six hands. His hair is standing on end; on the top of his head he carries Mi bskyod pa's image, his hands on the right clasp the *rdo rje gri gug*, i. e. the crooked knife whose hilt has the form of a *rdo rje*, a crown of skulls, a *damaru*; his hands on the left side hold a skull-cap filled with the flesh and blood of the demons he has annihilated, a trident and a noose. He wears a *dboti* (*šam t'abs*) made out of a tiger's skin, bound round his waist by a green girdle (*ske rags*); his ornaments are the eight serpents, one of which binds his hair; he wears a garland made of skulls, yellow earrings (*snan c'a*), armlets (*dpun rgyan*) proper to terrific deities, white necklace (*mgul rgyan*), yellow bracelets (*lag gdub*), green scarf (*do šal*), white rings on his toes (*rkañ gdub*); on his arms and legs bells hanging from chains. Round his waist he wears a band from which are suspended 50 human heads, freshly struck off; he wears the *rus rgyan*, i. e. the apron made of human bones. Around him, as his acolytes, are placed:

To the left: *dPal ldan lha mo adod k'ams dbaṇ p'yug ma*, two-armed; in her right hand she clasps, shaking it in the air, the *bdud kyi k'ram šin*, in her left the bag containing diseases: (in the second treatise she has four arms; on the right sword and *gri gug*, on the left a flag and a skull-cap). She rides a wild ass (see tankas nn. 170-173).

Opposite: the Yakṣa Kṣe tra pā la,²⁷³ black: in his right hand he clasps and shakes the *gri*

gug, terrifying gods and Asuras, in the left he holds a skull full of blood, lifted on a level with his heart. He rides a black bear.

To the right: dBañ p'yug dsi na mi tra, (Jinamitra)²⁷⁴ dark red, he has the aspect of an angry yakṣa: from his mouth issue smoke and fire, in his right hand he holds the *ḍamaru* and a flame starts from the palm of his left hand in *tarjanīmudrā*.

Behind: gŠin rje Tak ki rā dsa,²⁷⁵ black; in his right hand he clasps a noose made with guts, in the act of flinging it towards his enemies; his left hand is in the threatening *mudrā* (*tarjanīmudrā*).

To the left: bDud mgon Tra kṣad,²⁷⁶ black; in his right hand a trident with which he pierces the hearts of his enemies, in his left a skull-cap full of blood; he wears a black silken cloak with a train (*ajol ber*) and leather boots (*sag tir lham*); he rides a black horse.

Around, the ten keepers of the ten regions:

East. – rGya byin, yellow, on an elephant, with rdo rje.

South-East. – Me lha on a goat with a rosary.

South. – gŠin rje, blue, on a buffalo, with a club (*dbyug t'o*).

South-West. – Srin po, dark, on a ghost, with a sword.

West. – C'u lha, white, on a *makara*, with a serpent-noose.

North-West. – rLuñ lha, green, on a stag, with a banner.

North-East. – Byuñ po, white, on an elephant, with a trident, embracing Gau rī ma.

Above. – Ts'añs pa, yellow, on a swan, with a vase.

Below. – Sa bdag, black, on a boar, with a flaming gem.

The comparison between the present liturgical pattern and the two tanka clearly proves the close dependence of the latter from the ritualistic pattern.

It is therefore clear that the tankas are inspired by traditional liturgy – the most ancient with a wealth of details, the other more concisely.

In tanka n. 162 (Plate 195), the god's frightful figure towers darkly in the centre, enveloped by a smoky halo: on his left the four-armed dPal ldan lha mo, on his right gŠin rje Takkirāja – below, in the centre, on a black bear, the yakṣa Kṣetrapāla, on the left dBañ p'yug Jinamitra and on the right, on a black horse, bDud mgon Tra kṣad; on each side of Kṣetrapāla a blama and rNam t'os sras; the yakṣas at the god's feet are evidently his messengers. To the right and to the left, the 10 P'yogs skyon unfold according to the iconography described by Tāranātha. Above, on each side, four coupled figures probably represent four mK'a agro ma, according to a cycle represented, for instance, in the Tsaparang frescoes (*Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, Plate LVII). On the flaming halo arranged round his head, small figures representing Mi k'rugs pa, on the top, a white rDo rje sems dpa', P'yag rdor with skull and rdo rje, mK'a agro ma with one head and two arms (small drum – *can te'u* – and skull). Above, in the centre, the symbol of supreme reality. On each side of rDo rje ac'añ the *bla ma rgyud*, i. e. the series of the masters through which the initiatic transmission took place. According to Tāranātha, the masters invoked in the liturgical ceremonies are: Śavari, Maitrī, Rāhula, K'yuñ po rnal abyor, Ratnavīrya, Dharmasimha, Dharmavajra, Vīryasimha, Šaṇ ston c'os rje, etc. This means that here is repeated, briefly summarized, the *bla ma brgyud* mentioned in the colophon of bsTan agyur LXXXII, p. 95: Śavari, Maitripā, Abhiyuktapāda, Advayavajra, K'yuñ po rnal abyor, Rin c'en brtson grus (Ratnavīrya), C'os kyi señ ge (Dharmasimha), C'os kyi šes rab, brTson grus señ ge (Vīryasimha), Ts'ul k'rims abum, rGyal mts'an abum, Byams pai dpal, dPal bzañ po, Grub c'en, C'os abyuñ rin c'en, Kun dga' dpal bzañ po.

On the second tanka (Plate 196) are represented only dPal ldan lha mo on the right, but with two arms, according to Tāranātha's first treatise, on the left Kṣetrapāla, in

the centre Tra kṣad, above on the left dBaṅ p'yug Dsi na mitra, on the right Ṭakkirāja. Around, cemetery scenes, which not only are explained by the relation of identity between this manifestation of sPyan ras gzigs and Mahākāla, but are also meant to remind the spectator of that cemetery bSil pa ts'al where he revealed himself to the great ascetic Śavara-pā.

Above on this tanka Tson k'a pa's figure between his two principal disciples, shows to which sect this picture must be assigned.

From an artistic point of view, tanka n. 162 is very important because in it we notice two different styles displayed side by side; the painting, as we have said, comes from Guge; the representation of the central deity, of the masters, of the Tantric deities below and on the upper edges, is similar to other paintings of this same school and does not differ from the Tsaparang frescoes, but the 10 P'yogs skyoṅ, the protectors of the 10 points of space, are represented according to artistic patterns which have little to do with India.

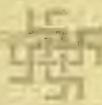
In Tsaparang, the capital of Western Tibet, a great art centre, I have discovered other representations of this same cycle: they all follow Indian models, although sometimes the imitations attempted by Tibetan craftsmen have become somewhat stiff. But in the present painting, there is no trace of India. As in Vaiśravaṇa's cycle, the model followed by the painter can only be Central Asian. Why, in representing this cycle of 10 P'yogs skyoṅ, has he introduced this motive, which disagrees artistically with the general tone of the tanka? The only reason we can give is that the painter, or the school to which he belonged, had at their disposal a model derived from Central Asian originals. Of course it is a question of stylistic difference, of a different manner, which appears above all in the armour, in the type of apparel, in the features of the face, certainly not in the symbols, which remain those fixed by iconographic tradition.

TANKAS nn. 164-166 (Plates 197, 198, X).

These tankas represent two aspects of rTa mgrin, Hayagrīva. This god, common to the Hindu and to the mahāyānic pantheon, has travelled all over Asia, with Buddhism. A Dutch orientalist, Van Gulik, has written a fine monograph about him; anyone wanting further information concerning this divinity's vicissitudes and fortunes, should read it.²⁷⁷ The second aspect represented in these two tankas however is not described in the *sādhana*s published by Van Gulik, but it corresponds to formulas for meditation, followed in Tibet to this day. I allude, for instance, to the *rTa mgrin yaṅ gsaṅ k'ros pai sgrub t'abs daṅ yaṅ gsaṅ gi smon agrel* of the Paṅ c'en lama Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan bstan pai ṅi ma, complete works, vol. *ta*.

In this liturgical treatise is described K'ro boi rgyal po rta mgrin's image (p. 11), of a red colour, with three faces and six arms; the central face is red, the left one green, the right one red: over the three faces issue three horse's heads, of a dark green colour. The hands on the right hold respectively a rdo rje, a trident and a sword; the first hand on the left is in the threatening mudrā, the other two brandish an arrow and a noose made of human guts. He has eight feet, which trample on eight snakes. He wears the usual ornaments of terrific deities. As we see, the Paṅ c'en lama's *sādhana* corresponds to the figure represented in the tanka n. 160 (Plate 197), with a small difference: in the second hand on the right the trident is replaced by a *khatvāṅga*; in the second hand on the left an arrow replaces the trident. Above, standing, two bodhisattvas: P'yag rdor and P'yag na pad ma.²⁷⁸

Tanka n. 165 (Plate 198) represents the same god in *yab yum* form. This aspect too has three faces and six arms; the face on the right is white, the central one red and the left one green. His hands on the right grasp a lotus, a hook, a club (*be con*). In his hands, on the



left a skull-cap full of blood (*ban dmar*), a noose made of guts and a sword. Apparel and ornaments are those of the wrathful deities. On his shoulders, rDo rje k'yuñ's wings.

He embraces the Yum c'en Pad ma gar dban, of a dark blue colour, with one face and two hands: her right hand grasps a heart dripping blood, her left a skull-cap (*duñ c'en*) full of blood.

Above the god sGrol ma, surrounded by monks in various attitudes. Below mGon po, four-armed, the C'os rgyal, dPal ldan lha mo, then two mK'a' agro ma on a wolf(?), rNam t'os sras and lCam sriñ.

Tanka n. 166 (Plate X), reproduces the same type represented in tanka n. 164. Only the acolytes in the lower portion are different. In the centre lCam sriñ (see tanka n. 175), with bTsan rgod on his left and Rig pai lha mo on his right (*ibid.*). Above dPal ldan lha mo and a particular aspect of mGon po.

TANKA n. 167 (Plate 199).

This tanka represents the same god which we have seen in tanka n. 148, rDo rje p'ur bu, the deification of the *pur bu*, the magic nail, *kīla*, with which the exorcist nails to a given surface the hostile forces, after having vanquished them and rendered them harmless by virtue of the *mantra*. rDo rje p'ur bu is thus another instance of the deification of liturgical instruments or of ritual formulas. Mantrayāna Buddhism offers some extremely remarkable examples of this. The rÑiñ ma pa, particularly devoted to exorcistic rites, contributed to the great diffusion of rDo rje p'ur bu's Tantric cult, next the Sa skya pa followed. The dGe lugs pa could not remain indifferent to a deity which the other schools had included among the most powerful and awe-inspiring C'os skyon and mGon po: therefore they too became interested in his liturgies: in fact tanka n. 114 comes from the Yellow School, while the other is

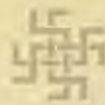
assigned by Padmasambhava's image to the rÑiñ ma pa sect. This form of rDo rje p'ur bu is also known by the name of mT'ar byed rdo rje gžon nu, or simply rDo rje gžon nu (Vajrakumāra), as to whose liturgy it is well to read, for instance, the dPal rdo rje gžon nu dkyil ak'or gyi c'o ga bdud ajoms rol pa, by Tāranātha (complete works, vol. ja).

As to the god's essence, the Vajrayāna states this god to be an aspect of Heruka K'ro boi rgyal po.²⁷⁹ He is represented with three heads, six hands and four feet, the face on the right white, the left one red, the central one dark blue and bearing three eyes. He has six hands: the first pair on the left clasp the nine-branched rdo rje and the five-branched rdo rje, the first hand on the left is in the threatening mudrā, the second brandishes a trident. In the last pair of hands he grasps the *p'ur bu* - embracing his *śakti* or *yum*. With his legs wide apart, he tramples upon two *rudra*, male and female.

He wears a tiger-skin on the lower part of his body and an elephant skin above. On his back he has diamond wings; his *śakti* - called ak'or lo rgyas adebs ma - is dark blue, with one face and two hands: in the right she holds a bell marked with a *rdo rje* and in the left a skull-cap full of blood, which she offers to her mate. Around them unfolds the cycle the cycle of the 10 Krodha, summarized in the table on following page.

It is clear then that tanka n. 167 condenses the cycle of this god, reducing the k'ro bo of the retinue to five; however, Tra kṣad, on a black horse and other deities, are added in the lower part of the tanka.

This iconographic pattern varies somewhat as to the symbols of the hands; thus, for instance, in the liturgy dedicated to this god: rDo rje p'ur pai sgrub skor, and rDo rje p'ur pai mñion par rtogs of Grags pa rgyal mts'an, one of the first Sa skya pa abbots (works, vol. ña), the god carries in his last pair of hands a bell and a *p'ur bu*; in tanka n. 114, instead of the bell, he grasps a wheel, ak'or lo.



Point of space	Name	Faces	Symbols of the two central hands, the others all holding the same instruments: the first two <i>rdo rje</i> and skull, the last two the <i>p'ur bu</i>	<i>śakti</i>	Tramples upon
above	K'ro bo hūm mdsad	3	garland, bow and arrows	Lha mo rdo rje sgra sbyin	Ts'añs pa and Ts'añs ma
East	rNam rgyal	3	rdo rje and ak'or lo	rDo rje sgeg mo	Rudra and Indrañi
South-East	aByug sñon po	3	club	rDo rje sder mo	Agni and his <i>śakti</i>
South	gŠin rje gšed	3	club and ax	rDo rje dur k'rod ma	Yama and <i>śakti</i>
South-West	Mi gyo	3	sword and lance	rDo rje gtun	Srinpo and Srin mo
West	rTa mgrin dmar	3	lotus and dragon	rDo rje gtum mo	Varuṇa and <i>śakti</i>
North-West	gŽan gyis mi t'ub	3	hand, fly-whisk	rDo rje mda'	Wind god and goddess
North	bDud rtsi k'yil	3	double rdo rje and club	rDo rje rluñ abyin	Yakṣa and Yakṣiñi
North-East	K'ams gsum rnam rgyal	3	rdo rje and trident	rDo rje gsod byed	dBañ ldan and <i>śakti</i>
below	sTobs c'en	3	hammer, stake to stab criminals (<i>gtam šin</i>)	rDo rje skul byed	Sa bdag

In tanka n. 148 Padmasambhava's figure has at his side P'yag na rdo rje, another form of rDor rje gžon nu. Below dPal ldan lha mo, an undefined deity, rNam t'os sras and Jambhala.

TANKA n. 168 (Plate 200).

This tanka too takes us back to religious intuitions preceding Buddhism: surrounded by a flaming halo, which blazes and flares up, as if urged by a furious conflagration, a monstrous creature, on horseback and wearing a warrior's complete armour, seems to be flung against invisible enemies. This demon, as his apparel and his iconographic type clearly show, is a bTsan, i. e. one of the Bon gods, accepted by the tolerant catholicity of Buddhism.

Very probably this creature is bTsan rgod, concerning whom see appendix two.

We shall meet him in tanka n. 175, as Beg tse's comrade; this is an independent

iconographic interpretation, which in its turn does not even coincide with that of the most ancient Bon po tradition; see *bTsan rgod bskan mdos drag rtsa ba gter spuñs.*²⁸⁰ In his right hand he holds a lance, the left, in the threatening mudrā, carries a noose. Above, in the centre, Tson k'a pa and his principal disciples. Under the terrible pageant accompanying the fiend, dPañ ldan lha mo, gŠin rje, rNam t'os sras. Below, mT'in žal bzañ mo, Ma gcig dpal lha mo and other bTsan.

TANKA n. 169 (Celesia di Vigliasco collection, Plate 201).

A monstrous creature, with four heads and four arms, whirling in its cosmic dance, looms gigantic in the centre of this tanka. A bruised human body writhes in the pitiless grip of its huge mouth. The weight of the monster's awful bulks crushes a demon,

twisting in the throes of atrocious pain. The god wears a wreath of skulls, his ornaments are snakes, curling and twining in threatening coils. Thus Tibetan iconography represents Mahākāla, Nag po c'en po,²⁸¹ and precisely the form known by the name of Nag po c'en po žiñ skyon stobs ap'rog dbaṅ po. He is usually represented with four heads; the central one is blue and chews a human body, the one of the left, white, is smiling grimly; the red head on the left has a most fierce expression and a fourth dark head is on top. The first right hand brandishes a *gri gug* with a rdo rje-shaped handle and cuts with it a skull, supported by the corresponding left hand; it is used as a cup, in which the demons' blood will be poured.

In the other hand on the right side the god holds a sword (according to other iconographical treatises, a small lance). In the last hand on the left, a lance ending in a trident. Under his left armpit a golden vase full of ambrosia. He tramples on a body symbolizing the demons *bGegs*. Each head has three eyes, and the garland crowning two of the heads is made of skulls; the girdle (*do šal*) is strung with human heads freshly severed. The figure stands out horribly from a flaming halo which dances all about him in the flickering fury of its fiery tongues.

Below, in a vortex of fire, four witches whirl; they are naked, with breasts withered and flabby and they brandish the *gri gug* in their right hands and grasp a skull-cap in the left. They are the four Las byed rnal abyorma, i. e.: Yum c'en gyuñ mo, black, who in the maṇḍala is on the gods' right hand; Las mdsad gtum mo, green, on the left; Srin mo c'en mo, dark red, in front; Siñ ga gliñ ma dark yellow, behind.

In the centre, below, Mahākāla, in a Brahman's aspect (Bram ze gzugs can dpa' bo) playing the *rkañ gliñ*, a flute made out of a human thigh-bone, while his right hand frantically shakes the magic tambourine (*damaru*) (see *Žiñ skyon bži ldan dbaṅ p'yug gi gtor c'en po*

sgrub ap'en gyi lag len c'o ga las bži lbun grub by Tāranātha, complete works, vol. ma).

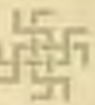
On the top of the tanka rDo rje ac'an with *śakti*: between images of saints and one Buddha.

TANKAS nn. 170-173 (Plates Y, 202-204).

They are all related to the same mystical cycle, i. e. to dPal ldan lha mo: what has been said concerning this goddess in *Indo-Tibetica* (III, part II, p. 99 ff.) dispenses me from repetition. Here I need only recall that her name corresponds to that of Śrī-devī, one of the many appellatives of the Magna Mater, the cosmic force which, at one and the same time, nourishes life and kills, in a perpetually alternating rhythm. This goddess has a prevaillingly terrific aspect: Buddhism, when it received her in its pantheon, transfigured her mystical meaning and interpreted her as a beatific power, vanquishing and suppressing opposite forces. Implicitly, according to the new psychology instituted by Buddhism, such forces are those psychical activities which keep us in bondage to life and consequently to death.

Dogmatically dPal ldan lha mo is considered by Tibetan mythographs as the terrific and combative aspect of dByaṅs cañ ma, whom the Hindus consider Brahmā's daughter, while, according to the Buddhist tradition, she is the voice of a Jig rten dbaṅ p'yug. She is accordingly identified with the spirit (*t'ugs*) of that pacified deity, but often assumes a terrific aspect in order to fight evil powers. Her story is related in the *mK'a' agro ma me lce abar bai rgyud* (TŌHOKU, Cat., p. 842; see above p. 218 f.).

Her cult was introduced into Tibet by the paṇḍita U rgyan gSaṅ ba šes rab, also known under another name as Lva va pa dmar pa; he communicated her liturgy to lCei sñags ac'añ abyuñ gnas bzaṅ po, who transmitted it to gNubs rgyal ba ye šes.²⁸² From that time the goddess was included among the C'os



skyon of the gNubs school, and was considered an acolyte of P'ur ba. Later she was taken as Sruñ ma by Prajñāguru, another exorcist of the Žaṅ school, and was placed under the *yi dam* dGra nag, then the Sa skya pa placed her under the *yi dam* gŠed dmar.

From the Sa skya school she passed to the dGe lugs pa thanks to dGe ḁdun grub, who made her the principal deity of the cycle of the bsTan sruñ of Ri bo dGa' ldan. Her cult and her liturgy were then finally settled by this school which gave her greater and greater prominence, thanks both to dGe ḁdun rgya mts'o and to fifth Dalai Lama; both of them in their works treated amply of her rites and cult.

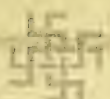
From that time the diffusion of this goddess increased; she was received as a Sruñ ma wherever the Yellow Sect spread, not only in Tibet but also in Mongolia, both in temples and in noblemen's chapels (see *dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal moi gdams skor mk'a' agro žal luñ las las bži spyi bsgril gsañ sgrub dañ bcas pai ap'rin las bklaḡs c'og tu bkod pa žar byuñ a p'yi dpal lha drag rgyal ma gyu sgron ma de mo rnam kyi gsol mc'od dañ bcas pa rin c'en nor bui do šal*, etc., by Blo bzañ dpal ldan c'os kyi grags pa bstan pai dbaṅ p'yug).

The goddess is manifested under manifold hypostases: Dus mts'an ma, the Kālī of Hinduism, Remati i. e. Revatī, Dus bži lha mo, ḁDod k'ams dbaṅ p'yug ma, Dud sol ma, Rab brtan ma, the Earth. When dPal ldan lha mo entered Tibet, her mystical reality developed a new complication; she became assimilated to the native deities which in some manner recalled her character and her fundamental aspects: the endless number of gÑan, Sa bdag and bsTan sruñ offered, from this point of view, an inexhaustible source of mystical figures, having all the qualities needed to melt into the type of the dPal ldan lha mo. Consequently the goddess's Tibetan aspect is very important, on account of the survival of primitive Bon religious intuitions which appear under a Buddhist disguise. She, in fact, is called gÑan rgyal mo, and as I

have proved in a just-quoted chapter of *Indo-Tibetica*, she is identified with the most ancient native deities of Tibet. The latter, in the form of 12 bsTan sruñ, form a circle around her.

This composite character of dPal ldan lha mo, as a centre of attraction for other native deities of a kindred nature, explains why the goddess's maṇḍala is so complex. If, for instance, we peruse one of the most important works concerning her liturgy in the Yellow Sect, like the *dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal moi gdams skor* it clearly appears that many of dPal ldan lha mo's acolytes have scanty relations with India: many gods of the maṇḍala dedicated to her in Tibetan liturgy do not reproduce Indian sādhana faithfully, but have been elaborated in Tibetan surroundings, attracting therein the most notable native deities which triumphant Buddhism was unable to eradicate.

dPal ldan dmag zor is described as follows: "the body is of a dark blue colour; she has one face and two hands; in her right hand she bandishes a club, surmounted by a rdo rje, over the brains of those who have broken their promise; in the left, on a level with her heart, she holds a skull-cap full of blood and of substances used in exorcism (*t'un*). Her wide mouth, gnashing its sharp teeth, gnaws a corpse; her joyous yelps resemble roaring thunder. She has three red, round eyes, gleaming like lightning. Her yellowish hair stands on end, eyelashes and beard blaze like the fire which flames up at the end of cosmic aeons. As earrings, she wears in her right ear a lion and in her left a snake; a diadem made out of five skulls, a scarf of 15 freshly-severed heads, dripping blood. On her blood-sprinkled body she has many marks made with ashes gathered in cemeteries and greasy finger-prints. On the top of her head the moon and on her navel the solar disc, a scarf (*lhab lbub*) made of pieces of black silk; instead of an antelope-hide, humans skins. The upper part of her body is covered with drapery made of a fresh tiger-skin, held together by two snakes; a



*k'ram šin*²⁸³) is stuck in her belt. She has a scarf made of dice (*švo rdo*) white and black; on her head a peacock-feather umbrella,,.

Her maṇḍala, according to the above-quoted treatise, is conceived as follows:

I. *aP'rin las bži ma mo*

Behind the goddess, in the centre of the maṇḍala (*gtso bo*) *Ži bai lha mo*, a white mirror in her right hand, on a mule; on the right, on a yellow mule, *rGyas pa kyi lha mo*, yellow, with one face and two hands; in her right hand she holds a vase of ambrosia, in her left a gem.

On the left, on a red mule, *dBaṅ kyi lha mo*, red; one face, two hands, in the right a hook, in the left a noose.

In front, *Drag poi lha mo* on a black mule, one face two hands; in the right the *k'ram šin* and in the left the staff (*dbyug*) with noose.

II. *aK'or ma mo bži*

Rematī gsaṅ sgrub (esoteric), one face, two hands, on a corpse; in her right hand a sword, in the left a human head freshly severed.

Srog bdud ma, black on a black horse; right hand: a human heart, left: a hook.

T'og ap'en ma drag ma, red, trampling the sun and moon, holds in both hands a bag full of lightning and hail.

Nad gtoṅ ma, black with a scorpion's head; right hand open, in the left a bag of diseases; riding a camel. All four with pendant breasts and snake necklaces (*ga šal*).

III. *Dregs pa bži*

K'yab ajug c'en po, ten-headed; the three on the right white, the three on the left red, the three in the centre dark like the rest of the body, the one above is a raven's head, in the first two hands bow and arrow, in the other two, a banner with the image of a *makara* (*makaradbvaja*) and noose.

bTsan rgod, red, wearing cuirass and helmet; in the right hand a lance, in the left a noose; riding the red horse peculiar to the *bTsan*.

bDud mgon, black, with a lion's head; right hand bearing a lance with a military banner (*ru mts'on*), left hand throws at his enemies pieces of the victims sacrificed (*dmar gtor*).

rGyal po li byin ha ra, pink, a *rdo rje* in the right hand, a skull-cap in the left.

C'u sringdon can, dark blue; a noose in the right hand; in the left she holds the end of the rein (*tur sna = t'ur mt'a'*).

IV. *Bran gyog mc'ed bži*

bDud mo Rematī, dark blue, a sword in the right hand, a skull-cap full of blood in the left, riding an ass with a white blaze on his forehead (*gva pa*).

Nad kyi bdag mo, dark blue; dice (*šo rdo*) in the right hand, in the left a red silk band (*byaṅ dmar*²⁸⁴); riding a mule.

sKye mt'in ma, black; grasps a human heart in her right hand; her left hand in threatening mudrā; riding a stag.

K'ri sman sa le ma, white, holding in her hands a *makara's* skin; rides a black bird.

V. *Dus bži lha mo*

dByid kyi rgyal mo, dark blue: in the right hand a razor, in the left a skull-cap; riding a mule.

dByar kyi rgyal mo, dark red; in her right hand a hook, in the left a skull-cap; riding a stag.

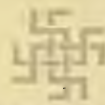
sTon gyi rgyal mo yellow; in the right hand a weapon (*zor*) and in the left a skull-cap.

gDun gyi rgyal mo, dark blue; in the right hand *kbatvāṅga* and skull-cap, riding a camel.

VI. *Ts'e riṅ mc'ed lha*

1. *bKra šis ts'e riṅ ma*; with *rdo rje* and vase, riding a lion.

2. *mT'in gi žal bzaṅ ma*, blue; with banner (*ba dan*) and mirror, riding a *rkyan* (cfr. tanka n. 31).



3. Mi gyo blo bzañ ma, yellow; with mon-goose, riding a tiger.

4. Cod pan mgrin bzañ, red; with gem and bag, riding a stag.

5. gTad dkar agro bzañ; green, his attributes are the *durvā* grass and a snake-noose; riding on a dragon.

VII. Cycle of the 12 bsTan srūñ

rDo rje kun grags ma, blue, wearing a cloak (*t'ul pa*) made of a thousand snakes and a yak-skin belt; riding the blue dragon (of thunder) (*gyu abrug*).

rDo rje gya' ma, blue; dressed in yak-skins, with a belt of k'yuñ wings, holds the *p'ur bu* and rides a three-legged mule.

rDo rje kun bzañ ma, white, with rdo rje; riding a lion.

rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso, blue; wearing an elephant-skin and a belt of k'yuñ wings, with *p'ur bu*, on a yellow stag.

rDo rje spyān gcig ma, white, carrying a cup full of blood; standing on a white stag (*duñ ša*).

rDo rje dpal gyi yum, yellow, with an arrow, riding a k'yuñ.

rDo rje klu mo, white; with a staff (*dbyug*), riding a boar.

rDo rje drag mo, green; has a belt of k'yuñ wings and brandishes the *p'ur bu*. Rides a nine-horned white yak.

rDo rje dpal mo, black; with vase full of blood, riding on a Koñ horse (*koñ rta*).

rDo rje sman gcig ma, red, with *p'ur bu* of leather (*bse*); riding a black mule with a yellow muzzle.

rDo rje gya' mo, dark red; carries a *p'ur bu* made of *khadira* (*señ lden*), rides a wild sheep (*rna ba yu mo* = *gna' ba*).

rDo rje dril bu gzugs legs ma, blue, with tambourine and flute (*glin bu*); riding a turquoise-coloured lion (*gyui señ ge*).

Naturally the maṇḍala summarized above is only one pattern out of many possible maṇḍalas of the goddess; her hypostases being many,

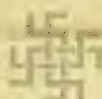
the maṇḍala changes as her aspects and her names vary, and her acolytes' number and character are multiplied accordingly. So, for instance, the *dPal ye šes kyi lha mo dud sol mai gsañ bsgrub ap'rin las kyi adod ajo by Pad ma dkar po* (complete works, vol. *ta*) is centred round that aspect of the goddess known by the name of Dud sol ma, which is represented with four arms, a sword, skull-cap, arrow, trident, riding a rkyañ; around her: Nag mo, naked, carrying a human heart and a skull, on a red ass. Next four Rigs bži lha mo, white, yellow, pink and green. In their right hands the *gri gug*, and in the left a skull-cap. Then: Señ ge gdoñ can, sTag gi gdoñ can, sPyāñ ki gdoñ can, P'ag gi gdoñ can, Bya rgod gyi gdoñ can, sKyuñ ka gdoñ can, Dur bya gdoñ can, Bya rog gi gdoñ can, Kañkali gdoñ can riding a tiger, another Kañkali gdoñ can riding a stag, a third riding a monkey, a fourth on a black mule.

These maṇḍalas, which I have chosen out of many one might quote, thus allow us to identify the deity represented on the tankas as dPal ldan lha mo, Rematī who always holds a club (*be con*). The absence of a sword should mean that the artist did not intend to represent that aspect of hers which is called Rematī ṭDod k'ams dbaṇ p'yug ma, symbolized by a sword; conversely the attribution would be confirmed by her earrings, which in this case must be a lion and a snake, as is clearly seen in tankas n. 171 and n. 173.

In tanka n. 173 the lower group represents Ts'e riñ ma, with her four sisters.

In tanka n. 172 the figure near the central deity is Nag mo: the other figures, emerging in flaming halos from the black terrors of the abyss and riding furiously on their misshapen mounts, are the four Rigs bži lha mo. In the upper part of tanka n. 173, a serene image of dByaṇs can ma, playing the *vīṇā*.

On the contrary Dud sol ma, another name for ṭDod k'ams dbaṇ p'yug ma is certainly recognizable in tanka n. 170 (Plate Y) one of the most beautiful in this collection for the



suggestive power of its images, which stand out with a hellish glimmer on the gloomy background of cosmic night. Here the goddess is represented according to Pad ma dkar po's model, quoted above.

Before closing, it will be well, as the subject is akin to these tankas, to mention tanka n. 41 also. It represents precisely gZal mt'in bzañ po, whom we have just met as one of the goddesses included in the Ts'e riñ ma's cycle, which surround dPal ldan mo. But in this tanka, as in the one reproduced in *Asiatic Mythology*, p. 182, she has been promoted to the dignity of an independent goddess: she is the gTso bo of the group of divine and fiendish beings which unfolds round her; indeed among her retinue we find in this case precisely dPal ldan lha mo, two-armed and four-armed, represented on the lower edge of the tanka. Immediately below comes the group of the Ts'e riñ mc'ed lña. On the sides bsTan rgod and bsTan sruñ. Above, Padmasambhava, between two rÑiñ ma pa masters. In the lower left-hand corner the seven gems. The donors are behind the mounts' legs.

TANKA n. 174 (Barluzzi collection, Plate 205).

The tanka represents *Señ ge gdon ma*, *Simhavaktrā*, an aspect of *Ye šes mk'a' agro ma*. Her cult was introduced into Tibet by the Lotsāva of Ba ri, to whom it was revealed by rDo rje gdan pa;²⁸⁵ the Lotsāva had turned to him on the advice of sPyi t'er the Nepalese, when he overcame in a philosophical debate the heretic sKal ldan rgyal po (see, for instance, *dPal sa skya pai gser c'os mk'a' agro señ ge gdon mai rjes gnañ las ts'ogs mñon rtogs šin tu zab pai gdams pa* in *sGrub t'abs kun btus, ña*). Then the goddess appeared to him and revealed the secrets of her liturgy. The goddess may be represented either alone or in a threefold group: *Ye šes mk'a' agro ma*, with a lion's head, in the centre; another with a tiger's head on her right, a third one

with a bear's head on the left. See *Señ ge gdon sñon mo gter ak'or gsum nañ sgrub t'abs rjes gnañ las ts'ogs dañ bcas rdo rjei sprin c'ar* in *sGrub t'abs kun btus, ña*. But her iconography, some of her rarest esoteric forms excepted, is the same. In her right hand she brandishes a *gri gug* whose hilt has the form of a rdo rje; in her left she holds, on a level with her breast, a skull full of blood; under her right armpit she has a *khaṭvāṅga*.

The goddess's image is repeated in the two small figures on the right and on the left: in the centre, below, rNam t'os sras, on the left P'yag rdor, on the right rDo rje sems dpa'. On the sides, five on each side, the ten P'yogs skyon. Above, rDo rje ac'añ in the centre; on the right rDo rje sems dpa' and other Buddhas, Rin c'en abyun ldan on the left, rNam par snañ mdsad and Byams pa.

TANKA n. 175 (Plates 206-208).

This tanka represents a fiendish creature; he wears a scaly cuirass and furiously brandishes a sword, which blazes like burning fire. He is a bTsan, i. e. a survival of those native deities which Buddhism, unable to suppress them, absorbed.

This demon, usually called lCam sriñ "brother and sister,, like all the indigenous terrific deities, was received into the lamaist pantheon as a custodian of temples and sacred things and above all as a watchful defender of the faith. He ruthlessly punishes those who break their vows or offend against the sanctity of the Law and he belongs to rDo rje ajigs byed's retinue, indeed he is the chief of the bsTan sruñ. His task is to "destroy and exterminate all those who offend against the Victorious's teachings, according to the orders he has received from the Buddha,,. Thus says a liturgy dedicated to him, *bsTan bsruñ kun gyi rje bo c'os skyon dregs pa lcam sriñ gi gtor bsgrub pa ji ltar bya bai ts'ul yid bžin dbañ gi rgyal po*, by the Pañ c'en blama



Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pai ñi ma (complete works, vol. *ta*). He is represented in this tanka as iconography directs: his colour is red, because his abode is a mountain of copper; he has two arms; the right one brandishes the copper sword, ready to slay whoever breaks his vow, the left is bent and carries to his mouth the heart of his enemies; he tightly clasps under his arm a bow and arrow. He has a diadem of skulls and three eyes; his body is covered with a copper cuirass (*beg tse*), hence another name he is known by: Beg tse.

His waist is girdled with a string of heads; on his left stands his sister, Rig pai lha mo, her face is red and her body blue: with her right hands she brandishes a copper sword and in her left she holds the *p'ur bu*, with which she nails *dregs* to the ground; she is riding on a lioness which tramples a human body.

On lCam sriñ's right is the red Srog bdag, with one face and two hands; his right hand shakes a lance, in the left he holds the bTsan's noose (see tanka n. 120). Below and around him, his eight acolytes, in frenzied agitation, brandish copper swords in their right hands; in the maṇḍala they should occupy a well-defined place; to the East Mi of a red or variegated colour; to the South a red Ri tsi mi; to the West a red Kro dhi mi; to the North Srog bdag Ko šaṅ; to the South-East red Om kri mi; on the South-West red Ro kri mi; on the North-West red Haṃ šaṅ mi; to the North-East Srog bdag t'al ba. They form a group called of the eight "gri t'ogs", "those who hold daggers",.

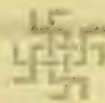
A Mongol legend, related by Grünwedel,²⁸⁶ says that when bSod nams rgya mts'o went to Mongolia to convert Altan Khan, Beg tse caused a troop of demons to appear before him, under the form of various animals, with the aim of frightening him and turning him from his purpose. Then the Tibetan monk assumed the appearance of Avalokiteśvara, having four hands and the hoofs of his horse left everywhere imprints of the

six-lettered mantra: *on ma ñi pad me būm*. Beg tse acknowledged that he was unable to compete with the new religion and its apostle and he became converted.

It may be seen that here the story of the bTsans's submission, effected by Padmasambhava, as told in the rÑiñ ma pa scriptures, is repeated. This would allow us to suppose that Beg tse was originally one of the Mongol gods, later transformed, due to his popularity, into Sa bdag or bTsan; it is a process of which we will quote in the appendix other interesting instances, all desumed from the hagiographic literature of the dGe lugs pa, as a consequence of the penetration of Buddhism among the Mongols, which they had brought about.

The late origin of this god seems to be confirmed by the fact that no trace of him is found in the most ancient liturgical handbooks; indeed it seems that the Yellow Sect excepted Beg tse is not very popular. Evidently the triumph of the Yellows may have spread his cult, but he always remained a *yi dam* of the dGe lugs pa, who have given him a well-defined iconographic type, together with his sister; the two beings cannot be separated. They are called by the collective name of lCam sriñ, brother and sister, on the model of lCam dral; in the same way Miñ sriñ, brother and sister, belonging to the cycle of the Gur mgon.²⁸⁷ Although introduced into Tibet in much older times, this god shows the same connections with local cults, so typical of these cycles of terrific deities.

The god's very name (it is not a goddess, as S. CH. DAS says, s. v.) also seems to be of foreign origin. Beg tse means "hidden shirt of mail", and must hence be compared with the Mongol *bägdär*, *cotte de mailles cachées* (KOWALEWSKI, p. 1125), Jagatai: *bäktär*, Persian: *bagtar*. The comparison had been already made by LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 199 (*Sino-Iranica*, p. 575) but it is difficult to explain the divergence of the second syllable, particularly if the loan took place in late



times. Probably the word *beg tse* in the sense of "hidden shirt of mail," is an older loan, and it is not certain that the god, although he was a god of war, owed his name to his cuirass. In Mongol demonology there is a fiend Bug, MOSTAERT, *Textes oraux Ordos*, s. v.

Above, two deities: Mañjuśrī and rDo rje ajigs byed. Under Mañjuśrī: sGrol ma on the left the C'os rgyal.

TANKA n. 176 (Plate 209).

This is an astrological tanka: in the centre, a little towards the bottom, a monstrous figure of sGra gcan ḍsin, or better of K'yab ajug sgra gcan ḍsin, Rāhu's personification, or perhaps K'yab ajug c'en po, Mahāviṣṇu. He has nine faces, and above them all a raven's head.

Above Tson k'a pa, and under him a figure of the Buddha, with serpents on his head, to be identified with Klui dbaṅ.

Under sGra gcan ḍsin k'yuṅ, the Ga-ruḍa which, having entered Tibet together with Buddhism, was assimilated to the k'yuṅ, a mythological animal of Bon po tradition, symbolizing the sun.

In the two upper edges, two figures of K'ro bo; below mGon po, with six arms, accompanied by his śakti and Seṅ ge sgra, one of aJam dpal's manifestations; on the two lower edges gŠin rje, god of death, and a mK'a' agro ma.

On each side of the god, astrological symbols: the eight *par k'a* which Tibetan astrology has borrowed from the Chinese, and the Me ba dgu (concerning which see WADDELL, p. 457).

TANKA n. 177 (Plate 210).

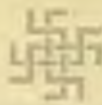
On the black background are drawn, in flexible gilded lines, figures of animals and, less frequently, of persons: in the centre, on a Chinese cup, a symbolical offering, *gtor ma*, containing seven gems (see above,

p. 302). Lower down the *gtor ma* proper to terrific deities: it is represented by a skull resting upon three smaller skulls, full of red blood and grey fat: above, a heart and two eyes torn from the body of a slain enemy: on each side two more skull-caps with blood still warm and smoking; below, the altar with more offerings and ritual objects. Hanging from above, like a canopy, the skin of a flayed man. The environment is one proper to terrific deities. The figures represented probably point to the deity to whom the tanka is consecrated: in it we find, besides a man, a camel, an ass, a *rkyan* (?), an elephant, a yak, a lion, a wolf, a dog, a goat, a fox; many of these animals, in fact, are placed in rDo rje ajigs byed's maṇḍala: camel, dog, sheep, wolf (fox), owl, raven, lion, hawk, eagle, hen. See f. i. *bCom ldan ḍdas gŠin rje gšed poi dkyil ak'or rab abyams kyī sgrub t'abs ap'rin las kyī ṅi ma ḍbum gyi gzi brjid* of Tāranātha, complete works, vol. t'a, p. 47.

These animals refer to gŠin rje gšed's various messengers, *p'o ṅa*, which have animals' faces or ride on animals, later taken as their symbols: man, buffalo, *garuḍa*, ass, camel, black dog, sheep, wolf or fox (*lce spyāṅ*), the mounts of the eight gŠin rje; vulture, owl, hawk, raven, parrot, grouse, falcon, eagle, the mounts of the eight *p'o ṅa mo* (see *dPal rdo rje ajigs byed kyī rnal abyor dan ḍbul ba drug cu rtsa bži gtor c'og gi dga' don k'ams gsum zil snon*, by the same author, p. 10).

On the other hand a black bird to the right, a black dog to the left, a black fox (*lcags spyāṅ* = *lce spyāṅ*) on the back, a black man in front, a black eagle on the top are the acolytes of rDo rje nag po (TĀRANĀTHA, *gTor c'o ga rgyun*, vol. Na).

But a more detailed description of these offerings, proper to the terrific deities, is found in another work by the same author: *mGon po žal bži pai sgos bskaṅs pa* (complete works, vol. ma). "In the skull the *arghya* is made of human blood, instead of flowers the five senses, fat instead of incense, man's



liquid fat is used to (feed the) lamps, perfume is human bile, flesh is the offering of food, flutes made of human thigh-bones and skulls are used to make music, guts instead of bands, hanging draperies (*ap'yan ap'rul*) are heart and lungs, hair taken from corpses are used as fly-whisks, human skins (*žin c'en*) as canopies (*ap'an gdugs*), then a black yak, a black sheep, a black dog,,.

But the greatest correspondence with the images of the tanka is found in the lists of the *dPal mgon tra kšad kyi ap'rin las bskan gso sogs ñer mk'o aga' žig* by Tāranātha, vol. *ma*: black

horse, camel, wild yak (*abron*), black sheep, black dog, tiger, leopard (*gzig*), lion, brown bear (*dom*), mule, wolf, hawk, *k'yuñ*, dragon, buffalo, snake, raven-little flags of black stuff, dagger, sword.

Concerning these symbols, as used in exorcistic rites, see also *Pad ma t'an yig*, transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 310.

On the tanka are also drawn the seven gems; the general, the minister, the woman, the horse, the elephant, the wheel, the gem; but also the house and then the other symbols of good omen.

MANDALA

TANKA n. 178 (Plates 211-213).

It might apparently be taken for a maṇḍala, but if carefully examined the maṇḍala scheme is discovered to be purely external and the meaning of the picture quite different: we see a multiplication of houses and temples, and on the interior side small figures of deities inside palaces: in front of the central image two maṇḍala. Above in the centre rDo rje aḥ'aṇ / underneath, a standing yab yum figure, viz. that determined aspect of Dus kyi aḥ'or lo which is known as Zuñ ajug dus aḥ'or lo.²⁸⁸ On the left: in a palace, rDor rje aḥ'aṇ, on his left gŠin rje gšed, and on the right other yab yum figures.

Next, on the left, eight figures of kings; two more on the right, under the palace just described. These images are accompanied by inscriptions.

On the left, 1st row above:

C'os rgyal bla ma zla ba bzañ po, C'os rgyal lha yi dbaṇ p'yug, C'os rgyal gzi brjid mt'a' yas.

2nd row:

C'os rgyal zla ba šbyin, C'os rgyal lha yi dbaṇ p'yug, C'os rgyal sna ts'ogs gzugs, ... Lha yi dbaṇ ldan, Rigs ldan aJam dpal dbyaṇs.

On the right:

Rigs ldan drag po aḥ'or lo ... las rnam rgyal.

Underneath, a representation of a battle, in which a warrior on horseback stands out: Drag po aḥ'or lo, who is piercing with his lance an enemy fallen on the ground: the inscription declares him to be *Byas pai blo*.

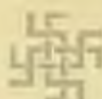
Near Drag po aḥ'or lo, above, a warrior on a black horse, in the act of shooting an arrow against enemies on the opposite side; his name is: *Hanumanda*.

We are now in a position to identify the subject of this picture. It is the Kālacakra's story and the victory of King Drag po aḥ'or lo over the Kḷa kḷo, i. e. the Moslems.

The smaller circle in which temples and lesser figures are seen, represents therefore Kalāpa: the Kulika's (*rigs ldan*) royal palace, built in the country of Śambhala, which tradition places vaguely in the North: an old itinerary, inserted in the bsTan agyur mDo, CXXX, 12, *Ka la pai ajug pa*, shows the way to this place, to be sought in some part, not yet clearly defined, of Central Asia.²⁸⁹ Śambhala, round like an eight-petalled lotus flower, has become, in the tradition, a heaven consecrated to the Kālacakra's glories. Like the country of the Dākinī, U rgyan (Uḍḍīyāna), Śambhala is a place the devout try to reach, in order to be redeemed from sin; it was later transfigured into a distant heaven. The houses filling the second tier represent the 96 minor kingdoms surrounding Kalāpa. The maṇḍala seen on the middle of the tanka represents the maṇḍala of the Dus kyi aḥ'or lo, which Zla ba bzañ po caused to be built.

As to the personages represented, there is no doubt that they are some of the C'os rgyal and other Rigs ldan, Kulika; among the first is Rigs ldan aJam dpal grags (Mañjuśrī-kīrti). All this will become clearer when we shall have translated the tradition concerning the Kālacakra and its origins, as it is summarized by Buston in the *Dus aḥ'or c'os abyūñ rgyud sdei zab don sgo abyed rin c'en gces pai lde mig*, complete works, vol. ña, p. 28 a.

"As to the diffusion of the Kālacakra in India and next in Tibet, (it is necessary to know that) the fundamental Tantra was revealed by the Buddha to Zla ba bzañ po: the latter, then, made a summary of it; he composed an explicative commentary in 60.000 *grantha*



and wrote it in a book, revealing its meaning to the people of Śambhala etc.; he dedicated a maṇḍala of the Kālacakra, made with various precious stones (evidently the painting refers to this), and, after having displayed many miracles, he entered nirvāṇa. After him came: Lha dbaṅ gzi brjid can / Zla bas byin pa, Lhai dbaṅ p'yug, sNa ts'ogs gzugs, Lhai dbaṅ ldan, each of whom, for 100 years, taught the Law. Then aJam dbyaṅs grags pa, for a hundred years preached the fundamental Tantra. After him the explanation of the fundamental Tantra and of its commentary (continued) to be explained and listened to. ... Next, after Grags pa had preached on the fundamental Tantra for a hundred years, Ņi mai šiṅ rta and others were awakened, and the ṛṣi asked for baptism and for a summary of the Tantra, already summarized before. Then, at the full moon of the month of Citrā (*nag pa*, March-April) he initiated the ṛṣi with the maṇḍala dedicated by Zla ba bzaṅ and wrote in three thousand verses a summary of the fundamental Tantra, called *bsDus pai rgyud me tog p'reṅ aḍsin gyi ts'igs bcad* ...; next, in the day of the full moon of Saga (*Vaiśakha*), April-May) the ṛṣi obtained the perfect realization of the mahāmudrā. Then Grags pa, after having explained the Tantra to Pad dkar, enjoined him to write the commentary and then he too entered nirvāṇa. Then Pad dkar made the commentary in 12.000 verses and explained the Law: after him came bZaṅ po, rNam rgyal, bŠes gñen bzaṅ po, P'yag dmar, K'yab ajug sbas pa, Ņi ma grags, Šin tu bzaṅ, eight in all, who preached the Law, each for a hundred years. In this time certainly the law of the Kla klo was installed in Ma k'a. So said Grags pa's son, predicting that after eight generations the Kla klo's law would be established, that is, eight hundred years after Grags pa had entered nirvāṇa. "Certainly,, means: beyond all doubt the Kla klo's law will be established in Ma k'a ... Then rGya mts'o nam

rgyal and rGyal dka' too, for a hundred years each, taught the Law. One hundred and eighty-two years after the Kla klo's (power) had begun, rGyal dka' began to calculate the cycle of the Kālacakra.

"Then Ņi ma sna ts'ogs gzugs, Zla bai 'od, mT'as yas, Sa skyoṅ, dPal skyoṅ seṅ ge, rNam gnon, sTobs po c'e, Ma aḡag pa, Mi yi seṅ ge, dBaṅ p'yug c'en po, mT'a' yas, rNam rgyal, Drag po aḡ'or lo can who broke the power of the Kla klo,,.

Tibetan tradition assigns to Drag po aḡ'or lo can, with the aid of the gods, victory over the Kla klo and the restoration of the Buddhist Law; therefore in this school he corresponds to the puranic figure of Kalkin, to whom indeed Kloṅ rdol bla ma compares him (see *Dan po saṅs rgyas dpal dus kyī aḡ'or loi lo rgyus dan min rnam graṅs*, complete works, vol. ca, p. 14) " (King Drag po aḡ'or lo can) with an innumerable army of soldiers set out, and to the South of the Sitā river he fought a great battle, in the country of Rum pa C'a rgyal of the Kla klo, and the Kla klo's master, Byis pai blo gros, was vanquished. The commander-in-chief (of Drag po aḡ'or lo can) overcame the master (of the Kla klo) Zla bai bu, and the heroes of his army, famous archers, the Kla klo troops; his *sa skyoṅ* (overcame the *sa skyoṅ* of the former), and his elephants their elephants, and his horses their horses, and the 12 great gods the Kla klo's impious protecting deities, and the latter were destroyed,,. Thus wrote Kloṅ rdol bla ma, copying from Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye šes, see *Weg*, pp. 58, 79.

TANKA n. 179 (Plate 214).

Four maṇḍalas of Kyai rdo rje. In the centre of the tanka the figures of two lamas, fronting each other; as can be read in the inscription underneath, they are Abhayā- (karagupta) and dPe med (Anupama). Below, Kun mk'yen pa, on each side: Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an and bSod nams (rdo rje);

above a mK'a' agro ma. In the first row above, various figures of masters: Klu grub, Āryadeva, Lohipā, Saraha, mTs'o skyes rdo rje, Dombiheruka, Birvapā, Byis pa pa, Dril bu pa, Nalendrapā, Kukuripā, Ye šes žabs, Nag po spyod pa. Below, between the two upper maṇḍalas, Kyai rdo rje.

The maṇḍalas are all dedicated to the same god Hevajra, in different aspects and attitudes, but each consists of nine figures, including the central deities, i. e. besides Hevajra, the 8 lha mo, of which we have already given a list in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 54.

Below:

slob dpon rdo rje a mañ (?) c'en kun dga' bzañ po yab sras rgyud pa dañ bcas pa rnams kyis ... dgon (sic) pa k'yad par can ... (rdogs) par gyur cig ...
... rnams kyī byaṅ c'ub saṅs rgyas ... aduḷ bya rnams kyis (sic) dge' ... abad med. ...

"The master's thought... the great Kun dga' bzañ po and of his disciples and of his... may be exhausted. All... enlightenment, the merits of all those who may be converted by the Buddhas... without effort,,"

This enables us to fix the date of the painting: it must be a little later than Kun dga' bzañ po, who as we have seen founded the N'or monastery in 1429. This is therefore one of the oldest tankas in the collection.

TANKA n. 180 (Plate Z).

The three maṇḍalas present no special difficulties, except the third; the first above represents Ts'e dpag med's novenarian cycle, with Ts'e dpag med in the centre, surrounded by eight acolytes.

The second below on the left, is the maṇḍala of rDo rje sems dpa', surrounded by four rGyal c'en sde bži.

The last maṇḍala represents rDo rje sems dpa' between the eight Lha c'en, the gods of Hinduism. On each side, three divinities, one riding on a bird, perhaps Ts'añs pa, the other on a black horse and the third with a lion's head, perhaps Señ ge dgon ma.

Outside the real maṇḍalas, the images are disposed haphazard, without a logical order between them. In the first row rNam par snañ mdsad; rNam par snañ mdsad, yellow; Śākyamuni; rDo rje sems dpa'; a king, probably K'ri sroñ lde btsan; two Indian ācārya.

In the second row: P'yag na rdo rje, sMan bla, rDo rje sems dpa', Ts'e dpag med; above: the Buddha.

In the third row: rTa mgrin, four manifestations of sGrol ma, P'yag na rdo rje.

The cycle of rNam t'os sras and of the eight rTa bdag, Mi gyo ba (Acala), white; P'yag na rdo rje, rDor rje sems dpa'; more to the right Mi bskyod pa, blue.

The inscription in dbu med, under the tanka, reads:

ak'yil ak'or bcuñs (= bcu gñis) dge bai ... a c'os rje lña ri ... c'en ts'ul k'rim (sic) 'od zer gyi t'ug (sic) kyī dgon (sic) ... don du yon su rdsog (sic) par gyur cig degi (sic) tus (sic) rje dañ byin rlabs la rtens (i. e. rten nas);

bdag rgyan (i. e. rgyal mts'an) 'or (i. e. 'od zer) gi p'a mai gtso byas sems can sdig sgrī(b) dag nas saṅs rgyas t'ob par gyur cig.

"Through the merit derived from having had these twelve maṇḍalas made, may C'os rje lña ... (Rin) c'en ts'ul k'rims 'od zer's thought be exhausted. By virtue of the blessing of his mercy may I, rGyal mts'an 'od zer, together with my father and my mother and all creatures, purify the stains of sin and obtain the condition of a Buddha ,,"

There were, then, twelve maṇḍalas, but in this tanka they are only three; if we count as a maṇḍala also rNam par t'os sras and the eight rta bdag's cycle, they are four at the most; therefore there was a series of three or four tankas, which rGyal mts'an 'od zer had caused to be painted for the spiritual welfare of his parents and according to the wish of the C'os rje Ts'ul k'rims 'od zer.

Who this lama was it is impossible to say, probably some abbot of the N'or monastery, from which the tanka came.



This is a maṇḍala dedicated to one of the principal deities of Tantric esoterism, Kyai rdo rje, Kye rdo rje, Hevajra, particularly venerated as the *yi dam*, or protector of the sect, by the Sa skya pa.

He is another of Heruka's and Akṣo-bya's hypostases, like Saṃvara: his experiences go back to a famous Tantra of the Vajrayāna, which was also introduced into China.

The god being identified, the maṇḍala would be easy to read if we knew what liturgy has inspired the painter. Ritual treatises dedicated to this god abound, naturally, in the Sa skya pa, Nor pa and Jo nañ pa sects, from the *Kyai rdo rje mñon par rtgos* by bSod nams rtse mo (*Sa skya pa* works, vol. ca) to the *dGyes pai rdo rjei lag len gsal bar byed pa dpal he ru ka dgyes pa* by Tāranātha (complete works, vol. Ta). In these books the construction of the maṇḍala is identical: after the *me ri* or halo of fire, which turns to the right and surrounds the maṇḍala, we have in the first circle the representation of the eight cemeteries, according to the traditional patterns. I have studied them elsewhere. Each of them is marked by its P'yogs skyon, klu, mountain, mc'od rten, tree, clouds, ascetics, fire, water, which symbolize them. Then comes the square city of the maṇḍala, inside which are arranged eight deities in a first circle, six in a second circle and another two, one to the North and the other to the South, sixteen in all; they are alike inasmuch as they brandish the *gri gug* in their right hand and hold on the palm of the left a skull-cap, while the *khatvāṅga* leans on their left shoulder.

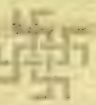
Hence they are mK'a' agro ma; this means that the model followed by the painter departs from the liturgy laid down in the treatises we have quoted above, according to which the maṇḍala is composed of 9 deities, i. e. a central deity and eight lha mo.

Point of space	name	colour	hands	
			right	left
East	Gaurī on Tsañs pa	black	<i>gri gug</i>	<i>robīta</i> fish
South	Gaurī on Lhai dbaṅ po	btsod	dāmaru	boar
West	Ro lañs ma on K'yab ajug	yellow	tortoise	lotus
North	Ghasmarī on dBaṅ p'yug c'en po	green	serpent	skull
S. W.	Pukkaṣi on gŠin rje	blue	lion	axe
N. W.	Ri k'rod ma on Nor bdag	white	monk or fox	fan
N. E.	gDol ma mon ma (Caṇḍālī) on Srin po	blue	wheel	skull-cap
S. E.	gYun mo on T'ag zañs ris	various colours	rdo rje	threatning mudrā

In the centre towers Kyai rdo rje's figure, according to traditional iconography, with 8 heads and 16 arms; in the 8 right arms he carries as many skull-caps, on which are respectively a white elephant, a green horse, an ass with a white blaze on its forehead, a yellow ox, a grey camel, a red man, a blue stag, a black cat. On his left hands: the earth-goddess, yellow; the water-god, white; the fire-god, red; gŠin rje, blue; Nor sbyin, yellow, etc. He embraces bDag med ma, black, who grasps in her right hand the *gri gu* and holds a skull-cap in her left.

The gods surrounding the maṇḍala have no direct connection with it; the liturgies we have mentioned know no deities participating in these rites, beside the five supreme Buddhas in their esoteric form, with eight faces and 16 hands (see *dPal kye rdo rjei dkyil ak'or du slob ma sñin poi byed pai c'o ga dbaṅ gi c'u bo c'en po*. *Sa skya pa*, complete works, vol. ca, p. 39).

That horror of a void, which artists used to Indian schools of painting cannot overcome, has induced the author of this tanka to fill up every empty place with the images of an extremely vast pantheon, taken from



the most different liturgies, not only of this cycle but of the kindred cycles belonging to Heruka, Guhyamāja and Śaṃvara.

TANKA n. 182 (Plate 216).

This tanka too refers to a cycle well known to us, both because we have studied it thoroughly in *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part III, and because we have already met with it in the present collection: I allude to rDo rje ajigs byed's cycle. But which liturgical system does the maṇḍala here represented reproduce? This maṇḍala in fact has nothing to do with the commonest cycle of 13 deities; the *rDo rje ajigs byed lha bcu gsum dkyil ak'or*, which we have seen in Tsaparang.

Here the cycle is different: in the maṇḍala are represented 8 deities which seem to be mK'a' agro ma, besides the central deity which is without his śakti, like the dPa' bo gcig, *ekavīra* in the tanka we have already studied. But besides these figures, we see on the four quarters a head, two feet, two hands and a design of floral patterns. What is the meaning of all this? The explanation is found if we turn to the *dPal rdo rje ajigs byed lha bcu p'yag mts'an sum cu rtsa gñis dañ bcas pai dkyil ak'or kyi c'o ga rab gsal snañ ba*, by dKon mc'og lhun grub, founded on a tradition going back to P'ags pa of Sa skya, to Rvā lotsāva and to Kun dga' bzañ po of Nor, i. e. to a *sampra-dāya* of a prevailing Sa skya pa character.

According to this liturgy, in the centre of the maṇḍala should be placed rDo rje ajigs byed, as the intellective body (*ye šes sku*) of all the Buddhas; around him must be drawn the 32 symbols (*p'yag mts'an*):

to the East: a head; to the South: the hands; to the West: the guts; to the North: two feet; to the S. E.: a skull-cap; to the S. W.: a skull; to the N. W.: a rag picked up in a cemetery; to the N. E.: an impaled man (*skyes bu gsal šin gis p'ug ba*).

Hence in the first inner edge (called *lha snam*), to the East: *gri gug*, spear, club (*gtun*

šin), knife (*c'u gri*), vajra, hook; to the South: axe, arrow, stick, *khatvāṅga*; to the West: five-pointed vajra, tambourine, shield, bow, bell, flag; to the North: threatening mudrā, trident, elephant's skin, hammer lance...

In the intermediate points the eight *ro lañs*, black, their tongues projecting from their mouths. In the inner corners, eight vases full of ambrosia. In the outer circle, as usual, the eight cemeteries.

Out of the maṇḍala's surface the seven gems, various aspects of gŠin rje, Nag po c'en po and the donors. Above, some masters: (Jñā)nakumāra, Gaganagarbha, Ananta(?), Padmavajra, Lali(ta)vajra, Vajra... Anatadhvaja.

TANKA n. 183 (Plate 217).

This tanka is dedicated to the same god, but based on a different liturgy.²⁹⁰⁾

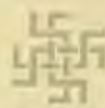
TANKA n. 184 (Plate 218).

This tanka represents the maṇḍala of P'yag na rdo rje ak'or lo c'en po, a divinity we have already met with (concerning which see *Grub t'abs kun btus, ga*, p. 129).

The god brandishes a five-pointed rdo rje in his right hand; the left is in the threatening mudrā to kill fiends, with the other two he embraces the śakti mDañs ldañ ma, clapping his hands; the last two hold the king of snakes tightly.

A description of this maṇḍala, as it is represented on the tanka, is found in a treatise by Tāranātha: *dPal p'yag na rdo rje ak'or lo c'en poi dkyil c'o ga srid gsum adul byed*. From this liturgical text we learn that the deities arranged around the maṇḍala are the following:

to the East: K'ro bo c'en po bdud las rgyal byed, white, four-handed; in his first right and left hands a rdo rje and a trident with a *ak'or lo* under the three points. He embraces the śakti 'Od zer can, white, with razor and skull-cap;



to the South: K'ro boi brgod mt'a' yas, yellow, four-handed; in his first right hand rdo rje, in his first left hand a vase containing gems. With the other two he embraces mDañs ldan ma, yellow, with rdo rje and skull-cap;

to the West: rNam pai sgra sgrog, red, with rdo rje and snake-noose; a lotus in his first two arms. With the other two arms he embraces sGra dbyañs can, with axe and skullcap;

to the North: bDud rtsii ak'yil ba, green, rdo rje and club marked with a *viśvavajra*; with the other two he embraces rLuñ abyin ma with wheel and skull-cap.

On the four doors of the maṇḍala:

to the East: rDo rje lcags kyu and lCags kyu ma, white, two-handed: the symbol is the hook;

to the South: rDo rje zags pa and Žags pa ma, yellow; the symbol is the noose;

to the West: rDo rje lcags sgrog and lCags sgrog ma, red, two-armed; the symbol is the chain;

to the North: rDo rje dril bu and Dril bu ma, green, two-armed; the symbol is the bell.

Around, the cemeteries; above Grub t'ob and masters; on the four corners rDo rje sems dpa', rNam par rnam ajoms, 'Od dpag med, Klui dbaṇ po. And further: below two rTa mgrin, red and blue, Indra and Śiva. Above, two P'yag na rdo rje. Below the donors; more to the right rNam t'os sras, Gur mgon, dPal ldan lha mo, Bram ze gzugs nag po c'en po; two Jambhala; to the right two K'ro bo, Ts'ogs bdag; two sGrol ma.

TANKA n. 185 (Plate 219).

As the inscription says, this tanka represents a Vajradhātumaṇḍala, symbol of the adamantine plane, the sphere of the absolute. But we know several Vajradhātumaṇḍalas: they are especially taken from the literature of the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, of the *Vairocanaḥbhisambodhi* and

of other Tantric texts, almost all centering round the symbol of Vairocana. Concerning this maṇḍala and that literature, I refer the reader to what I have written in *Indo-Tibetica*.²⁹¹

But the Vajradhātumaṇḍala is found in other Tantric cycles as well: the presence, in this tanka, of Kyai rdo rje, Hevajra's figure might suggest, for instance, that the painter has wished to represent here the Vajradhātumaṇḍala according to the *Samputatantra*, a text akin to the *Kyai rdo rje rgyud*: but the structure of this maṇḍala, of which we have an ample description, for instance, in the *gSuñ abum* by Kun dga' bzaṇ po of Nor (complete works, vol. k'a), has no relation with the pattern of this tanka.

Above, in the centre: rDo rje ac'aṇ with his śakti, Dus kyi ak'or lo and Kyai rdo rje; below: Mi gyo ba in the centre, with his śakti, rDo rje mk'a' agro ma and Kurukullā.

TANKA n. 186 (Plate 220).

It represents the maṇḍala of bDe mc'og, Śamvara, concerning whom I have written at length in *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part III.

The cycle here reproduced is different from the one studied in all its details in *Indo-Tibetica*. The latter was based on Lūi pā's liturgy, this one centres rather on Nag po pa's ritual.

Above, grub t'ob and masters, below figures offering gifts to a lama: black Jambhala, Bya rog gdon mgon po, mK'a' agro ma etc.

TANKAS nn. 187, 188 (Plates 221-224).

These tankas too belong to Padmasambhava's cycle and their principal subject is the heaven over which he presides, *gzañs mdog sprul gyis no bo cittai dbyibs t'ogs kyi don*, as we find written in tanka n. 187. This heaven, which tradition has imagined and the paintings represent on a mountain in the middle of the sea, is called Zañs mdog dpal ri, the copper-coloured mountain: according to the



rÑiñ ma pa traditions it is in the country of rÑa yab lañ kai gliñ, to the N.W. of rDo rje gdan, Bodhgayā. Roerich²⁹²) has already spoken of this fabulous place, publishing a painting very much later and less elaborate than the one given here. Describing his tanka, Roerich has also translated a chapter of a famous book which speaks of this heaven. The book is entitled *gSol adebs leu bdun ma*, and we have often mentioned it. On page 22 there is a description of Padmasambhava's heaven which it will be well to repeat although it has been already translated by Roerich, because it helps the interpretation of the tanka.

“1. The happy-omened mountain (*Śrigiri*),²⁹³) copper-coloured, has the form of a heart (*citta*); its base rests on the nāga king's country; its miraculous (*lhun cags = lhun grub*) slopes are flung into the sphere of the *ḍākinī* - the top reaches Brahmā's land.

2. On the sparkling top of the happy-omened mountain, the Western side is of the colour of crystal (white), the Southern side of the colour of beryl (blue), the Western side of the colour of ruby (*rāga = padmarāga*), the Northern side of the colour of emerald (*indranīla*). This heavenly palace is translucent, with no outside and no inside (no interior and no exterior).

3. The four sides, the intermediate sides, the upper and lower parts of this heavenly palace, are made of precious stones. The verandas and the quadrangular projecting parts (*glo bur*) are each of the colour of the four mystical families and of the four magical works.

4. Its walls, its ramparts (*adod snam*), its tiles, its staircases, its bannisters, its balconies, are made of the five kinds of gems. The arches over its four doors, the emblem of the wheel of the Law, all the friezes, are beautifully ornamented with great gems of various kinds.

5. Outside and inside it is thick with heavenly trees, fountains of ambrosia and

rainbows of the five colours. The scent of blooming lotus flowers pervades the atmosphere; by simply recalling such a place to memory, great peace is obtained.

6. On the octagonal lunar seat made of gems, within that great palace, Pad ma abyūn gnas is found; his body is an accumulation (of the essence of all the) Sugata.

7. Although the colour of his body, his symbols, his ornaments are not unchangeable, but vary according to the intentions (of those who meditate upon him) and (of the four) magical actions, reciprocally meant to pacify, to cause to prosper, to submit and to offend, his splendour is greater than the light of a thousand suns.

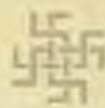
Its supreme majesty is that of the king of the mountain (Sumeru).

8. The manifestations of the (Guru's) spirit penetrate the world; he gazes, turning his pupils all around, like the sun or the moon. The deeds of his mercy are swifter than lightning in the sky. His intentions are deep as the vastity of space.

9. Through compassion towards the world, he accomplished the good of the universe. His smiling face has a fair appearance; the sound of his voice is stronger than the roaring of a thousand thunderclaps; the sound of the deep Law, contained in secret formulas, echoes.

10. On the four sides and on the eight intermediate points of the great mystical body (*sprul sku*), on thrones pressing down upon demons lying face downwards (*log pa*) sit the Tathāgatas belonging to the five mystical families and the terrific deities which conquer demons; these deities represent the activity of the physical plane, a corporeal and active symbol.

11. On thrones resting on lotus flowers placed in the four points of space and having five petals each, are the Giñ²⁹⁴) of the four mystical families and four troops of mK'a'agro ma; they are all furnished with ornaments taken from cemeteries and stand in graceful postures, playing on musical instruments.



12. On the four sides of the great palace, the central verandas and the projecting corners are full of *Rig adsin* and of *mK'a' agro ma*, and (crowded) with gods and goddesses like clouds; they present offerings of all kinds exoteric, esoteric and secret.

13. On the bridge of the precious palace, goddesses bearing offerings, filling the world with their offerings, are crowded thick as clouds of the six kinds of desirable things, and by *Kun tu bzañ po*'s offering they honour *Sugata*.

14. At the four doors on the four sides of the great palace, four kings of the four quarters mount guard (*bka' gñen*) at the door.

The eight troops of *Lha min*, acting as servants and messengers, overthrow fiends and heretics as if they were dust,,.

The authority enjoyed by the *Leu bdun ma* explains how this description of *Padmasambhava*'s heaven recurs in almost all the *sMon lam*, i. e. in the formulation of the vow to act according to the Law, so that the devotee may be rewarded by rebirth in the heaven where the great miracle-worker sits. Thus, for instance, the *Zañs mdog dpal rii smon lam rig adsin gsañ lam*, which passes for a *gTer ma*, adds nothing to the description in the book translated above.

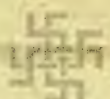
We know besides that this heaven, imagined as a great mountain, is surrounded on the right by the *Rig adsin*, the masters of esoterisms, and on the left by the doctors (*Pañ c'en*) and ascetics, while all around are arranged the *gTer ston*, discoverers of those sacred books which *Padmasambhava* was believed to have hidden in caves in the mountains, in order that they should be taken out when men's minds were mature enough to understand their secret meaning.

Thus this image of *Padmasambhava*'s heaven, placed on earth, in a vaguely South-Western direction, is a Tibetan creation, in which are mixed together traditions on the famous Indian *Śrīparvata* (*dpal ri*), the *Mahāyāna*'s sacred citadel, and the Western

heaven; fancies are blended with it, concerning paradises and far-away worlds, difficult of access, where the Law is handed down, spotless, undefiled by impure contacts and choirs of blissful beings sit in contemplation, precisely as it was in the *Sukhāvati* or in *Śambhala*, the supreme heaven of the *Kālacakra* system.

The *tanka* is inspired by this idea, but it is evidently based on a literary tradition describing the road to this heaven and the manner of reaching it. There is no other explanation, for instance, of the bridge on which the devotees pass and of the fiends guarding it. The existence of a literature which dealt with travels to the *Zañs ri*, in the same way as others offered information on the way to reach *Potala*, *Avalokiteśvara*'s abode, is proved by some allusions to it, which I have found in the biography of the third Dalai Lama *bSod nams rgya mts'o*. This book, describing this lama's ancient incarnations, mentions a journey the master made to the *rNa yab* country, *Cāmara*, as we have seen from the allusions to it in *tanka n. 33*.

"When I went to *rNa yab*, the *Srin mo*'s land, in a frontier country, a one-headed *Srin po* appeared and asked me where I was going. 'I am going to the *Srin*'s country: where is the road leading to the *Zañs mdog dpal ri*?'. 'From here on', he answered, 'a large frontier land is there whose access is difficult on every side'. Then a two-headed *Srin po* appeared; he had four huge teeth in each mouth. He told me that the road leading to the *Srin po*'s country was there and a sort of road appeared, made of silken stuff stretched out and he went towards that road, but was unable to pass, neither could I pass. Then a *Srin po* came, eleven-headed, whose tallest head was that of a horse. He scattered flowers all around, and said: "He who protects against the sufferings of the *samsāra* has arrived here as if by virtue of meditation, through which one may go everywhere. In the middle of this



country of the Srin po, by this road, go before the spiritual preceptor ... Then a road appeared, made of silken stuff. Walking on it I had covered half of it, when a four-headed Srin po appeared, who pulled me by one foot. But then out of that country two Sruñ ma appeared, who threatened to strike him, and then he fell. Thus I arrived happily ... (Complete works, na, p. 8).²⁹⁵

On the other hand the *Pad ma t'añ yig*, chap. 97 says that the *Zaṅs mdog dpal ri* lies between *Lañkāpuri* to the East, *dGa' ba* can to the South, *Ko ka t'añ dmar gliñ* to the West, *Byañ lag* to the North.

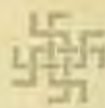
All around the scenes represent fanciful itineraries to the *Zaṅs mdog ri* heaven, the places to be crossed, the dangers which must be overcome, the gods met on the way; we find there the cemeteries of *rñiñ ma pa* tradition, but also allusions to *Padmasambhava's* life and to his masters.

The inscriptions, not always legible, begin on the right, above and unfold as follows round the image of the heavenly palace where *Padmasambhava* is seated:

1. *rgyal du sprul.*
2. *c'ur ... nub stod ša mk'ar can gyi gliñ na groñ k'yer abum c'a dgu sa bdag klu dur k'rod gñan ... padma rtsegs.*
3. *dur k'rod bde c'en brdal ba.*
4. *nañ grol.*
5. *šar byañ rluñ nag k'rig gliñ sems can keyi k'rag.*
6. *rin po c'ei ... byuñ mañ po.*
7. *rgyal po lag na rts'o rdsus sprul nas drag snags keyi c'os ston pa.*
8. *nor ... dañ abras la ...*
9. *dur k'rod pad ma rtsegs.*
10. *klui rgyal poi gnas.*
11. *rgyal po gtsug na me abar ba sprul nas c'os ston pa.*
12. *mu le ap'ruñ gyi ...*
13. *dur k'rod ajig rten rtsegs rigs adsin šā nti gar bba.*
14. Near the bridge: *srin po agro bai bla srog ...*
15. *dbañ gi lba mo mc'ed dgu.*
16. *slob dpon c'en por ... mc'og rgyal sogs lbo nub mai.*
17. *deb ra dsar sprul nas sku ap'ruñ.*

18. *šar lbo dra tii nags gliñ srin groñ abum c'a ñer gcig.*
19. *rigs adsin būm kara ... t'añ yan lag.*
20. *smra bai señ ge sprul nas ajam dpal skui ston pa.*
21. *šar smad na ban ... gliñ na gliñ p'ran bye ba gsum.*
22. *šar lbo bar bai gliñ na abri gyag ri lug la.*
23. *rigs (for rig) adsin vi ma la mi tra.*
24. *dur k'rod lhun grub brtsegs.*
25. *srin po grul abum rigs lag pa brgya stoñ gis mts'on adebs šin ri dags la ... ston pa.*
rigs adsin ajam dpal gšes gñen.
26. *lbo zaṅs t'al k'a ri groñ k'yer ... bcu drug dur k'rod ku la rdogs rgyal po ... ap'reñ du sprul nas dur k'rod gson c'en rol pa rigs adsin dha na sam skri ta.*
27. *rgyal po ra kša t'od p'reñ du sprul nas k'yab ajug rtog pa.*
28. *lbo nub ra kša ... mi rta k'yi gsum za ba.*

1. He appears as a king.
2. In the water ... to the West, in the upper part, in the island of *Ša mk'ar* can there are 90.000 cities, *Sa bdag*, *Klu*, *gñan* of the cemeteries. (The cemetery) *Pad ma rtsegs*.
3. The cemetery *bDe c'en brdal* (see tankas nn. 33 and 109).
4. In the interior [s]Grol (ma?).
5. To the North-West (in the) island *rLuñ nag k'rig* (black wind) the blood of created beings.
6. ... precious ... are born many ...
7. Miraculously appearing as king *Lag na*, he teaches the law of the violent exorcisms.
8. ... riches and fruits ...
9. The cemetery *Pad ma rtsegs* (in *Uḍḍi-yāna*, see tankas nn. 33 and 109).
10. The king of the *klu's* abode.
11. Miraculously appearing as king *Tsug na me abar*, he teaches the Law.
12. Appearing miraculously in *Mu le*.²⁹⁶
13. The cemetery *ajig rten rtsegs* (see tankas nn. 33 and 109), the possessor of mystical wisdom *Šāntigarbha*.
14. The *Srin po*... the life of created beings...
15. The 9 sisters goddesses of the magic power.



16. The great master ... the lofty, king etc. to the South-West.

17. He is miraculously born, appearing as a Devarāja.

18. On the South-East in the island Dsa tii nags there are 21.000 cities of Srin.

19. The possessor of mystical wisdom Hūm kara ... a part of T'añ.

20. Miraculously appearing as sMra bai señ ge he shows aJam dpal's body.

21. To the East, in the lower part, in the island ... millions of lesser islands.

22. To the South-East in the intermediate continent, to the sheep in Mount aBri gyag ...

23. The depositary of mystical wisdom Vimalamitra.

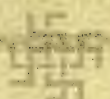
24. The Lhun grub brtsegs cemetery (in Nepal, see tankas nn. 33 and 109).

25. The Srin po of the lineage of the Grul abum (Kumbhāṇḍa) called "the 10.000 handed", flings weapons and shows to the gazelles ...

26. To the South in Zañs t'al ka ri sixty... city the cemetery sKu la rdsogs ... (see tankas nn. 33 and 109) miraculously appeared as king [T'od] ap'reñ ... the gSon c'en rol pa cemetery (see tankas nn. 33 and 109) ... the depositary of mystical wisdom Dhanasamskṛta.

27. Having miraculously appeared as king Ra kṣa t'od ap'reñ, he reflects on K'yab ajug.

28. To the South-West the rakṣa ... eats a man, a horse, a dog.



PRINTED TANKAS

TANKAS nn. 189-193 (Plates 225-229).

They all belong to one cycle; they are printed on linen and the colour is then applied, light, prevailing grey, pale pink and yellow. The tankas were purchased in Gyantse, but the blocks must have been engraved in a place where the Chinese influx was deeply felt: in the drawing of the figures, the seats, the apparel of certain personages, for instance the one visible in tanka n. 192, below, in the accuracy of design, Chinese influence transpires quite clearly.

But if the style of the blocks from which these pictures are derived leaves no doubt whatever, the interpretation of the subject they represent is uncertain; this is always the case when masters, not gods, are represented and when inscriptions are lacking.

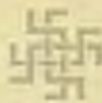
There seems to be no doubt that a cycle of masters is here represented, but the school to which they may have belonged is quite uncertain: the personages represented in tankas n. 189 and n. 191 are perhaps two Pañ c'en lama of Tashilunpo; the one in tanka n. 192 is very probably a Brom ston, to judge from his layman's apparel; the one in tanka n. 190 represents a king, very probably K'ri sroñ lde btsan / the deity appearing above his head is perhaps a Jam dpal's, whose incarnation that king is considered. To the gods' and masters' figures are added those of some acolytes, who evidently have here a symbolical value: in picture n. 190 a bird resembling a raven, and a hare above, almost certainly symbolize the sun and the moon: the raven is an animal who lives in the sun, according to an old Chinese belief and the hare lives in the moon in folklore common to China and India. But in the picture n. 192 we see in their place a horse and a parrot; the latter often used to symbolize the lotsāva, i. e. the translator. The meaning of some small scenes escapes me

altogether, for instance the scenes in tanka n. 192, below, which probably represent episodes in the life of some saint. The images drawn at the bottom of tanka n. 189 represent 6 arhats: focere others on the top although they are here represented in a manner which differs in some cases from the traditional iconography.

TANKA n. 194 (Plate 230).

This is printed and then painted; it represents Padmasambhava according to the usual iconography. He wears the *snags pa* or exorcist's hat; with his right hand he clasps the vajra, on a level with his heart; on the palm of his left hand he holds a skull-cap. On his left shoulder rests the *khatvāṅga*, a sceptre on which three heads are stuck: one just cut off, the other putrefied and the third a bare skull. The master is wearing a monk's robe (*c'os sgos*) and silk cloak (*zab ber*) like those of kings. Below, in the centre, mGon po p'yag drug; on the right dPal ldan lha mo dmag zor ma; in the left a deity attired as a knight, wearing a cuirass; he pierces with his sword a nude personage lying on the ground, perhaps dGra lha.

Of the three figures above, the central one represents Ts'e dpag med, Padmasambhava's essential body; on his left Ts'e rin ma and on his right sTag ts'an ras pa, the famous bKa' brgyud pa ascetic, who enjoyed the favour of the kings of Ladakh and particularly of Señ ge rnam rgyal; through their patronage he founded the monastery of Hemis in Ladakh. He was a celebrated yogin and visited even the Swat valley, in his time entirely in Moslem hands, to look for traces of Buddhism and come into physical contact with that land, blessed with the dākinī's presence. He wears across his breast the bandages for meditation (in Tibetan: *sgom t'ag, yogapaṭṭa*).

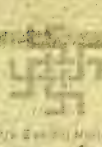


EMBROIDERED TANKAS

TANKA n. 195 (Plate 231).

This is a *gos sku*, i. e. a tanka made out of a piece of many-coloured material, cut up and sewn again into a sort of patchwork, composing a given figure. The work is so accurate that from the photograph one would think this tanka too was painted.

It represents a standing Buddha as he is pictured when descending from heaven, where he had gone to visit his mother; such, at least, is the Indian iconographic tradition, but in Tibet the personage thus represented is usually Dīpaṅkara, a Buddha of past cosmic ages.²⁹⁷⁾ On each side of him, also standing on lotus flowers, Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi.



NOTES

1. More common is the cycle of the 16 Bodhisattva (see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, pp. 235, 243, 250).

2. See above, chapt. on Vajrayāna.

3. Vimala is Vimalamitra, but two Indian pandits have borne this name (see above, n. 159 on Part first), hence it is difficult to say which of them is here represented. Rin c'en mc'og is a well known lotsāva; see Mlle LALOU's indexes.

4. *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 17 ff.

5. The Nor eulogy quotes, for instance, among the monastery's patrons the C'os rgyal of Guge, the King of rDson ka (rDson k'ul of Zañs dkar?) in mNa' ris (p. 36, b); this rGyal po is mentioned by name on p. 37 b: aBum sde mgon, and he is said to be a descendant of the kings of Tibet. The king of Guge was called (p. 38, b) K'ri nam mk'a' dbaṅ po.

6. See above p. 227.

7. Śākyaśrī's biography is also contained in the DT, *ba*, p. 1 ff. and substantially agrees with the one translated here; the DT, however, places his birth in the year *me lug*, 1127, instead of the year *ñin glan*, i. e. he must have come to Tibet at the age of 78 which seems rather improbable. The date of his arrival in Tibet is confirmed by a tradition which is said to go back to him directly. He went back to Kashmir in the year 1214. He died at the age of 98 in 1225, *ñin bya*, that is, the date of our biography must be reduced by seven years, allowing only twelve years for his sojourn in India after his return, instead of 29.

According to the DT, the first place where the K'a c'e paṅ was received with supreme honours by the Tibetans was P'ag ri; his itinerary continued through Gyañ ro, Gur mo, Ts'ön adus, C'u mig, K'ro p'u.

8. Concerning Vibhūticandra see DT, *t'a*, p. 20. Sugataśrī is met with as a translator in Mlle LALOU's indexes.

9. Instead of Dsaśobhara we read in the litanies: Dsaśodhara = Yakṣodara on the Vitastā? See STEIN, *Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*, II, pp. 403, 420. K'ri stan, in the eulogy K'ri bstan, perhaps to be related to K'ri te, concerning whom see THOMAS, JRAS, 1933, p. 560; 1934, p. 282, and to K'ri te near Guge found in some Tibetan sources (see n. 36 to part first). This expression again appears in Hsüan Tsang's *ki li to*, namely the *Krita*, an invading population, poorly educated and adverse to Buddhism; they conquered and sometimes governed the country. See RONNOW, *Kirata*, Le Monde oriental, vol. XXX, 1936, p. 132 ff.

10. On which see above.

11. Concerning Śāntākaragupta see Mlle LALOU's indexes, Dhavaraka, or Dhanākara, as in the litanies, perhaps stands for Dharmākara.

12. In DT, *t'a*, pp. 3, 6 "Ve dur,, in Eastern India.

13. rKyañ adur is now Samada, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 92.

14. His biography is in *Dam pai c'os*, etc., p. 145 and in DT, *ba*, p. 1.

15. Perhaps Pravara-pura = Śrinagar. See STEIN, *Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*, I, p. 84.

16. Viz. in Bhṛṅgavihāra in the Bring (Bhṛṅga)-pargaṇa, STEIN, *ibid.*, II, p. 468.

17. Sa mi = Avantisvāmin? Instead of Satra, *s* and *p* being easily exchanged in Tibetan manuscripts, we may also think of an original *patra*, a corruption of Pattana (= Śankarapura).

18. Viz. he had the revelation of Maitreya-nātha, who explained his doctrines to him directly.

19. Jayapura is Andkoth. STEIN, *ibid.*, II, p. 479.

20. Ajita, Maitreya-nātha.

21. Ži abyun is Śāntākaragupta, Blo gros sbas is Maitrīgupta.

22. Sum bha ku ṭa is Sūmbhakūṭa, "Sumbha's peak,, unknown to me: K'ro gñer can, Bhṛkūṭi is a terrific hypostasis of Tārā. See B. BHATTACHARYA, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 59 ff.

23. On these names see above, n. 11.

24. Vikramaśilā has been located at Pātharghātā, JRASB, 1909, pp. 1-13. Cf. V. A. SMITH, *Early history of India*, p. 399; S. K. DAS, *The Educational system of the Ancient Hindus*, Calcutta, 1930, p. 373. It was founded according to Tāranātha by Dharmapāla (end of VIIIth cent.).

25. Odantapuri, Otantapuri, perhaps Uddandapura in Bihar, founded by Gopāla (about 765).

26. upāsaka, upāsikā, bbikṣu, bbikṣuṇi.

27. Kanika is perhaps Kaniskapura, Kanispor in Kashmir. STEIN, *ibid.*, II, p. 482. *Zla ba bkram* = moon + scattered, perhaps a mistake for: *Za glam, ardhacandra*. Usi, doubtful.

28. Sūtra, vinaya abhidharma, mantra? Or rather: teaching, argument, action, fruit?

29. The sanscrit names of the four goddesses seem to be Stam-bhinī, Upastambhinī, Suvarṇamālā, Parṇasavarī; but except the last one, I do not remember to have found them anywhere. As to Jagaddala, which seems to be the original of the Tibetan name, it is another famous Vihāra in Bengal, founded by Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126): it was the seat of Vibhūticandra, Dānaśīla, Mokṣakaragupta, Dharmākara, etc. N. N. DAS GUPTA in *Indian Culture*, vol. I, n. 2.

30. For *mts'uns*.

31. bKra ṣis dpal ldan is mentioned by Sum pa mk'an po, p. 287.

32. In the inscriptions the part not in italics corresponds literally to the text of the biography.

33. On the three *śikṣā* see, for instance, LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, chap. VI, p. 225.

34. This is the meaning of the scene represented in the tanka published by Mlle LALOU, *Trois aspects de la peinture Bouddhique*, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales, t. III, 1935, p. 235.

35. The spelling of this temple in 'Ol k'a always wavers between rDsiñ ji, rDsiñ p'yi.

36. *Jñānasattva*, concerning whom see above, p. 313. In the present case it is the *jñānasattva* of aJam dbyaṅs.

37. In the inscription we must suppose two negations to be present, as in the text: *snan ba ma byun ba med*.

38. See above, p. 598.

39. Viz. identity between *śmyatā* and *mabāsukba*, the intuitive moment called *yuganaddha*.

40. Viz. the chief interpreters of Mahāyāna and particularly of the Prajñāparamitā: Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Bhadanta Vimuktisena, Ārya-vimuktisena, whose continuator is Sen(ge) bzañ(po), i. e. Haribhadra, named in the list which immediately follows.

41. The list on the right contains the *sampradāya* of the bKa' gdams pa: Suvarṇadvipin, Atiśa's master, Atiśa, aBrom ston pa (concerning whom see above), dPal ldan dgon pa pa (*me abrug*, 1016; *c'u k'yi*, 1082), sNe (or sNeu) zur pa (*c'u rta*, 1042, died at 77 in the year of the dog, *sa k'yi*, 1118) (bKa' gdams c'or abyun, p. 8 a).

42. Biography in bKa' gdams c'os abyun, p. 98. The king of Guge contemporary of Nag dbaṅ grags pa was C'os rgyal Blo bzañ rab bstan who with his wife Don grub ma built some temples of Tsaparang. He was the father of Śa kya 'od and Śa kya rin c'en and the grandfather of aJig rten dbaṅ p'yug pad mai dkar lde, a contemporary of dGe adun rgya mts'o. *Vai dūr ya ser po*, p. 219. On this see n. 91 on Part one.

43. While on the stair on which the gods are descending, we see lotus flowers in the place of rungs, because the lotus is the normal support of supernatural beings (see p. 330), men not yet sanctified, though drawing near to bliss, ascend on a common ladder. On the ladder and the Buddha's descent cf. COOMARASWAMY, *Svayamātmajñā-Janua coeli* in *Zalmoxis*, 1939, p. 27, n. 8.

44. It should be remembered that in India the yearning to obtain a long life, indeed life eternal, is one of the prevailing motifs of vedic religion: *manāyur amṛtam*, *Kauṣītaki-up.*, III, 2, *āyur bopasate 'mṛtam*, *Bṛhadār.* up., IV, 4, 16, while upanisadic speculation already understands the ātman, the Being, as light: *amitaujas*, *Kauṣītaki-up.*, I, 3, *antah śarīre jyotiṣmayab*, *Mundaka*, III, 1, 5, in the same way as Buddhism will define the *citta* as *prakṛtiprabhāsvara*; cf. "Wenn ich zum Hause des Lebens emporsteige und zur lichten Wohnung hingehe,,. Thus the Mandeian hymns, REITZENSTEIN, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, p. 70.

45. OBERMILLER, *The sublime science of the great vehicle to salvation*, p. 254.

46. It must be kept in mind that according to the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvastivādin, the Buddha had three wives: Yaśodharā, Gopā and Mrgajā. See PERI, BEFEO, 1918.

47. In Tibetan the spelling of this name wavers between Ru-drāyana and Utrāyana, evidently a confusion with Udayana, in CHAVANNES, *Cinq Cent Contes*, III, p. 127, Udasena.

48. Les scènes figurées de la vie du Bouddha d'après les peintures tibétaines, in *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, Tome II. Other reproductions of Tibetan lives of the Buddha, in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Legende vom Leben des Buddha*.

49. See above, n. 42.

50. On the symbolism of statues and space see Part second, p. 319 and note 33.

51. This is the opinion of A. GETTY, GNB, pp. 67, 68.

52. The *Grub t'abs kun btus*, vol. ga, contains many sādhanas concerning this god: they are largely based on that of dPal mo, Lakṣmīkarā and on that written by Ts'ul k'rim rin c'en which gives a list of the masters, Indian as well as Tibetan, who dealt with the sādhanas of this deity.

53. The identification is doubtful, but very probably the central figure represents Śākyamuni in the act of revealing or preaching some text of Mahāyāna: it is not unlikely that the painter may have had in mind the *Saddharmapundarika*: when it was preached, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, first among the Bodhisattvas, were present. That paradises were often painted in relation to some sūtra, is known; so, for instance, in Lhasa the fifth Dalai Lama had Śākyamuni's heaven executed according to the *P'al po c'e*, *Avatamsaka*. Biogr. of the fifth Dalai Lama, vol. ca, p. 352.

54. aJam dbyans c'os rje born in bSam yas in the year *sa lug*, 1379, was a pupil of Tsoñ k'a pa (*bKa gdams c'os ahyuñ*, p. 55 E). rTogs ldan pa was born in Tsoñ k'a pa in the year *me spreu*, 1356, viz. one year before the birth of Tsoñ k'a pa, and died in the year *sa spreu* 1428. He also was a pupil of Tsoñ k'a pa (*Ibid.*, p. 31 b). The tanka is therefore connected with the dGe lugs pa, with whom Señ ge rnam rgyal was in good relations.

55. Viz. Žañ rin po c'e, whose biography may be read in DT, ña, p. 136. He was born in the year *water-hare*, 1123, and he died in the year *water-ox*, 1193.

56. On rGyal mts'an dpal bzañ po see above, p. 159. The other persons are, for the present, unknown to me.

57. Here what has been said above, on p. 303 should be recalled.

58. Most of these masters appear again in the list of the siddhas given on p. 227, to which we refer the reader. Concerning the other personages, it will be well to consult GRÜNWEDEL, *Edel.*, and the indexes of the bsTan aṅgyur, by Mlle LATOU.

59. On the Kālacakra, what has been said on p. 212 should be kept in mind, together with what we shall say when illustrating tanka n. 178.

60. Žañ blon rdo rje bdud rnam adul is a Tibetan creation; in the PTY (Toussaint, p. 141) we find as a dākinī rDo rje bdud rnam bdud; the word *žañ blon*, minister, shows that this god is part of a cycle in which a king or a queen, in fine a divine Court, was found. Instances of this are not lacking; see Appendix two.

61. See above, p. 157.

62. The monastery of bSam brtñ probably is the same as bSam ldiñ near Pa snam (cf. *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 69).

63. *gSol aḍebs leu bān mai lo rgyus dmigs rim p'an yon dan bcas*, p. 4.

64. *O rgyan guru rin po c'ei rnam t'ar bkai t'an yig gi don bsḍus gsol aḍebs rno mst'ar*, in RC, ka.

65. For greater details the reader can see the translation of the PTY by Toussaint.

66. An allusion to the various epiphanies of Padmasambhava; they correspond to eight different aspects, and to his six apparitions as a Buddha, each one destined to convert a particular class of beings in the various worlds. So, there being eight manifestations of Padmasambhava corresponding to the eight points of the space, in each of the six worlds, there are, as a whole, 48 aspects of the Guru (see TOUSSAINT, p. 12). This is stated in detail in the IIIrd chapter of the PTY and in the rÑin ma pa apology, p. 4 ff.

67. This is the mountain called Dharmagañja by sTag ts'an ras pa (see Tucci, *Travels of Indian pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, p. 81).

68. Or Dhanakośa (see *Ibid.*, p. 81).

69. Even the dākinīs are divided into five families *kula*, *rigs* (see above part I, p. 222).

70. The three revelations in Benares, on the Grḍhrakūṭa and in Vaiśālī.

71. This refers to a spiritual ascent like that which takes place during the samādhi.

72. The Wu t'ai shan in China.

73. Viz. one initiated into the Tantric schools, leading to salvation in one, seven or sixteen lives, according to the neophyte's pledge.

74. Concerning Za hor, see Appendix two.

75. In PTY Baidha, perhaps Vidarbha, Berār; Videha suggested tentatively by Toussaint (p. 490) seems to be out of place. aP'ags pa is Āryadeva, the pupil of Nāgārjuna.

76. aBras ldan is most probably aBras spuñs Dhānyakāṭaka, on which see Part I, p. 212 and n. 274.

77. Li is Khotan. Ma ru is perhaps the same as Ma ru rtse. According to S. Lévi, Maru is Chitral, but Tibetan tradition places it in the environs of Kulu; see Tucci, *Travels of Tibetan pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, pp. 41-42, n. 6.

La ša is perhaps a mistake for Gar ša, dKar ša, Lahul; Bru-ža is Gilgit; Šambhala is the place where the Kālacakra was revealed, see p. 212; Ta žig (sTag gzig) is Persia, (cf. Chinese 大食 Arabs, Muslims in Iran); T'o gar is Tokharestan; Ruk ma for Rūm, the Western world.

78. K'ra abrug, monastery in Yar lung.

79. The seven *sad mī*, on which see Part IV, n. 174.

80. On these practices see DAVID NEEL, *Mystiques et Magiciens du Tibet*.

81. On Nam mk'a' sñiñ po, Akāśagarbha see note 252.

82. Viz. the Buddha's statue, taken to Tibet in Sroñ btsan sgam po's times.

83. On the *dpa' bo*, *vīra*, see *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 42 ff. rÑa yab = Cāmara see p. 605 and note 295.

84. Viz. Ye šes mts'o rgyal, the incarnation of Sārasvatī.

85. On the bags containing offerings were written the names of the contents; now we can only read *bor ja*, Mongol tea.

86. The origin of the name Avalokiteśvara and the meaning of the word have been often discussed by scholars. The various opinions have been reviewed by STAËL-HOLSTEIN, *Avalokita and apalokita*, HJAS, 1936, p. 350 ff., who is inclined to derive the name *avalokita* from *loka* to save, to free (vedic: *lokavindu*, *lokasani*; *lokarṭ*, befriend). He supports his view with a passage of the *Saddharmapundarika*, pp. 438-439 (SBE, pp. 406-407) in which it is said that the god is called *Avalokita* because those who hear his name will be released from any trouble and with the sentence: *tāraya mām* (in the text: *mām*) *avalokaya* of a *dhāraṇī* and with some passages of the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 439). I am not fully convinced of this explanation and am rather inclined to believe that the meaning of saviour was secondary, in the sense that it was attached to the deity after the latter had acquired some consistency, and had become an independent entity. The origin of *Avalokita* is according to me, to be found in a personification of the four *mahāvīlokitāni* which the Bodhisattva *vilokayati* before descending from the Tuṣita heaven upon earth; *Lalitavistara*, ed. LEFMAN, p. 19, *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 197; five *vilokita* in *Nidānakathā*, pp. 48, 49, etc. The same idea underlies the passage of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* quoted by BURNOURF, *Introduction* (2nd ed.), p. 201, in which it is said that *Avalokiteśvara* is so called because "il regarde avec compassion les êtres souffrant des maux de l'existence...". The four *vilokita* (*ava-lokita* looks from above) later became the compassionate looks of the deity upon suffering mankind and chiefly upon the infernal beings. I therefore think that the god is the deification of an action of the Buddha, of one of the moments of his career.

87. Verse defective: a syllable missing.

88. See above n. 78.

89. Namely, moral and intellectual (*punya-jñāna-sambhāra*).

90. C'os ahyuñ is the technical word for triangle, *trikoṇa*, symbol of the womb of all things; it is represented by the letter *e* in the vowels of the mantra.

91. On Ts'e dpag med's maṇḍala, comprising nine gods, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 161, n. 3.

92. Viz. the name of the famous temple.

93. See notes 5 and 42.

94. See above, Part II, p. 227.

95. The "six ornaments", are the great masters of the Madhyamika Nāgārjuna, Rāhula, Āryadeva, Candrakīrti, Bhavaviveka, Buddhapālita.

96. Viz. Vāgīśvaragupta.

97. Wrong spelling?

98. See above, Part II, p. 302.

99. Viz. Indian and Tibetan masters are represented together (Señ ge bzañ po = Haribhadra), Ži ba ts'o (Śāntirakṣita), a lama



of the Yellow Sect, Byams pa c'os ldan, sPyil bu pa, and the Dalai Lamas.

100. *The lives of the Panchen Rinpoches or Tasi Lamas*, JRASB, 1882, p. 15, with 13 plates.

The Tashilunpo series is reproduced in figg. nn. 90-105.

101. See, later, the Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, translation, p. 626.

102. bSod nams grags pa, the master of Tson k'a pa. See Life, p. 85.

103. Nam mk'a bzan po, another master of Tson k'a pa; DT, ña, p. 129 a. So also C'os dbaṅ, the master of Bo-doñ.

104. On Šes rab mgon po see DT, ña, p. 129 a. Like Nam mk'a' bzan po he was a bKa' brgyud pa. On the other masters see Life, pp. 87 b, 94 a.

105. On this book see above p. 118.

106. On Ye šes rgyal mts'an I have no information.

107. On sKyabs mc'og dpal bzan po and Don grub bzan po I have no information.

108. C'os dpal, the master of Tson k'a pa for the Kālacakra.

109. Namely, in the heart of K'yuñ lha he sees, disposed to form a wreath, the letters completing the *mantra* of the *ādiguru*, the primeval master, present in the earthly master K'yuñ lha.

110. See above.

111. C'os skyabs, p. 344.

112. On this mountain see Appendix two.

113. The Chinese mission which came to invite Tson k'a pa is mentioned in dGe legs dpal bzan po's biography, p. 43, in the following terms: "At that time, as the Emperor Ta min had great faith in this lama, he sent him diplomas (*luñ*) and numberless gifts, insistently asking him for this favour, that he should fill with the holy Law persons well-deserving of China and all created beings. Thus he sent several hundreds of persons, headed by four Ta žin, as ambassadors. In the beginning, as he had entered his hermitage a short time before, he refused to meet the ambassadors. Later, some go-between having been informed, first of all the Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an, together with the dPon nam mk'a' bzan po, as the ambassadors did not come to him, but greatly insisted (to see him), he went to Se ra and met them, accepting their offerings. As to his journey to China, having diligently taken counsel and considered the motives of his disinclination, the ambassadors went back, giving up their invitation,."

Concerning this invitation and the letters exchanged on this occasion see a good article by Ju Dawchyan entitled 釋註明成祖遣使召宗喀巴紀事及宗喀巴覆成祖書 in *Studies presented to Ts'ai Yuan p'ei on his sixty-fifth birthday*, Part II, Peiping, 1935, p. 439.

114. The *bsre* is a complex Hāthayoga practice; see EVANS WENTZ, *Tibetan Yoga*, pp. 167, 230.

115. *Indo-Tibetica*, II.

116. Edited by S. Ch. Das and H. M. Vidyabhushaṇa, voll. 2, Calcutta.

117. See for instance WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 293.

118. The Sanskrit text of the X pallava *mNal nas qbyun ba* is missing; it is not even inserted in the summary of the work written by Somendra. On the other hand the latter lists as the forty-ninth pallava the *Šad-đantajātaka* (*saddānto 'bbūd dviyo yaś ca*), which does not appear in the Tibetan translation. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the forty-ninth pallava was lacking in the text on which the Tibetan translation was based; for this reason the editors, namely the 3Dar lotsāva Ņag dbaṅ p'un ts'ogs lhun grub and the Indian paṇḍita who was his master, compiled the Garbhāvākṛānti; so they could reach the prescribed number of 108 cantos, as many as the poem had, after Somendra wrote the last one to complete his father's work, which had reached the 107th pallava: *saptottaram śa taṃ etat tena kṛtam*.

119. On the lotsāva of Šoñ see above, p. 103.

120. See above, p. 123.

121. See above, p. 74.

122. *Notes sur la décoration des monastères bouddhiques*, Revue des Arts asiatiques, vol. V. See pp. 183-185. FOUCHER, *The beginnings of Buddhist art*, p. 204, n. 1.

123. Viz. Raviśrījñāna, on whom see Tāranātha-Schiefner, p. 252, or Raviśrībhadra, *ibid.*, pp. 253, 255.

124. See above p. 212 and down below Tanka n. 178.

125. Cfr. HUBER, *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 358. In the following notes the chief references only are given.

126. Cfr. the story of the king of Šibi.

127. L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, JRAS, 1894, pp. 297-319 (*Svayambhūpurāṇa*); CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, n. 6.

128. *Divyāv.*, pp. 210-228; *Jātaka* (ed. Fausböll), n. 258; RALSTON, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 1-20; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 40 and IV, p. 107 ff.; *Mahākarmavibhāṅga* (Lévi), p. 36.

129. *Divyāv.*, p. 320; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, pp. 17-19, III, pp. 406-408 and p. 88; SCHMIDT, *Der Weise u. d. Thor*, pp. 174-183.

130. *Divyāv.*, p. 99.

131. On the horse Bālāha. *Divyāv.*, p. 120 ff.; *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 73; GOLOUBEV, *Le cheval Balaka*, BEFEO, 1927, p. 223 ff.; FINOT, in *Études Asiatiques*, I, p. 229, n. 3. The *Kāraṇḍavyūha* deals at length with it.

132. The name of the handmaid in the sanscrit text is Rohikā, in Tibetan Rohitā.

133. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 39; cfr. HUBER, *Sūtrāḷ*, pp. 361-386; *Bhadramāyākāraṇḍavyūha*, ed. Régamey; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 262, 434 a (?).

134. *Divyāv.*, p. 271; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 37 and IV, p. 153; HUBER, *Sūtrāḷ*, pp. 361-386; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, III, pp. 319-331; for Anāgana's story cfr. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 27; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 258-260.

135. The story of Nanda, Sundarānanda is well known through Asvaghosa's poem (ed. Johnston, Lahore, 1928). BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, I, pp. 217-223; LONGHURST, *Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunikonḍa*, p. 177, Pl. XXXV a; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, I, pp. 464-473, figg. 234-238; VOGEL in RAA, XI, p. 115 ff.

136. On the Vākūda, Vakkula, Vatkula stūpa see PRZYLUKI, *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, p. 258.

137. SCHIEFNER, *Leben*, p. 288; ROCKHILL, *Life*, p. 666 CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 263. For the story of Mālikā cfr. *Jātaka*, p. 415; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 214; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, II, p. 36; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 96.

138. SCHIEFNER, *Leben*, p. 97; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 115; PERI, in BEFEO, 1907, p. 32; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées etc.*, p. 99.

139. HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 56 ff.

140. The descent from heaven is a very common subject in art. Cfr. LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikonḍa*, Pl. XI d; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 264-265.

141. In the text the *yupa* of the legend has become a *stūpa*, *Divyāv.*, p. 61 ff.; LÉVI, *Maitreya le consolateur in Mélanges Linossier*, p. 355.

142. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 336.

143. On Śāriputra see MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pali proper names* s. v.

144. *Divyāv.*, p. 3 ff.; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 237 ff.

145. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 325 and IV, p. 246. Cfr. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. XX a.

146. *Jātaka*, I, p. 92; COOMARASWAMY, *Bodhgayā*, Pl. 51, 2; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 233, 240; HACKIN, *Vies figurées*, p. 31; VOGEL, *ARS. An. R.*, 1907-1908, p. 81 ff.

147. *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 92, 181. For the story of Brahmadatta paying homage to Bhadrā cfr. *ibid.*, III, p. 190; HUBER *Sūtrāḷ*, p. 225; LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikonḍa*, p. 36, Pl. XXXIV, 6; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 230-233.

148. Bibliography in LAMOTTE E., *La somme du grand véhicule d'Asaṅga*, II, 2, p. 43; cfr. also BENVENISTE, *Vessantara Jātaka*, Texte sogdien, Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, IV; *Jātakamālā*, n. IX (transl. by Speyer in the *Sacred Books of the Buddhist*, vol. I); in Tibet WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 543; BACOT, *Trois Mystères Tibétains*.

149. These events are so common that references are useless.

150. Hsüan Tsang, cap. X (WATTERS, *On Yüan Chwang travels*, II, p. 180); HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 67.

151. In the scr. text *Tuttī*; in the Tibet. *Aṭa*.

152. SCHIEFNER, *Leben*, pp. 281-282; ROCKHILL, *Life*, pp. 43-44; LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikonḍa*, Pl. XXXII, 6; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 267-269; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 71.

153. *Jātakamālā* (Kṣāntivādin-av.); CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 220.

154. *Jātaka*, n. 482; *Jātakamālā*, p. 26; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 220 and IV, p. 122 ff.; LALOU, *Trois récits du Dulva*, JA, 1925, pp. 333-337.

155. SCHMIDT, *Der Weise u. d. Thor*, pp. 261-262; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 589 and IV, p. 190; PELLIOU (version ouïgure), TP, 1914, pp. 225-227.

156. *Jātaka*, n. 193; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 49 and IV, p. 93; TAWNEY, *Ocean of stories*, II, p. 10 and note.

157. These two nāgas are regularly said to have bathed the Bodhisatva, cf. VOGEL, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 95 ff.; *Divyāv.*, pp. 307, 329, 395.
158. Cf. story n. 47.
159. Ghosila is connected with the story of Śyānavatī, *Divyāv.*, p. 528. See HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 53; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, I, p. 280. The vihāra of Kauśāmbī was known as Ghositā-rāma, see N. N. GOSH, *Early history of Kauśāmbī* p. 75 ff.
160. *Divyāv.*, p. 26 ff. *Ajanā* (Yazdani), Part II, pp. 45-48, Pl. XLII, XLIV a; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 72.
161. The title of the avadāna is *Mukapaṅgu*, *Cariyāpitaka*, III, p. 6; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 126 and IV, p. 206.
162. *Kṣānti-Jātaka*, p. 313; *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 357; *Jātakamālā*, n. 28; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, I, p. 241; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 161 (different redactions); LÜDERS, *Bharbut*, pp. 119-121.
163. BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, IV, p. 215.
164. *Divyāv.*, p. 544 ff.; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 127; HUBER, in BEFEO, 1906, p. 12 ff. In the text the two forms Rauraka and Roruka are met, LÜDERS, *Philologica Indica*, p. 643 ff.; LÉVI, *Mahā-karmavibhāṅga*, p. 58, n. 7; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 43 ff.
165. BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, II, p. 184.
166. *Divyāv.*, p. 291 ff.
167. *Avadānaśataka*, n. 83.
168. In verse 18 I correct *na bhuktam* in *nābhuktam*, HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 69.
169. Cf. the story of Kalyāṇakārīn.
170. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 30.
171. gÑen ldan, but in the Tibet. text gÑan ldan.
172. Cf. *Apadāna*, I, pp. 299-301, where, as a matter of fact, eleven results of a former karma are listed. In the *vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Taishō, n. 1448, vol. 18, pp. 94-96, ten karmas.
173. On Śankha and Likhita see CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 288. The Buddha's foot wounded, HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 71.
174. *Divyāv.*, p. 470: the heroine is called here Rūpavatī.
175. *Mahāv.*, III, p. 350; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 59 and IV, p. 155; HUBER, *Sūtrā*, p. 471.
176. Cf. DEMIÉVILLE, *Les versions du Milindapañha*, BEFEO, XXIV, p. 36.
177. *Lankāvatāra*, p. 250. Cf. the story of the king of Śibi, HUBER, *Sūtrā*, p. 330; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 42; VOGEL, *Mathura*, pl. XX c.
178. JULIEN, *Memoires sur les contrées occ.*, II, p. 99; DEMIÉVILLE, *Ibid.*, p. 36; VOGEL, *Excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, An. Bibliogr. Ind. Arch., 1930, pp. 5-6; FOUCHER, RAA, V, p. 15, pl. VIII, fig. 1.
179. On this avadāna see DEMIÉVILLE, *Ibid.*, p. 37.
180. *Divyāv.*, p. 403 ff.; BURNOUF, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, pp. 359-370; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 106; JULIEN, *Memoires sur les contrées occ.*, II, p. 154; PRZYLUŠKI, *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, p. 281.
181. Cf. BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, XVII, p. 3 a.
182. In the *Haṭṭhipālajātaka* (n. 509) the sons were four, not one. Their father was a king called Esukārī, king of Benares.
183. On Gavampati see PRZYLUŠKI, *Le Concil de Rājagṛha*, p. 6 ff.
184. For the first part of this story see CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 14 ff., D, p. 151. The two stories 62-63 are connected *Mahāv.*, III, p. 402; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 25.
185. But in Tib.: *Tsa tsa kar*.
186. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 16, D, p. 151. The title *Ma-hākāśyapa* in the Avadāna is to be explained because in the *vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, Pippalāyana is called Pippalakāśyapa. In this redaction the character of Bhadrā is different.
187. *Divyāv.*, pp. 435-611. *Mahāv.*, II, pp. 93-115; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, pp. 292-304; VOGEL, RAA, XI, p. 109 ff.; CUNNINGHAM, *Mahābodhi*, Pl. VIII, fig. 10; ID., *The stūpa of Bharbut*, Pl. XXVII, fig. 12.
188. Bibliography in WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 208 ff., p. 520 f. and II, p. 147, p. 244 ff.; LÜDERS, *Philologica Indica*.
189. There is no relation between Alolamantra and *ma nūḍ pa* = no weeping.
190. Cf. *Daśakarmapluti* above.
191. *Divyāv.*, p. 330 ff.
192. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 80, III, p. 136 and IV, p. 97.
193. So begins a cycle of avadānas concerning Aśoka. PRZYLUŠKI, *Légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, p. 260 ff.
194. Usually *Madhyāntika* or *Madhyandina*. PRZYLUŠKI, *ibid.*, p. 341; VOGEL, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 232 ff.
195. PRZYLUŠKI, *ibid.*, p. 343. In the *Avadānakalpalatā* Malla instead of Mahallaka.
196. *Divyāv.*, p. 352 ff.; PRZYLUŠKI, *ibid.*, p. 354 ff.
197. PRZYLUŠKI, *ibid.*, p. 426.
198. PRZYLUŠKI, *ibid.*, p. 225; HUBER, *Sūtrā*, p. 143; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 255, 256; LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, XXXV, p. 6.
199. Cf. the story of Kṣāntivādin.
200. The episode of the offering of the four bowls is well known. Tibetan interpretation and sources in HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 20. On Kaineyaka, Kencya see *Majjhima N*, II, p. 146 and *Suttanipāta*, p. 104.
201. CUNNINGHAM, *Mahābodhi*, Pl. XLVII, fig. 1; ID., *The stūpa of Bharbut*, Pl. XXVIII; VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. VII, LI b, LIII b; LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, Pl. XLIV a, b.
202. Cf. the story of Adinapunya.
203. *mC'od 'os* corresponds to *arctodaya* rather than to *Aritodaya* as in the text.
204. *Divyāv.*, p. 202, *Digba-nikāya*, II, p. 148 ff.
205. Cf. the story of Pūrṇa.
206. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 269.
207. *Mahāv.*, III, p. 172; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 197.
208. Cf. above, avadāna n. 42.
209. On a parallel theme and its representation see LALOU, *Trois récits du Dulva*, JA, 1925, p. 336; *Trois aspects de la peinture tibétaine*, Ann. de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientale, 1925, p. 249 ff.
210. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 273.
211. Many arhats are called Padma, Paduma for having offered a Buddha some flowers. See Malalasekera's Dictionary of Pali proper names.
212. Cf. the story of Cittahattha, BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, II, p. 12.
213. *Divyāv.*, p. 236 ff. For the story of Sumati see CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 366 and IV, p. 134; *Divyāv.*, p. 246 ff.; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 232 ff. In the text Kakucchandra for Krakucchanda. LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, Pl. XXXIV a; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 139-141.
214. No reference is, at present, known to me.
215. Cf. the avad. of Subhāsitagaveśin.
216. *Jātaka*, n. 439; *Divyāv.*, p. 589; *Avadānaśataka*, n. 36; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 630.
217. *Jātaka*, n. 77; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, XXI, p. 8; TOKIWA, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvad*. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 293. In the text Puṇḍavardhana for Puṇḍravardhana. HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 100.
218. *Jātakamālā*, n. 1; *Divyāv.*, p. 32; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 15; SCHMIDT, *Der Weise u. d. Thor*, pp. 21-26.
219. Cf. *Jātakamālā*, n. 30.
220. HUBER, *Sūtrā*, p. 383; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 192 and IV, p. 226.
221. Cf. Avadāna n. 1.
222. *Jātaka*, n. 540; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 209; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 156; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 142-143.
223. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 69 and IV, p. 130.
224. *Jātaka*, n. 316; *Jātakamālā*, n. 6; *Avadānaśataka*; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, pp. 52, 76, 77, 411 and IV, p. 95.
225. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 395.
226. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 293; ID., *Geschichte d. Indisch. Literatur*, III, p. 228 ff.
227. This is the story of the Śibi King, *Jātakamālā*, 2, etc.
228. I. e. the mountain Vaṅka. *Jātakamālā* (Speyer, pp. 81, 83, 93). For the gift of the eyes see the story of the Śibi king, *ibid.*, p. 8 ff.
229. See above, p. 408.
230. See above, p. 134.
231. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 174 ff.
232. *Žabs druṅ* is merely a title: the name is not legible.
233. Well known *rñiṅ ma pa* masters. On *C'os dbaṅ*, *C'os dbaṅ p'yug*, see above, p. 259. *C'os rgyal ral pa* may be, beside *Ral pa can*, also *Ñān ral*, on whom see above, *ibid.* *Ñi ma 'od* and *bDe* legs are unknown to me.
234. On this goddess see Tanka n. 174.
235. I cannot locate this place which, meaning "Castle", is very common in Tibetan toponymy.
236. "These twelve Tankas represent the Buddhas of the three times surrounded by the 16 arhats and the eight aspects of the great ācārya surrounded by (the representation) of his life narrated in the



large redaction of the *T'an yig*: they have been made by commission for Kun dga' rnam rgyal a merchant of mK'ar. On this occasion the inscription on the back was made by the Rig ḍsin, Padma miñ can (or: having the name of Pad ma),..

237. The cycle of the eight cemeteries is sufficiently known; see the *Smaśanavidbi*, edited by FINOT, in the JA, 1934. The list contained in the *Vajrapradīpīpanī*, by Suratavajra (Sanskrit text) and the *Astaśmaśāna* from the Tibetan text we have published in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 173 (pp. 180-181, correct "cemeteries,, instead of "Hells,,). The list of the rñin mas, as may be seen, is different from the traditional one of Indian Tantric literature, but the cemeteries are equally arranged so as to form the symbolic lotus. Each of these cemeteries has a protector, a tree, a mountain, a cloud, a *stūpa* and a *nāga*, proper to it. As may be seen there is a plan underlying this conception and it is parallel, in its essential elements, with that of the pure earths. The *clichés* describing the latter contain the Buddha ruling over them, the miraculous trees made of gems, the precious mountains, the *stūpas* or *vimāna*, the gods surrounding the Buddha as he meditates or preaches. In fact these cemeteries, which are eight (as many as the mental states representing the samsaric being to be overcome, five sensation / sensorial / one intellectual, *mulavijñāna*, *ālayavijñāna*; *Lañkāvatāra-sūtra*, pp. 314 v, 386, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* ed. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, vol. I, passim), are the contrary of the pure earth, but by virtue of the bivalence of thought, mentioned above, they at the same time may undergo a revulsion, *parāvṛtti*, through which, by a sudden change, they become the exact contrary of what they were: in the same way tainted thought (*kliṣṭa*) regains its nature as luminous thought: *prabhāsvaracitta*.

238. On these deities see Appendix two.

239. The five dākinī correspond to the five gnosés or to the five kulas rigs. In the Śamvara cycle they are ten, known as the 10 *k'ro mo*.

240. *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* trad. et annotée par L. de la Vallée Poussin, vol. III, pp. 36-50. See what we have said above, p. 360f.

241. See above, p. 377 f.

242. Keurimā, etc. These eight goddesses appear in the cycle of the Na rag don sprugs, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part I, p. 123 and p. 191 ff.

Their names, in Tibetan translations, are extremely corrupt; as I have shown in the above-quoted work, they are:

Gaurī	mDsod ldan
Caurī-(ma)	C'om rkun
Pramohā	Rab rmoñs
Vaitali	Ro lañs ma
Pukkasi	sBos mo
Ghasmari	Dred mo
Smaśāni	Dur k'rod ma
Caṇḍālī	gTum mo

The Sanskrit name of the first goddess is certain (see JA, 1934, vol. CCXXXV, p. 29): the Tibetan translation *māsoḍ ldan*, "she who owns a store,, is difficult to explain. Evans Wentz's *Keyurī ma*, "she who wears a bracelet,, is out of question.

P'ra men ma is the global name given to this class of goddesses. On this cycle, cfr. *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part I, p. 126.

243. *om mañi padme hum*, viz. the *śaḍakṣara mantra*, the mantra in six letters, sacred to Avalokiteśvara. The formula's most probable meaning, ruling out the exoterisms which theologians believe may be seen in it (for instance *Mañi bka' ḥbum*), is Om, Manipadmā, hūm. Cfr. THOMAS J. W., JRAS, 1906, p. 464.

244. On this scarf, used as a bridge, see Appendix two. As to Buddhagupta's description see TUCCI, *Sea and Land travels of a Buddhist Sādhu*, IHQ, 1931, p. 683.

245. On Bon po iconography see I. VAN MANEN, *Concerning a Bon image*, JRASB, XVIII, n. 2, p. 196; ROCK, *The birth and origin of Dto-mba shi-lo*, *Artibus Asiae*, vol. VII, p. 5; HOFFMAN, *La religione Bon po*, Roma, 1941.

246. Translated by S. LÉVI, E. CHAVANNES, "Les seize arhats protecteurs de la Loi,, JA, 1926. The text is also included among the avadānas of the bsTan agyur mDo, CX, p. 19. In Mille Lalou's catalogue, it is missing in the list of works, but may be found under the name of its author, Nandimitra.

247. Cfr. PANDER, *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*.

248. *qP'ags pai gnas brtan rgyal bai bstan skyon c'en po rnam kyī rtoḡs brjod pa dsaṃ bui sñe ma*, written by Nāg dbaṅ sñān grags dpal bzañ po.

249. LÉVI-CHAVANNES, article quoted above, p. 144. Chinese 魯樸 (Ka-lu-mei) corresponds to Klu mes.

250. On literary precedents and parallels see MATSUMOTO EICHI, *Tonkō-ga no kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1937.

251. The work was written in the year *me brug*, 1676.

252. The inclusion of Dharma-ta-la and of the Hva šān in the list of the arhats takes us back to the penetration of Ch'an or dhyāna into Tibet, which took place in K'ri sroñ lde btsan's times.

Antagonism between the Hva šān Mahayāna and Kamalaśīla, recorded in Tibetan tradition (for instance *rGyal rabs*) and which was so strong as to induce Kamalaśīla to write a refutation of his opponent, i. e. the *Bhāvanākrama* (see OBERMILLER, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, 1935, vol. II, p. 1) may have hindered the introduction of this personage in the arhats' cycle, or at least it may have favoured his exclusion from the same cycle, on the part of some sects. But that he belonged to the Ch'an, *bsam gtam*, school, is proved by a rather important passage in the *bKa' t'an sde lña*, ca, *Blo po bkai t'an*, p. 19 ff., in which he is recognized as the last descendant of the *sampradāya* of a school going back to Bodhi-dharmottara, Bodhi-dharmottarala, Dharmottara. There is no doubt at all that this Dharmottara is the original of the name Dharmatala, the seventeenth arhat. It is equally certain that he was identified by rñin ma pa tradition with Bodhidharma, of the Ch'an school, (who came to China from Persia about before 479 d. D. Cfr. HU SHIS, *P'u t'i ta mo k'ao* 菩提達摩考 in the third volume of his *Literary Essays*). Concerning him it is said, on p. 19, that having crossed the Eastern ocean, he arrived in Li kun, in China, where he met the Chinese prince (rGya rje) Sa 'u yan and an abbot. Having recognized that they did not understand the true Law, he went to a castle depending from that country (*mk'ar lag*) called C'u; but the local monks K'a ši, Liu rtso, Kan rdor, and others, were jealous of him, and attempted to poison him six times. Seeing that he was unable to become the apostle of the Law, he apparently entered nirvāṇa, but appeared again in the upper regions (*stod p'yogs* = *mñā' ris*).

A merchant called Bun (evidently 宋雲 Sung Yün) of the Chinese sources) met him and saw that he held a single shoe in his hand. Having gone back to China, the merchant wished to verify what he had been told and, the tomb where Bodhidharma was buried being opened, he found but one shoe there.

It may be seen that this Tibetan tradition corresponds to the Chinese legend recorded, for instance, by Tao yüan 道原 in his 景德傳燈錄 *Ching te ch'uan teng lu* (Taishō, 2076, p. 219). This Bodhidharmottara is considered the first of the seven apparitions in China (*ibid.*, p. 19 a) *rgya nag sprul bdun*: the last (*t'a ma*) being the Hva šān mahāyāna.

This explains the title it bears in a Tun huang manuscript: *bdun rgyud dan po bo dbe dbar ma ta las bśad pa* (LALOU, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen houang*, n. 116, p. 40), which must be understood not as the name of a book bDun rgyud, as Mille Lalou proposes, but as "first of the lineage of the seven masters,,. In the same *bKa' t'an sde lña* we find other Ch'an works quoted, for instance the *cig c'ar ajug pa*, probably the same as the *t'eg pa c'en por cig c'ar ajug pa*, Tun huang (LALOU, *ibid.*, n. 813, p. 178).

Moreover, another Ch'an master is quoted in that chapter of the *bKa' t'an sde lña*, ending with a summary of the Ch'an doctrines; I allude to the mK'an po a dhan her, in which it is not difficult to recognize A rdan hver of Tun huang's texts (LALOU, *ibid.*, n. 116, p. 40, and *Documents Tibétains sur l'expansion du Dhyāna Chinois*, JA, 1939, p. 506, A-rtan hyver).

All this proves that the authors of the *bKa' t'an sde lña* knew the translations, and in part also the texts (A rtan hver's sayings are quoted) of the Ch'an schools, which had penetrated into Tibet from Central Asia and from Tibet since the times of the kings. This also proves, once again, that very often the compilers of these texts have used authentic materials and, on the other hand, that in some schools, particularly among the rñin ma pas, remarkable survivals should not be lacking of the Ch'an school, whose chief representative in Tibet was Nam mk'a sñin po of gNubs clan (or sNubs).

253. Cfr. KÜMMEL, *Die Kunst Chinas, Japans und Korea*, Tav. V.

254. This may have happened when it was recalled that the dhyāna masters referred to above were seven from Dharma-tala to the Hva šān as the seventh (see n. 252); the presence of the first caused the last to be added to the cycle.

255. In the centre Śākyamuni Lhar bcas skyes dguī ḍren mc'og bzās gtsaṅ sras, between Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana-Aṅgaja, Bakula.

Tankas on the right:

- 1) Ajita, Kālīka, Vanavāsin;
- 2) Kanakavatsa, Vajriputra, Kanakabharadvāja, Bhadra;
- 3) Hva šān.

Tankas on the left:

- 1) Rāhula, Cūḍapanthaka, Piṇḍola Bharadvāja;
- 2) Panthaka, Nāgasena, Abhedha, Gopaka;
- 3) Dharmata la.

The figures of Hva šān and Dharmata la are each accompanied by those of two *dīkpāla*.

256. Of course many other combinations are possible; see for instance GORDON, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, fig. fronting p. 104.

257. But Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, in the book already quoted, says that the list may begin with any arhat whatsoever, according to the wish of those who pray, viz. that each particular beginning from a name on the list corresponds to a particular purpose of prayer. This is probably meant to justify the different order of the arhats in the literary or liturgical lists.

258. Although the Chinese and Tibetan text of the *Nandimitrāvādāna* is the same, it is clear that the two originals on which the Chinese and Tibetan translators based their versions had their own peculiarities as to the spelling of the names; but it is not unlikely that the Chinese translation became altered in its turn, as to the characters used to transcribe the Sanskrit names. In the Chinese list I have left, in doubtful cases, the Chinese transcription. In the Tibetan lists the transcription is given only in the first, or when there are differences or abnormal forms. For the Khotanese texts see *Mélanges Linossier*, p. 374, LEU-MANN, *Nordarische Lebrgedicht des Buddhismus*, p. 252; *Nebenstücke*, p. 164.

259. Most commonly *Yan lag abyun*; instead of *Āṅgaja* it presupposes *Ingitañña*; cfr. *Mabāvūtpatti*, *zur tsam gyis go ba*.

260. See preceding note.

261. Perhaps for *Vipula*, a double of *Vipulapārśva*, like *Pūrva* and *Videha*.

262. (*Vinayapīṭaka*, I, p. 197; *Divyāv.*, p. 21) *dBus* is so called because it is included between *Li k'a ra šin ap'el* (*Puṇḍhravardhana*, *Mahāsthān* Gaḍ IHQ, 1934, pp. 57-66) to the East, *qDsam bu c'u kluñ* (= *Setakannika* of *Vinayap.*, I, p. 197, *Divyāv.* *Sarāvati*) to the South. *Ka ba* and *Ne ba ka ba* (*Sthūna* and *Upasthūna*, in *Kosala*, *Lévi*, *Catalogue des Yakṣa*, 13, p. 59, *MALALASEKERA*, *Dictionary*, s. v. *Thūna*) to the West, *Usira* to the North.

263. See for instance *T'ub dbaṅ gnas brtan bcu drug dan bcas pa la me'od cin gsol la gdab pai ts'ul grub bstan rgyas byed yid bžin nor bu*, by Ye šes rgyal mts'an (Potala edition), WADDELL, *op. cit.*, p. 376; GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 37; A. K. GORDON, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, p. 104.

264. This form presupposes a Sanskrit original *Agnija*.

265. Not *Kālīki* (ROERICH, TPT, p. 92). The Tibetans derived the name from *kāla* time or *kāla* black.

266. From (*tikta*), *valkala* cinnamon? In Tibet, as we have seen, its name is translated *šin šun can*.

267. On *Piṇḍola* see *LÉVI-CHAVANNES*, *op. cit.*, and PRZYLUKI, *La Légende de l'Empereur Asoka*, pp. 68-98.

268. On *Sarasvatī* and the Chinese sources see the article *Ben-zaiten* in *Hōbōgirin*.

269. FOUCHER's beautiful pages, in *Art G. B.*, II p. 102, should be read again in this connection. The data of Chinese sources concerning *Vaiśravaṇa* are collected in *Hōbōgirin*, art. *Bishamon*. Recently Mlle LALOU has published in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. IX, p. 97, a very interesting article on *Vaiśravaṇa*'s Central-Asian iconography. Nevertheless I do not think that the crescent-shaped motif represents two elephant-teeth as a symbol of riches; the representation of these symbols is to be found, that I know of, only in Tibetan art and is not confirmed by ancient instances. Moreover, elephant-teeth are a sign of riches only because they are associated with a precise series of precious objects.

The motif, I believe, cannot be dissociated from the small flat wings on the epaulettes of cuirasses, a characteristic symbol of *Vaiśravaṇa*, nor from the moon-motif, an emblem of royalty. For the flames on the Buddha's shoulders see FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, II, p. 463.

270. It is interesting to notice how in canonical literature *Vaiśravaṇa*, like all the *Lokapāla*, is assigned the usual drapery, while his cuirass, in never mentioned, for instance *Savarṇaprabhāsa* (ed. Idzumi), p. 57, *atha kbalu Vaiśravaṇa mahārāja, etc. utbhāyāsanecchyo ekāmsena cīvarāṇi prāvṛtṭya...* Also notice that in the same text *Vaiśravaṇa* is, in one

place, quoted apart from the four *mahārājas*: p. 148, v. 31: *Sriś ca Vaiśravaṇas caiva tatbā Caturmahādhipātī*. That *Vaiśravaṇa*'s warlike character (as a *Lokapāla* distinct from *Kubera*, in whom the chthonic element and hence the quality of a god of riches persist) should have developed, as I have said, from the *rakṣā* or protecting vigilance attributed to the *Lokapālas* and particularly to *Vaiśravaṇa*, is clearly proved by careful perusal of the *Savarṇaprabhāsaśūtra*, which alludes to their functions as protecting custodians, p. 58, as "victors in battle", taking the part of those who believe in the *Savarṇaprabhāsa* (p. 61); their office is to oppose their obstacle (*vighna*) against enemies of the Law, p. 65; where the *Savarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* is preserved and worshipped, they will come with their victorious armies (*ibid.*). It is clear that this canonical tradition contains a justification of the Central Asian legends to which we have alluded. In Tibet the legend of *rNam t'os sras*, evidently in connection with the story of *Pe dkar* (see Appendix two), was represented in some dances. Biogr. of the fifth Dalai Lama, *ca*, p. 228. In *Bhārhut* *Kubera* sits on a dwarf, *naravāhana* in the traditional attire of the *Yakṣas*. On *Vaiśravaṇa* in Ceylon see P. WIRZ, *Exorzismus und Heilkunde auf Ceylon*, pp. 30-32 and *passim*.

271. This in the translation of *c'os rgyal p'yi sgrub*. I do not think the translation "Ministre des affaires extérieures", given by LINOSSIER, *Mélanges Linossier*, is acceptable.

272. The *p'yva* are real classes of Bon priests. See Appendix two.

273. The *Kṣetrapālas* are very ancient deities of the Indian religion surviving in Shivaism. See CH. H. CHAKRAVARTI, *The Śaivite Deity Kṣetrapāla*, IHQ, IX, p. 237.

274. *Jinamitra*, who appears very often in Tantric liturgies, is a mythological figure whose origin and meaning are not clear. Cfr. *Jinaraśabha* of the *Vaiśravaṇa* cycle.

275. *Ṭakkirāja* is another *naivāsika* god, of whom we have met many instances; he is the *naivāsika* of *Ṭakkī*, corresponding to the region near *Sialkot*; STEIN, *Kalbana's Chronicles of Kashmir*, p. 150 and notes; cfr. D. CH. SIRCAR, *Text of the Purāṇa list of peoples*, IHQ, XXI, p. 297. The *Ṭakkadeśa* of some sources is placed together with the *Balhika*, another population of *Panjab*. See PRZYLUKI, *Un peuple du Panjab*, *Les Udumbara*, JA, 1926.

276. *Tra kṣad*, another mythological type whose origin and meaning are unknown; certainly a form of *Mahākāla*; in Tib. he is also called *Drag šad* "fierce power".

277. *Hayagrīva*, in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Supplement zu *Band*, XXXIII, 1935.

The problem of *Hayagrīva* is very complex: it must be related to horse worship and to the belief of some tribes concerning the existence of beings with horse faces: *Ghormuḥa*. Cfr. BODDING, *Santal Folktales*, II, pp. 281 and 375; *Id.*, *Studies in Santal Medicine and connected Folklore*, Mem. As Soc. Bengal, X, n. 2, pp. 133-436; HEINE-GELDERN, *Orissa and die Mundavölker in Periplus der Erythräischen Meeres*; *Geograph. Jahresber. aus Österreich*, XIV-XV, 1929, p. 171; PRZYLUKI, *Études indiennes et Chinoises*, I; *Les unipèdes*, *Mélanges Chinois et Boudhiques*, II, p. 307 ff.

278. The Nepalese inscription ending with the usual sanscrit formulas was written in the year 936 = 1815.

279. Most probably the Tantric counterpart of the Śivaite *Skandhakumāra*.

280. He resides in a *bTsan mk'ar*, whose doors are guarded by an iron wolf and a copper fox. His body is red, his red eye is fixed on enemies; on his ears hangs a red *srin* of the rocks. He wears a leather helmet and carries a leather shield; in his right hand he grasps a red spear with flaming flags; in his left hand a freshly severed head; his mount is a horse of the *bTsan*.

The god represented in fig. III of *Tibetan Temple Paintings* by J. C. VAN MEURS, 1924, very similar to that described by LINOSSIER, *Mélanges Linossier*, p. 4, seems to me to be a *bTsan*, perhaps *Beg tse*, whose symbols he has (lance and bow), rather than *Sroñ btsan sgam po*. The eight knights show a contamination with the *rta bdag* of *Vaiśravaṇa*'s cycle.

281. Even *Vaiśravaṇa* was called *Mahākāla*, because he was "blackened by offerings", (I Ching transl. by TAKAKUSU, p. 38). But evidently it is here a case of an epithet given to a god who has no relation with *Mahākāla* the god of death.

282. Unknown.

283. On this word *k'ram šin*, R. STEIN has written in *JRAS*, IV, p. 320. *K'ram šin* is the attribute of the *c'os rgyal*: according to the *Bar do t'os grol* when the dead man is led before him, the king of the



next world examines the *k'ram šin* and sees at once how many sins the deceased has committed in his life-time. Hence it would seem to be a "record"; according to WADDEL, *Lamaism*, *k'ram šin* is "a tree picture...". S. CH. DAS, s. v. *k'ram k'a* has "a club-like implement carved with lines, representing the attributes of a god and containing mystic figures in them...". Cf. STEIN, *ibid.* But *k'ram šin* is also "a board on which the body of a culprit is stretched to flog him on the back", (*ibid.*). The *k'ram šin* is reproduced in tanka n. 172 as an attribute of dPal ldan lha mo. There is no doubt that it is a sort of club; as much may be deduced from the picture of Sa bdag se bdud, reproduced in the *Vai dū rya dkar po* (Lhasa edition, p. 466). But this club is called *k'ram šin* precisely because signs are traced on it; these signs may be magical, but they may also have a mnemonical value, almost a writing to count and enumerate, and to preserve records. Indeed besides the *k'ram šin*, a *k'ram žags* is also known, a noose with *k'ram*, and in this case *k'ram* can only be a knot. See Appendix two, p. 718. In both cases, then, we have symbols of terrific deities, charged with some punishment; the sins to be punished are marked on them by notches or knots.

284. *Byaṅ dmar*: this may also come from *byaṅ bu*, a tablet with a red inscription.

285. rDo rje gdan pa is generally the epithet of Ratnākara-gupta, but is also said of other masters; see Mille Lalou's indexes.

286. *Mythol. des Buddhismus*, p. 81.

287. Concerning Miñ sriñ see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 129 f.

288. Viz. Kālacakra as symbol of the supreme unity realized by yoga.

289. Besides the text here quoted and included in the bSṭan agyur and the *Sambhala Lam yig* edited by Grünwedel, I know another itinerary to this country which, although it originally had a geographical reality, has become, as we have said, a mythical country. This itinerary, known to me through a manuscript copy, is entitled *Sambhalai lam yig*, without the author's name. This itinerary starts from the mC'od rten dkar po, on the Chinese frontier, Pai ta to the SW of Liang Chou continues eastward in Chinese territory: hence it imagines Sambhala to be in the North-West, in the direction of Northern Asia.

290. The central image of rDo rje ajigs byed is surrounded by 52 small figures of gŠin rje.

291. Vol. IV, part I, p. 110 ff. The year in the inscription is almost effaced.

292. TPT, p. 76.

293. Śrīgiri, Śrīparvata, one of the chief centres of late Buddhism. It corresponds to Nāgārjunī-kūṇḍa, in the Guntur district, where the famous stūpa stands. See *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, n. 54, pp. 5, 6; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX, p. 1 ff.; RAHULA ŚĀNĀKṚTYĀ-YANA, *Recherches Bouddhiques*, JA, 1934, pp. 208, 212.

294. The Gin are the fiends of Bon mythology, which Lamaism however has accepted like all the rest. GRÜNWEDEL supposed them to be the same as the Jinn of the Arabs, but there is no foundation for such a view.

295. Reigning in this Zaṅs mdog ri, Padmasambhava, by his own essence or through his emanations, protects the beings of Jam-budvīpa from the harmful influences of the mKa' agros and the Srin pos; he remains there until the end of saṃsāra.

So says the rNīn ma pa apology, which we have quoted more than once; it contains a description of this heaven, which helps us to understand the symbolism of the tanka. This Zaṅs mdog ri is in rNa yab, Cāmara, one of the lesser continents which according to Buddhist cosmogony are on either side of Jambudvīpa; the other one is called Avaracāmara (see *Abhidharmakośa*, transl. by LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, vol. III, p. 147; McGOVERN, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 55). When Vasubandhu was writing his book, this continent was not unanimously reserved to the *rākṣasa*, and some schools maintained it was inhabited by men (*ibid.*), but rNīn ma pa tradition, indeed

Tibetan tradition generally, has turned it into those demons' own home; a mythical geography had developed around it and I am unable to determine in what proportion it is derived from Indian traditions, and what part has been elaborated by Tibetan masters. According to these theories, its centre is occupied by the Śa k'rag za byed glin, whose central portion is a sea out of which a mountain rises; the Srin po's palace is on the top of the mountain. It is surrounded by seven walls, *leags ri*; in the last three internal wings are three *torāṇa* (*rta babs*); round this palace, on its four sides, are four assembly-halls, *ts'ogs k'añ*; on its Eastern side the C'os ts'ogs k'añ, in which the guru explains the sūtras; the South the Loṅs spyod ts'ogs k'añ where, under Ts'e dpag med's aspect, he reveals the tantras; to the West the Pad ma dbaṅ gi ts'ogs k'añ, where under rTa mgrin's aspect he teaches the most secret Tantras (*yañ gsañ*) and the baptisms; to the North, in the sByor sgrol p'rin las ts'ogs k'añ palace, he explains, under guru Drag po's aspect, the acts which bind to existence and those which set free. The Palace proper, standing in the centre, has five storeys; in the lower one, a gigantic figure of the guru is seated, together with Ye šes mts'o rgyal, under a terrific aspect; on the other two storeys, he is surrounded by Rig ḍsin, Ye šes mk'a' agro ma and C'os skyon; in the intermediate one, the eight-named guru, (*mts'an brgyad*), viz. his eight aspects mentioned above, and in the upper storey, T'od pa rtsal's five families. To the East of this palace, on the rDoi t'añ, flows a river; to the South there is a sandal-wood forest; to the West a garden, Nams su dga' bai skyed mo t'al; to the North the mountain whose cliffs are gems and a mc'od rten. Then to the East of the upper part of the rNa yab glin there is another small continent called Dsa ti nags glin, with 2.100.000 cities of Srin po; an emanation of the Guru, called De va ra dsa, reigns there. In the lower part, always towards the East, is the Bun t'ig pa glin, with 300.000 cities of Srin po, where another emanation called sMra bai seṅ ge reigns; to the South the Zaṅs t'al ke ri rtsegs, with 1.600.000 cities, and Gyal po t'od pai ap'reñ; to the West Śa mk'ar can glin with 26.000.000 cities, and another emanation of the Guru, viz. K'yuñ c'en abar ba; still to the West, lower part, the K'rag mts'o k'ol ma (boiling blood lake) with 200.000 cities and gTum po me dpal as its incarnation; to the North Nor bu glin, with rDo rje rgyal po as his emanation; to the South-East Bar bai glin, with Zil gnon mc'od as his emanation; to the South-West Rāk ṣa ak'rug pai glin with Rāk ṣa t'od ap'reñ; to the North-West rLuñ nag ak'rugs glin, with Seṅ ge sgra sgrog; to the North-East Mun nag ak'rugs with gTsong na me abar (*op. cit.*, p. 92 ff.).

296. Mu le, viz. *mu le ldiñ*, a lake on the North-West of bSe. See *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 102.

297. In this image it is surprising to see the central figure wearing monastic draperies, but also the diadem on its head, like the Sambhogakāyas or the Bodhisattvas. This expresses the personage's double nature, or the epiphany of a Buddha who from the plane of *sambhogakāya* passes on to the active moment of the preaching of the Law, or even a Bodhisattva assuming the aspect of a Buddha. This is proved, for instance, by the *Suddharmapuṇḍarīka* in the case of Avalokiteśvara (transl. KERN, SBE, p. 403).

Besides Avalokiteśvara we may also think of Mañjuśrī, represented in China too as a Buddha (see MÜS, *Barabudur*, p. 506).

The monastic robe, in this case, represents the aspect of revealer of the Law, assumed to convert living beings who are ripe for conversion, while the diadem reminds us of the Bodhisattva's nature.

The two Bodhisattvas on both sides are the same ones standing on Mañjuśrī's sides in the famous aJam ma li group, adored in Kojarnath. See note n. 72 to Part four. As the tanka has been found in Nepal, it is not unlikely that it may represent precisely that same triad, a divine court, in fine.

PART FOUR

SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS

UN RESCRIT MONGOL EN ECRITURE «'PHAGS-PA»

PAR PAUL PELLIOT *)

Le rescrit mongol en écriture 'phags-pa retrouvé au Tibet par le professeur Tucci est facile à dater. On lit en effet à la ligne 3 que le document émane de "Hay-šan, prince de Yuay-ning...". Il s'agit certainement du personnage que les textes chinois appellent 海山 Hai-chan, qui, né le 4 août 1281, accéda au trône impérial le 21 juin 1307 et mourut le 27 janvier 1311; son titre impérial mongol est Kū-lūk-qa'an, et on le désigne souvent sous son titre chinois posthume de 武宗 Wou-tsong. Avant son avènement, Hai-chan commandait en Mongolie, et c'est lui qui, en 1301, était à la tête des troupes impériales dans la campagne qui aboutit enfin à la retraite et la mort de Qaidu (cf. GROUSSET, *L'Empire mongol*, p. 332); ceci explique que Hai-chan ait pu décider de questions intéressant le Tibet. C'est le 9 novembre 1304 que Hai-chan fut nommé prince de 懷寧 Houai-ning (au Ngan-houei), le "Yuay-ning", du texte 'phags-pa (cfr. *Yuan che*, 21, 7 a; 108, 1 b); son quartier général était à la colonie agricole et artisanale de 稱海 Tch'eng-hai, dans le Nord-Ouest de la Mongolie. Forcément antérieur à l'avènement impérial de Hai-chan, le rescrit se place donc entre le début de 1305 et le milieu de 1307. Comme il est daté du 30^e jour du dernier mois d'automne de l'année du serpent, laquelle correspond à 1305, sa date exacte est le 18 octobre 1305. Le lieu de la promulgation, Jiramutu, n'est pas encore identifié.

Ce texte me paraît apporter la solution d'une question au sujet de laquelle on a accumulé les erreurs, à savoir la vraie forme du nom même de Hai-chan.

Les commissaires, qui, sous K'ien-long, ont "réformé", les transcriptions originales du *Yuan che* ont substitué à Hai-chan une transcription 哈尚 Ha-chang qui représente le mongol qašang, "paresseux", (*K'in-ting Yuan che yu kiai*, 1, 2 b); c'est indéfendable. Il ne vaut pas de s'arrêter non plus à la restitution "Kaisun", adoptée dans Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, n. 933, et qui est évidemment basée sur le mongol qayisun > qaisun, "casserole"; ²⁾ -sun ne peut répondre à -chan (= šan) de Hai-chan.

La seule forme donnée pour le nom de Kū-lūk-qa'an dans le dictionnaire mongol de Kowalewski (II, p. 708¹) est Qayisang, identique au mongol qayisang "parapet", "rempart". On a de même Hayisañ, donc Hayisang (< Qayisang), dans une source tibétaine tardive (HUTH, *Gesch. des Buddhismus*, I, p. 24²; II, p. 35). Cette forme à -ng final, au lieu du

-n de Hai-chan, semble appuyée dès l'époque mongole par Rašidu-'d-Dīn, chez qui on trouve خيشنگ Hāišāng dans l'édition de Blochet (*Hist. des Mongols*, II, p. 607). Bien que cette forme soit obtenue par une correction (les mss. ont حشك et جيسنگ), il s'agit bien de Hai-chan. Le texte de Rašid est, dans ce passage plein d'erreurs et de confusions. Mais, M. A. Topchibachy, qui prépare une étude sur les généalogies du précieux Mu'izzu-'l-Ansāb de 1426, me fait obligeamment savoir que, dans les tableaux, le mss. de Londres de cet ouvrage (p. 56 a) donne خيشنگ, celui de Paris (p. 55 a) خيشنگ; en outre la notice accompagnant le nom, et qui connaît le nom de "Kū-lūk-qa'an", les quatre ans de règne et la mort le 15 ramadān 710 (5 février 1311; l'erreur n'est que de neuf jours), écrit حشنگ; il n'est pas douteux qu'on doive lire partout خيشنگ Hāišāng.

Mais il est vraisemblable que, dans ce cas comme dans bien d'autres, le Mu'izzu-'l-Ansāb suive une tradition qui remonte à Rašidu-'d-Dīn ou à son entourage, et cette tradition n'était pas générale même en Perse. En effet, Wassāf, qui a tout un paragraphe sur l'avènement de Hai-chan (cf. d'OHSSON, *Hist. des Mongols*, II, p. 525), écrit toujours خيشان قان Hāišān-qa'an (éd. de Bombay, pp. 501-502). C'est bien une forme en -n et non en -ng qu'on attend en effet en face de la forme chinoise Hai-chan. En fait, c'est Qayisan que Schmidt a rencontré en mongol même, dans le *Jirükān-ü tolta*, généralement attribué à Čhos-kyi 'Od-zer, et qui remonterait par suite au XIV^e siècle (cf. SCHMIDT, *Gesch. des Ost-Mongolen*, p. 398). Un texte parallèle et non moins ancien, publié naguère par L. LIGETI (*T'oung pao*, 1930, p. 131), écrit Qayisa; vu le caractère quiescent de -n final mongol, Qayisa est finalement acceptable si on part de Qayisan, mais non de Qayisang. Mais, même en partant de Qayisan, il reste que le Hai-chan du chinois ferait supposer *Qayisañ, non Qayisan. Schmidt a dit (*loc. cit.*, p. 399) et Howorth a répété (I, p. 290) que Qayisan était la forme mongole correcte, altérée en Hai-chan par les Chinois. Je crois qu'il faut renverser la proposition.

Qayisan, ou Qayisa, n'offre pas de sens en mongol.³⁾ Supposons au contraire que ce prince, comme tant d'autres, et à commencer par son grand-père 眞金 Tchen-kin, ait reçu à sa naissance un nom purement chinois, à savoir Hai-chan, mot-à-mot "Mer et Montagne"; ce nom s'expliquera comme un

*) This document should have been published together with the others, translated in *Sources and Documents*. But as an homage to the memory of that great Master, whose untimely end has been an irreparable loss to sinological studies, I have thought it fitting to publish it as a chapter by itself.

Once more I express my gratitude for this collaboration, which comes to light after his death, and I thank Dr. L. Hambis, who has kindly corrected the proofs of his great Master's article.

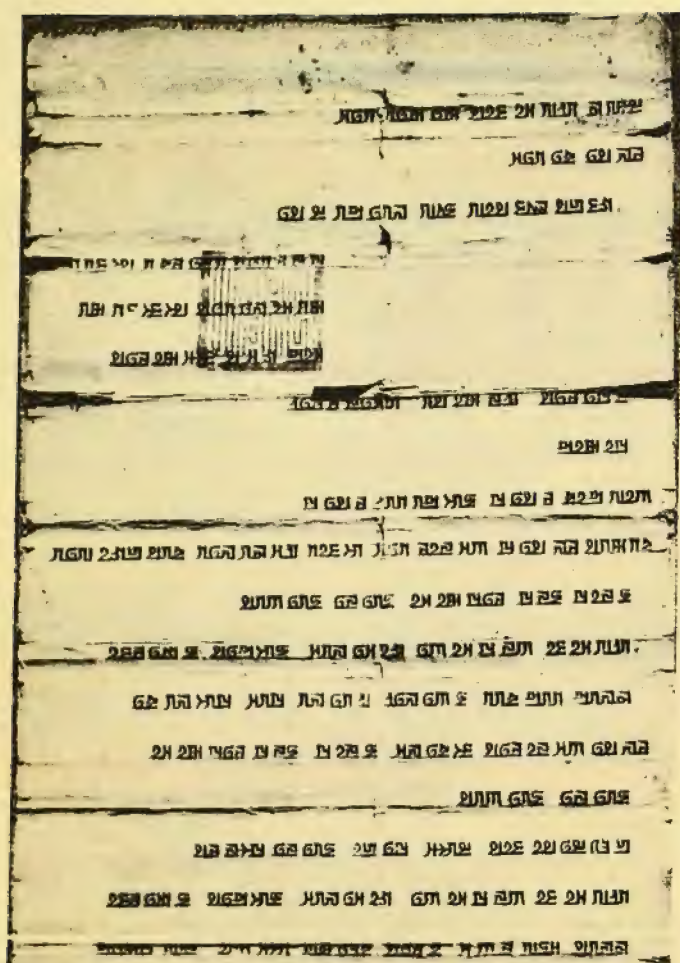
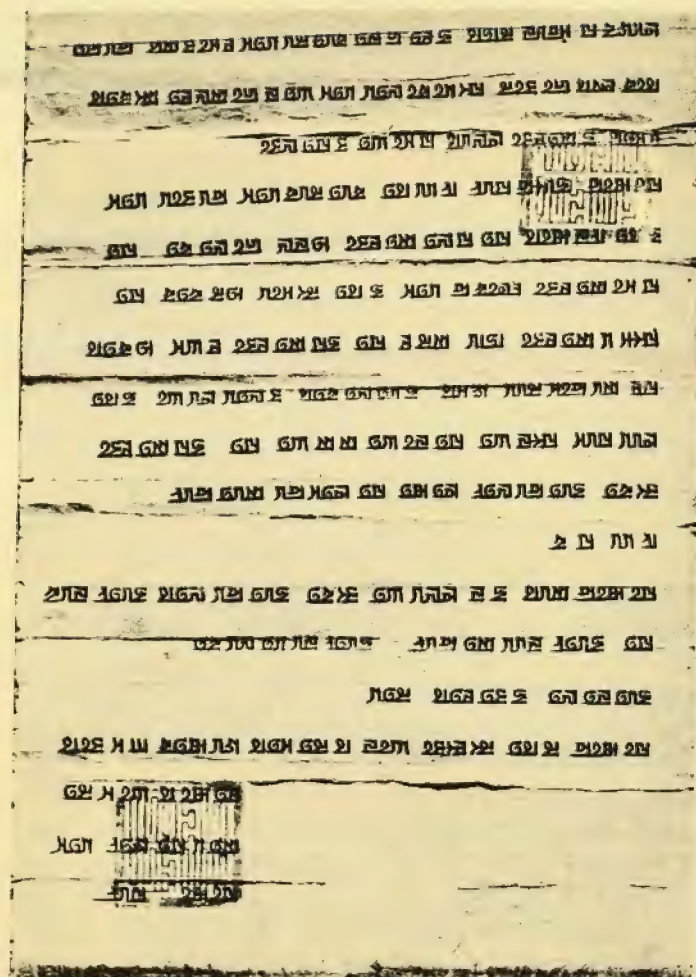


FIG. 123



souhait que l'enfant ait un bonheur ou une longévité comparables à l'Océan oriental ou au mont T'ai-chan; c'est ainsi, par exemple, que deux Mongols cités dans le *Yuan che* s'appellent 海壽 Hai-cheou, "Longévité océanique," (cf. *San che t'ong-ming lou*, 20, 4a-b). En écriture mongole ordinaire, un nom chinois Hai-chan sera forcément représenté par Qayışan; si on a Qayışan dans le *ġirükän-ü tolta* et Qayisa dans le colophon publié par M. Ligeti, nous pouvons l'attribuer à l'omission fréquente, dans les mss. mongols, des deux points additionnels qui distinguent le *ᠰ* du *ᠱ*; l'écriture arabe offre souvent pour les même lettres une amphibologie analogue. Mais ce nom Qayışan, d'origine chinoise, n'offrait pas de sens en mongol, et c'est pourquoi il s'est altéré, "mongolisé," dans le Haişang de Raşidu'd-Dīn et du *Mu'izzu'l-Ansāb* et dans le Qayisang (Hayisang) de la tradition mongole moderne.

Le rescrit découvert par M. Tucci (fig. 123) lève ici tout les doutes. C'est un document original émanant de Hai-chan lui-même, et écrit dans une écriture où *ᠰ* et *ᠱ* ne peuvent pas se confondre; or, il a incontestablement Hay-šan. Mais il y a plus, et une particularité de l'orthographe *'phags-pa* montre qu'il s'agit bien d'un nom chinois. Si le mot était primitivement mongol, la forme *'phags-pa* correspondant à *Qayışan serait *Khayışan. Ici, au contraire, nous avons Hay-šan, avec simple *h* initial. Tout comme dans les transcriptions en écriture arabe, ce *h* initial n'apparaît en *'phags-pa* au début des

mots mongols que lorsqu'il s'agit du *h* du moyen mongol, non noté par l'écriture ouigouro-mongole et aujourd'hui amui; autrement dit, si Hay-šan représentait un nom primitivement mongol, nous devrions le trouver, en écriture mongole ordinaire, sous la forme *Ayışan et non Qayışan < *Qayışan. Au contraire, *h* était employé en *'phags-pa* pour rendre le *h* initial de toute une classe de mots chinois, et c'est précisément sous les formes *hay* et *šan* que les deux mots chinois *hai* et *chan* du nom *Hai-chan* apparaissent dans les textes chinois transcrits phonétiquement en syllabaire *'phags-pa* (cf. DRAGUNOV, *The bphags-pa Script and ancient Mandarin*, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk SSSR*, 1930, 784, 786). La conclusion s'impose. Ce n'est pas, comme l'a cru Schmidt, Hai-chan qui est altéré de Qayışan, mais c'est Qayışan qui est incorrect pour *Qayışan, transcription mongole normale du nom chinois Hai-chan.

L'écriture et l'orthographe sont en général conformes à celles des autres documents mongols en *'phags-pa*; mais, comme il arrive souvent, il y a quelques négligences ou inadvertances en mongol même; en outre, les transcriptions tibétaines sont parfois aberrantes. Dans la transcription du texte, j'ai adopté, provisoirement au moins, une partie du système de M. Dragunov, en particulier pour *ᠠ*, qui répond à *w* initial du chinois *wang* par exemple. Le *ᠠ* (ou *ᠠ*) marque une voyelle non écrite, qui ne fait pas syllabe; en réalité, *khā'an* est peut-être presque **khān*. J'ai gardé une même notation *kh*

pour les deux séries, palatalisées et non palatalisées. Mais l'écriture 'phags-pa a en réalité deux signes différents, et peut-être le signe de la série non palatalisée devrait-il être transcrit *q* ou *γ*.

Je n'ai pas entrepris de discuter ici tous les détails philologiques du texte. Quant au commentaire historique, je le laisse au professeur Tucci; qu'il suffise d'indiquer ici que le rescrit a été donné en faveur du célèbre monastère tibétain de Ža-lu, dans la région de Tashilumpo.

1. Moṅkha denri-yin khučhun-dur
2. khā'anu su-dur
3. Hay-šan γuay-ning 'uañ 'ügä manu
4. balakhad-un darukhas-da noyad-da
5. čhāri'ud-un noyod-da⁴⁾ čhā
6. rig haran-a yorčhikhun
7. yabukhun 'elčhinä da'ulkhakhue⁵⁾
8. bičhig
9. Ĵingis-khan-u ba 'Ögädäe-khan-u ba
10. Säčhän-khā'an-u ba ĵarlikh-dur doйд 'erkhā'ud sänšhiud
11. aliba alba khubčhiri⁶⁾ 'ülü 'üjän
12. denri-yi ĵalbariĵu hiru'är 'ögun athukhayi
13. khā'ägdägsäd aĵu'ue. 'edu'ä bär bö'äsu
14. khā'an-u ĵarlikh-un yosu'ar aliba alba khubčhiri
15. 'ülü 'üjän
16. Sakyamuni mör buši 'ülü bōlkhan
17. denri-yi ĵalbariĵu hiru'är 'ögun athukhayi
18. khā'an rČhañ khaiar-a akhun sku-žan Dor-rĵi 'Uaṅ-bčhug
19. Khrabs-ba rGyal-mchan akhu Ša-lu sümä-dur khariyathan gäcu
20. nis γuan-ši-yim bodisi'ud-dur ĵula šitha'akhu thosun
21. darun athukhayi khā'an bariĵu yabu'ayi
22. bičhig 'ögbäe. 'edän-u sümäs-dur gäyid-dur
23. anu 'elčhin bu ba'uthukhayi ula'a šī'usu bu
24. barithukhayi kžis-ga-dur anu morid umsus bu
25. bōrdathukhayi čhañ thamkha bu abthukhayi khaiar usun
26. baq tägirmäd haran adu'usun ya'ud khäji anu
27. khäd bär bōĵu buliĵu thathaĵu bu abthukhayi
28. yosu 'ügä'ue khuču bu khurgäthugäe
29. edä basa
30. bičhig-thän ala khä'ädĵu yosu 'ügä'un 'üeläs
31. bu 'üelädthugäe 'üeläsdu'äsu
32. 'ülü'u ayukhun mud
33. bičhig manu mokhoi ĵil namur-un häčhus zara-yin
34. khučhin-a Ĵiramu

35. thu-da bukhuc-dur
36. bičhibäe.

1. Dans la force du Ciel éternel,
2. dans la Fortune du qa'an,
3. Hay-šan, prince de Houai-ning; notre parole.
4. Aux gouverneurs et commandants des villes,
5. aux commandants de l'armée, aux
6. hommes de l'armée, aux envoyés qui
- 7-8. vont [à cheval] ou marchent à pied, ⁷⁾ lettre ⁸⁾ à [leur] notifier.
- 9-12. Dans les édits de Ĵingis-khan,⁹⁾ de Ögödäi-khan et de Säčän-qa'an,¹⁰⁾ il a été dit: "Que les bonzes, les religieux chrétiens et les prêtres taoïstes ne paient aucune taxe, et que, priant le Ciel, ils attirent [sur nous] les bénédictions... Les choses étant ainsi,
- 13-17. [j'ai dit]: "Que, conformément aux édits du qa'an, ils ne paient aucune taxe, et que, ne faisant rien en dehors de la voie de Šäkyamuni, ils prient le Ciel et attirent [sur nous] les bénédictions...,"
- 18-21. et [j'ai dit]: "Que les religieux ¹¹⁾ dépendant du monastère de Ša-lu ¹²⁾ qui se trouve au pays de gCañ ¹³⁾ et qui est [celui du] sku-žan ¹⁴⁾ rDo-rĵi dBañ-phyug ¹⁵⁾ [et de] ¹⁶⁾ Grags-pa rGyal-mchan ¹⁷⁾ pressent l'huile pour allumer des lampes au bodhi-sattva ¹⁸⁾ Avalokiteśvara ¹⁹⁾; et ce disant, j'ai donné [cette] lettre pour qu'ils la prennent et l'emportent."²⁰⁾
- 22-23. Que dans leurs temples et leurs chapelles, les envoyés ne descendent pas, qu'ils n'y prennent ni bêtes de somme ni rations.
- 24-25. Que, dans leurs domaines, ²¹⁾ on n'engraisse pas les chevaux ou les yak(?) ²²⁾ et qu'on ne lève ni redevances en nature, ²³⁾ ni taxes commerciales. ²⁴⁾
- 26-27. [En ce qui concerne] leur terre, leur eau, ²⁵⁾ leurs jardins, ²⁶⁾ leurs moulins, leurs gens, leurs bêtes, quels qu'ils soient, ²⁷⁾ que nul ne les prenne en les ravissant et les enlevant,
28. ni n'emploie la force contrairement à la règle.
29. Que ceux-ci [= les moines] d'autre part,
- 30-32. sous prétexte qu'ils ont un rescrit, ²⁸⁾ ne commettent pas d'actions contraires à la règle; s'ils en commettent, sont-ils bien sans crainte? ²⁹⁾
- 33-36. Notre rescrit. Écrit le trente du dernier mois d'automne de l'année du serpent, quand nous résidions à Ĵiramutu. ³⁰⁾

Un cachet en écriture 'phags-pa sigillaire est apposé trois fois sur le document. Je le lis: γuay-ning 'uañ yin, "sceau (印 yin) du prince de Houaining..."

NOTES

1. Cf. mes premières remarques dans *Asia Major*, IV [1927], p. 379, et *Toung Pao*, 1930, p. 14.

2. Elle remonte au moins à Klaproth; cf. aussi ABEL-RÉMUSAT, *Recherches sur les langues tartares*, p. 35.

3. Le *γi* (ou *γi*) du mongol est tantôt l'aboutissement d'un groupe à initiale explosive ou spirante (le plus souvent *gi* ou *γi*), tantôt une simple notation graphique de *i* (ou *ī*), si bien qu'on

pourrait transcrire aussi *Qaisan et *Qaisa. Dans POPOV, *Mön-gu-yu-mu-čzi*, p. 159, il est question d'un "prince de Tong-ning de la dynastie précédente des Yuan, appelé Khaïsan-Deši, mais cette forme est due à une mauvaise lecture et à un contresens. Le texte (*Mong-kou yeou-mou-ki*, I, 1 b) parle en réalité de "荅奚 Ta-hi (*Daki), fils du feu prince de Tong-ning 海撒 Hai-sa de la dynastie des Yuan... Je manque de renseignements sur ce prince Hai-sa, qui devait vivre au

milieu du XIV^e siècle. Son nom peut se rétablir en *Qaisa, et il y aurait alors eu vraiment un nom *Qaisa ou *Qayisa, qui aurait pu influencer la forme adoptée pour celui de Hai-chan dans le *ŷirūkān-ū tolta* et dans le colophon reproduit par M. Ligeti; toutefois, il est également possible que Hai-sa rende un nom mongol *Qaisa[q], inexpliqué d'ailleurs lui aussi.

4. Le *ḍ* de *noyod* est mal formé, mais aucune autre lecture n'est possible. On remarquera la vocalisation *noyod*, à côté du *noyad* de la l. 4. Il semble y avoir là une notation accidentelle de la prononciation populaire, bien attestée plus tard; c'est de la même manière que la transcription du nom de clan de Gengis-khan au début du *Yuan che* ramène à *Kiyot (< *Qiyot), au lieu de Qiyat > Kiyat, pluriel régulier de Qiyān > Kiyān. On a de même ici à la l. 33 *mokḷoyi* au lieu de *mokḷayi* = *moyai*, "serpent".

5. Peut-être e faudrait-il lire *ḍu'ulkbakbue* (**ḍulkbakbue*), en admettant que la première voyelle non exprimée est un *u*; on a *ḍu'ulqaui* au § 278 de l'*Histoire secrète*; mais *ḍu'ulkbakbue*, plus conforme à la forme mongole usuelle, est plus probable.

6. Je lis *kbubčiri* et non **kbubčiri* (avec le suffixe *i* de l'accusatif), parce qu'on a la forme à *n* final *qubčirin* dans *Houa-yi yi-yu*, 2, 12; M. LEWICKI, *Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée* (Collectanea Orientalia n. 12; Wilno, 1937, p. 33) a encore gardé *kbubčir* (= *qubčir*). Le mot a passé en turc et en persan sous la forme *qubčür*; cf. PAVET DE COURTEILLE, *Dict. turc-oriental*, pp. 416, 419 (où *quḡčür* est une mauvaise leçon), et VULLERS, II, 710. La forme *qubčür* adoptée dans PAVET DE COURTEILLE, p. 416, et dans BLOCHET, *Hist. des Mongols*, II, p. 427, *qopčür* dans LEWICKI, 33, a contre elle que le mongol n'a pas de *p*. Le mot est omis dans le dictionnaire de Radlov. La forme du mongol classique est *qubčür*, parfois *yubčür*; le terme semble inconnu en kalmouk.

7. Cette traduction de *yorčikbun* et *yabukbun* m'est personnelle et reste hypothétique; sur les termes, cf. LEWICKI, pp. 30-31.

8. Le mot *bičik*, litt. "lettre", a le sens de "document officiel".

9. Dans les documents *'phags-pa*, le nom de Gengis-khan est toujours écrit avec une sonore initiale, contrairement à la sourde initiale que supposent aussi bien le Činggis ou Činggiz des transcriptions ouïgouro-mongoles que les transcriptions en écriture arabe et presque toutes les transcriptions chinoises.

10. C'est-à-dire Qubilai.

11. Cette traduction est hypothétique. Le document a nettement *gäcunis*. Je l'ai interprété comme le pluriel en *-s* d'un mot **gäcuni*, forme mongolisée du tibétain *dge-bcun*; mais **gäcuni* n'est pas attesté.

12. Il s'agit du monastère de Ža-lu ou Žva-lu, dont il est longuement question dans TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, en particulier, I, pp. 70, 71. La transcription est faite sur une prononciation à initiale assourdie.

13. Le nom de *gcan* est écrit incorrectement *rChañ* (*ch = ts* aspiré) dans le document *'phags-pa*.

14. Sur le titre de *sku-žañ*, cf. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, pp. 71, 151; part II, p. 213.

15. Je restitue ainsi le nom qui est transcrit *Dor-ṛji* 'Uān-bčug en *'phags-pa* conformément à la prononciation et non à l'orthographe du tibétain écrit. Sur *rDor-ṛje* *dBaṇ-phyug*, cf. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, pp. 70, 84.

16. Les mots "celui du", et "et de", placés entre crochets, ont été ajoutés comme un pis-aller; mais je ne vois pas comment construire le texte autrement.

17. Le texte *'phags-pa* porte *Khrahs-ba rGyal-mchan*. Sur *Grags-pa rGyal-mchan*, cf. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 309.

18. En écriture *'phags-pa*, on a *bodisi'ud*, forme populaire altérée qui remonte à une forme ouïgoure *bodisavt* < *bodbisattva*.

19. La forme mongole usuelle du nom est *Qongšim* (Hōngšim), mais le document donne *ḡuan-ši-yim*. Cette dernière forme est plus voisine de l'original chinois 觀世音 *Kouan-che-yin*; toutefois *kouan* est normalement transcrit *gon* en *'phags-pa* (cf. DRAGUNOV, *The bphags-pa script*, p. 787). L'initiale *ḡ* semble indiquer que le transcritteur a voulu rendre une forme chinoise, mais a méconnu l'original chinois véritable, et a été trompé par la forme ouïgouro-mongole à *q* initial, lequel vaut aussi bien pour une initiale *k* ou une initiale *b* du chinois.

20. La formule est stéréotypée dans les édits, mais ma traduction en est un peu hypothétique; je comprends mot-à-mot "pour qu'ils aillent l'important"; cf. à ce sujet LEWICKI, pp. 34-35.

21. *Kžis-ga* du *'phags-pa* représente le tib. *gžis-ka*, "domaine".

22. *Umsu* ne peut être que le pluriel de **umsu*, qui n'est pas mongol. On s'attend à un nom d'animal, et, au Tibet, on doit songer au yak. Je pense que **umsu* est une forme mongolisée du tib. *mjo'* (*j = dz*), "hybride du yak mâle et de la vache domestique"; le vrai nom mongol de cet hybride, dont je ne connais pas d'exemple aux XIII^e-XIV^e siècles, est *qayinuq* > *kalm. ḡān'g* (< russe *kbainuk*; cf. tel., alt. *qailiq*, id.).

23. *Chañ* (*ch = ts'*) du *'phags-pa* est pour *tsang*, attesté en ouïgour et en mongol au Moyen Age, et qui est emprunté au chinois 倉 *ts'ang*, "grenier". Dans les textes bilingues de l'époque mongole, il a comme équivalent chinois 地稅 *ti-choei*, litt. "impôt du sol"; cet emploi paraît s'expliquer par le fait que les redevances en nature étaient conservées dans les greniers publics. En turki et en mongol classique, *sang* (< *tsang*) a survécu au sens de "magasin"; mais en mongol et en kalmouk il a aussi le sens de "trésor public", où il faut peut-être voir une contamination de 藏 *tsang*, "trésor". Cf. aussi LEWICKI, p. 34.

24. *Thamkha* est *tamya* (turc *tamqa* et *tamya*), > tib. *tham-ka* et *tham-ga*, mong. classique *tamaya*, "sceau", dont le sens primitif paraît avoir été "marque au fer rouge sur les chevaux". Dans les textes bilingues de l'époque mongole, *tamya* répond à 商稅 *chang-choueï*, "taxe commerciale", et c'est à ce sens dérivé que se rattache l'emprunt du mot dans russe *tamožnya*, "douane". Cf. aussi LEWICKI, p. 34.

25. *Kbajar usun*, = *ḡajar usun*, "terre et eau", fait une expression analogue au turc *yersuv*, "terre-eau", et désigne le "sol", en général.

26. *Baḡ* (= *baḡ*) est le mot persan pour "jardin", fréquent dans les textes mongols du Moyen Age, mais qui n'a pas survécu en mongol classique.

27. *Ya'ud kbāḡi*; dans d'autres édits on a *ya'u kbā* (= *ya'un kbā*), et les pluriels *ya'ud kbādi*, où le *i* final semble bien être la désinence de l'accusatif (cf. LEWICKI, p. 36); il est singulier que le passage de *ḍ* à *j* devant *i* se soit produit quand *i* est une désinence casuelle, mais, je connais au moins un autre exemple d'un édit en *'phags-pa* qui donne *ya'ud kbāḡi*.

28. Je ne puis voir dans *ala* qu'une forme inattendue pour *ālā*, "peut-être", "à la rigueur", "seulement". Pour la construction cf. *Histoire secrète*, § 278, *aqalaqdaba ālā ka'an*, "sous prétexte qu'ils ont été mis à la tête de...". Le sens n'est pas douteux; cf. par exemple LEWICKI, p. 19.

29. Formule classique des fins d'édits, pour indiquer que ceux qui contreviendront à leurs prescriptions doivent craindre le pire. Cf. aussi LEWICKI, p. 36.

30. Je n'ai pas encore retrouvé le nom ailleurs. C'est un adjectif en *tu* tiré de *jiramun*, mot qui semble inconnu tel quel du mongol classique. Mais il est question dans l'*Histoire secrète*, § 75, de *jiramut*, rendu en chinois par "petits poissons". C'est là évidemment le pluriel de *jiramun* (et non de **jiram* comme l'a supposé HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an*, 90). *Jiramutu* signifie donc "[Lieu où] il y a des petits poissons". *Jiramun* s'apparente à mong. classique *jirmayai*, "petit poisson", "fretin", "alevin", (faussement rendu "caviar", par Kowalewski; le nom mongol du "caviar", est *türisün*, *kalm. türsg*; cf. *Sseu-t'i bo-pi wen-kien*, 32, 101 b), probablement à *jarma* que Kowalewski donne dans *jarma jiyasun*, "petit poisson", et en tout cas à *kalm. džirābā*, "fretin", "alevin", pour lequel RAMSTEDT, *Kalm. Wörterbuch*, p. 112¹, indique une forme primitive de mongol classique *jirayaqai* qui ne me semble appuyée sur aucune autorité. Si *jarma* de *jarma jiyasun* est correct comme il semble (cf. *jarma*, "petit poisson", dans *Yuan che yu-kiai*, 7, 12 a), on peut songer à une alternance *jir*, *ja* identique à celle qui se rencontre dans le nom même du "poisson", *jiryasun* en mongol classique, mais *zay'sy* en kalmoutk (RAMSTEDT, p. 463²), *džagaşy* chez les Ordos, *džiağaşy* en monguor (cf. A. DE SMEDT et A. MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire monguor-français* [Pei-p'ing, 1933], p. 78). Dans *jiryasun*, *-sun* est un suffixe, tout comme *-yai* dans *jirmayai*, et la parenté de *jirya-sun* et de *jirma-yai* est peut-être appuyée par le mandchou *nimaba*, "poisson". Nous aurions dans *jiryasun* un cas où *-y* intervocalique, bien qu'il ne soit pas ici une simple notation graphique de l'hiatus *-y*, représente une labiale primitive. Cette labiale peut d'ailleurs n'être pas primitivement intervocalique, car *jirmayai* et *jarma*, tout comme *jiramun*, suggéreraient que *jiryasun* fût < **jiryasun* < **jirbasun* et que *nimaba* fût < **nirmaba*. Pour la correspondance mongol *jir*, mandchou *ni*, cf. peut-être aussi mo. *jirju'an*, "six", ma. *ninggun*, id., bien que les mongolisants ne rapprochent généralement pas les deux mots.

FROM THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA'S CHRONICLES

THE SA SKYA PA

(53 b) Of the three heavenly brothers lCe riñ, gYu riñ and gYu bse,¹⁾ the youngest became the lord of men;²⁾ from gYu bse byi³⁾ four brothers were born. Enmity arose between them and the great eighteen aDoñ clans,⁴⁾ but gYu riñ (who had remained) in heaven helped them, hence they vanquished those clans and brought them into subjection. gYu riñ married rMu's⁵⁾ daughter, whose name was dMu sa ldem, and his sons were the seven Ma sañs;⁶⁾ the six eldest, together with their father, went into the country of the gods. The youngest son (among these seven brothers was called) T'og ts'a dba' bo stag⁷⁾ and married mTs'o mo rgyal, of a Mon family, from whom was born gYa' span.⁸⁾ The latter slew the ogre sKya reñs k'rag med, then he ravished gYa' grum bsil ma⁹⁾ and married her; he had from her a son who, having been born while he was fighting the ogre, was named aK'on; this is the meaning of the name of the aK'on clan...

(54 a) He who had been born during the struggle married two wives, lCe¹⁰⁾ and sMan, of the bTsan family,¹¹⁾ from whom he had a son dPal po c'e.¹²⁾ The latter was sent by his father to investigate which country possessed happy omens (in order to appropriate it) and having seen that the territory of Ya ts'añs in Se t'ar of gNan, in La stod¹³⁾ was furnished with signs of good omen,¹⁴⁾ he took possession of it. Taken into the presence of the mNa' bdag K'ri sroñ lde btsan,¹⁵⁾ he married Lhas k'rim bu, daughter of the lotsāva of rLan's¹⁶⁾ and had the following sons: K'ren mdses, Lha legs, Ts'e la dbañ p'yug, aK'on klui dbañ po and Ts'e aḍsin; of these Klui dbañ po took ecclesiastical vows with the precious abbot, the Bodhisattva,¹⁷⁾ and on his heart lay the ambrosia of the great master's (Padmasambhava's) grace. rDo rje rin c'en, the son of the youngest of these brothers, was spiritually matured by the great master in the mysteries of the maṇḍala of the adamantine Vehicle.

This great lord of mystical realization had six sons; up to the fifth the lineage was greatly propagated.¹⁸⁾ The youngest of the two sons of the sixth, Ses rab yon tan, who had gone to Grom pa,¹⁹⁾ was born in Byañ hence the aK'on family spread in the higher and lower part of this region. The eldest Yon tan abyun (gnas) had three sons, the second of them was Ts'ul k'rims rgyal po; he had three sons, the eldest of whom was rDo rje gtsug tor šes rab; the latter begot seven sons; the youngest of them was dGe mt'on, who settled in Žab; from him was born Bal po,²⁰⁾ who went to meditate on the rock of Ts'a mo roñ,²¹⁾ where he had a vision of rDo rje p'ur pa, his ancestors' protecting deity. His son Sā kya blo gros founded aJag gšon's in gYa' luñ; the latter had two sons, the eldest was Šes rab ts'ul k'rims of Rog, of the aK'on family, who also had in the beginning a vision of the deities

protecting his lineage and (54 b) belonged to the school of the holders of the vajra,²²⁾ who have obtained the mystical realizations of the highest planes of meditation.

The younger son was aK'on dKon cog rgyal po,²³⁾ who placed on the top of his head the lotus of the feet of various lofty masters, like aBroḡ mi, the great lama, the lotsāva of the new school of the mantra,²⁴⁾ the lotsāva of Ba ri,²⁵⁾ the lotsāva of Pu rañ²⁶⁾ and the gNam k'au's brothers, and he tasted the ambrosia of their words. He founded a monastery in Gro bo luñ pa (whose ruins) are therefore called to this day "ruins of the Sa skya monastery...". In those times, looking from the top of the mountain, he saw that on the slopes of the dPon po ri²⁷⁾ there was white and fatty earth, and recognizing that the place possessed all the signs of good omen, he bought the area from its owners with the price of a precious necklace and with other (money) and founded the monastery of the glorious Sa skya.²⁸⁾ aK'on dKon cog rgyal po married Ma gcig Žañ mo, from whom was born the great Sa skya Kun dga' sñiñ po, supreme in knowledge, in reflection and in meditation of the various aspects of the Law set out in the sūtras and in the esoteric doctrines. As the well-omened vase of his heart was filled by a continual flow of the ambrosia of the three secret planes²⁹⁾ of aJam dbyaṅs A ra pa tsa na, all intelligent men considered him with certainty an incarnation of the noble lord aJam dpal dbyaṅs and the Sa skya pa were celebrated as the family of the aK'on (incarnation) of aJam dbyaṅs. Above all he became the master of the adamantine Vehicle, the great esoteric doctrine...

(55 a) To this lofty father three sons were born; the eldest aK'on Kun dga' aḡar, having gone to India, died there of a fever. The second, Mi t'ub zla ba's incarnation,³⁰⁾ was aK'on bSod nams rtse mo, who after having listened it, meditated on the vehicle which contemplates the fruit of the Law, handed down by his ancestors and next, in gSañ p'u, with the monk of C'a,³¹⁾ on the vehicle contemplating the cause. The third son aK'on aGrag's pa rgyal mts'an ruled the realm of the law of those who possess the vajra; this great lord of mystical experience, trusting to the boat of wisdom, of reflection and of the meditation of the Law, went into the precious reign of mystical union with supreme reality; the nature of his virtues was beyond what can be spoken in words; when the Kashmiri paṇḍita³²⁾ predicted an eclipse of the sun and the moon, rJe grags, by inducing a break in the equilibrium of nervous centres and of breathing³³⁾ (= having recourse to yoga) obtained that the eclipse should not take place...

The fourth son aK'on dPal c'en po had two sons, the eldest of whom was aK'on dPal ldan don grub, who in his twenty-fifth incarnation was reborn in the world of men. That drop of camphor which

is the grace of aJam dpal dbyaṅs having refreshed his heart, he put away from himself the pain of that fever (which afflicts) those who are ignorant (of the Law); in various manners he stimulated his karmic propensities so that from an early age he was able to speak Sanskrit and to write *lantsa* and *vartula* characters.

He took vows as a novice at the school of rJe aGrag pa and assumed the name of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an...

(55 b) He became learned in technical sciences, in medicine, grammar, logic, spiritual disciplines, i. e. in the major five arts and then in poetry, lexicography, prosody, dramatic art and astrology, in brief in all the arts.

Being celebrated as the Sa skya paṇḍita, his fame became an ornament of the vajrāsana of the central region.³⁴⁾ And if the habit (of study) of the five sciences grew up in this country of Tibet, it was through his merit...

He received the rules of perfect investiture with the great Kashmiri paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadrā, and adding the abbot's title to his name of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, he put: dpal bzaṅ po after this (name).³⁵⁾ Although some heretics like aP'rog byed dga' bo (Harinanda) were like elephants, whose vast physical force was represented by knowledge of grammar and logic, he nevertheless felled them with the sound of his invincible confutation. But, as aP'rog byed dga' bo, having recourse to magic powers, flew through the air, he invoked the help of the ācārya aDar p'yar;³⁶⁾ hence the former (being vanquished) promised to enter into (the Paṇḍita's) teachings. Although he had asked to be ordained as a monk, he would not abandon the signs of the heretics: the Tibetans, out of surprise, flocked to him (56 a), but owing to the magical power by which the ācārya mTs'o skyes rdo rje³⁷⁾ had brought under his command the 12 bsTan ma, (a power now invoked by the Sa c'en), aP'rog byed poured blood out of his mouth and when he died the diadem of his ascetic topknot (was hung as an) ornament on one of the pillars of the Sa skya (convent)³⁸⁾...

Next, according to the king of the Mongols' command, he went into the reign of the Hor in China,³⁹⁾ and by various works performed with his body, his words and his spirit, difficult to calculate, he enlightened endless barbarous kingdoms (with the light of) the perfect Law and gave the king, lord of the earth a supreme blessing, almost as a protecting guarantee which delivered him from the affliction of illness. He died⁴⁰⁾ in sPrul pa sde.

The C'os rje's younger brother Zaṅs ts'a bSod nams rgyal mts'an had eight children, between sons and daughters. From Ma gcig Kun dga' skyid he had bla ma aP'ags pa and P'yag na.

Of these two last sons, aP'ags pa rin po c'e, the last incarnation of the lotsāva of sKa dPal brtsegs,⁴¹⁾ from his earliest years applied himself to hearing and reflecting upon those sacred scriptures; then, when he departed towards the Hor's kingdom, he was ordained as a monk in the dBus region and received the name of Blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po. After the lord of the Law (C'os rje) Sa skya paṇḍita and the

Chinese Emperor, united by the bonds of chaplain and patron,⁴²⁾ had died, the king Se c'en⁴³⁾ ascended the throne of China (56 b) and aP'ags pa rin po c'e, at the age of nineteen,⁴⁴⁾ was made Ti šri of the king, who gave him a jade⁴⁵⁾ seal⁴⁶⁾ investing him with the dignity of *gān dīn gu Šri*,⁴⁷⁾ a drapery ornamented with gold and pearls, a tunic⁴⁸⁾ embellished with precious stones, a precious ceremonial hat,⁴⁹⁾ a golden parasol, a stool and various other extraordinary objects, and moreover a measure (*bre*) of gold and a measure of silver, and all desirable things: horses, camels, silken clothes and articles for his personal use. Then, going to mDo k'ams to the abbot Grags pa seṅ ge,⁵⁰⁾ he received the rules concerning the seven abandons, with the supplementary prescriptions. Next he returned to the imperial palace and as he had submitted a specimen of an alphabet representing a new method of learning the Mongol writing,⁵¹⁾ the king conferred upon him the supreme diploma of "*ban de* progeny of Manu (*ṣed skyes*) ... Three were the occasions in which the great feast of (the gift of) the ambrosia of the Law of the adamant Vehicle took place; on the first the king gave him the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet,⁵²⁾ on the second he gave him the three partitions of Tibet and on the third he offered him the Tathāgata's relics,⁵³⁾ which had belonged to Ajātaśatru and the great *mi yur* of China.⁵⁴⁾ As the king was about to order all ecclesiastics of Tibet that, outside the Sa skya sects, no one should be allowed to practice another system, aGro mgon aP'ags pa asked that each should practice his own particular system, and the king, according to what the bla ma had asked, published an edict in which he said that they should (continue to) behave according to their system, but that they should pray for him.

With the material sent to dBus and gTsaṅ the dPon c'en Śa skya bzaṅ po had a *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (copied); then he had a great statue of the Buddha made, to be worshipped in the interior of the temple (*naṅ rten*) and as a sacred external receptacle the gSer aḥum.⁵⁵⁾ A short time later the bLa ma too arrived in Sa skya and built the stūpa gSer aḥum bkra šis, with many doors, (57 a) and the golden wheels of the parasol in the sKya aḥum bdun,⁵⁶⁾ which was outside the monastery and a golden pinnacle for the gSer aḥum⁵⁷⁾ of the Sa skya paṇḍita; he also caused to be written in golden letters a collection of the Buddha's words in more than two hundred volumes. Then, as ambassadors sent to him by the Emperor repeatedly arrived to take him (to China), (he started) and having come, during his journey, to the temple of Gye re, he proposed to visit it. Taking occasion from the circumstance that one pupil (called) Mi la had said: "A (thing) well made like this (temple) will come into existence one day,, the dPon c'en Śa skya bzaṅ po taking as a base the measure of the Gye re temple⁵⁸⁾ founded the great temple (Lha k'aṅ c'en mo),⁵⁹⁾ calling upon thirteen districts to contribute to it. When the protector of the world (aGro mgon) arrived in the king's palace, the king conferred upon him the right of assuming new titles,



like "divine son (Devaputra) of India below the sky and upon the earth, inventor of the alphabet, incarnated Buddha, maintainer of the kingdom's prosperity, source of rhetoric, Paṇḍita aP'ags pa, master of the Emperor (Ti śri) ...⁶⁰ And every time he offered him great gifts: two thousand great measures (bre) of silver and 5940 bolts of silk for clothes.

When Kar ma ba ši⁶¹ performed various miracles, gliding upon water, soaring in the air, reducing stones to dust, the king said: "This our imperial master aP'ags pa is an apparition, in human form, of the Buddha sNañ ba mt'a yas; however as to miraculous powers and possession of mystical intuitions, this bearded one is superior ... Then the queen C'a'u⁶² went to the lama and told him how things were and asked him to work miracles too, because if the ba ši be elected court chaplain, damage might ensue to the Sa skya race. Then he, standing amidst the king and his ministers, cut off with a sword (57 b) his head, hands and feet and through the favour of the five mystical families he offered all eyes⁶³ an agreeable show consisting in marvellous apparitions as an evidence of his sacred teachings. He then went back to his abode in the glorious Sa skya and gave an extraordinary feast,⁶⁴ in which he rendered perfect service to about 100.000 men and which was known as the preaching of the Law of C'u mig.⁶⁵ At that time an underling slandered the dPon c'en Kun dga' bzañ po to king Se c'en, saying that he harboured ill-will towards the lama; therefore a Mongol army came up to the fortress of Bya rog and killed the dPon c'en. This was the time in which what had been foretold happened: "In the fortress of Bya rog the drum of military law will be struck and cowards will swell up in the river of the golden sands ...⁶⁶ The preceding year the lama aP'ags pa had died in the Lha k'añ bla brañ; some say that one of his assistants, fearing that the lama would find out that he had called the Hor army, secretly killed him. In these times, owing to some dPon c'en,⁶⁷ in Tibet there was no peace as it was prophesied: "The rope of the nose will be taken away by the Earth and the Mongols will come. Even in the Hell there is not such a pain ...

The younger brother of the protector of the world P'yag na⁶⁸ went to China as an attendant on the lord of the Law; he was invested with the dignity of dPon for Tibet and adopted the Hor's customs. From Jo aGrom of Šab, Zañs ts'a's other wife, were born the ācārya Rin c'en rgyal mts'an⁶⁹ and his sister aDo le;⁷⁰ the elder of them learnt many tantras, scriptures and mantras; when the aP'ags pa rin po c'e came to the Hor,⁷¹ he ruled his see in his place. Then he ordered a (religious) service, which consisted in having the monks read the words of the Victorious (throughout Tibet) from Nepal to mDo k'ams.

(58 a) Then he brought to the great see the three supreme venerable brothers of aJam ma li, on the frontiers between India and Nepal,⁷² next he founded the monastery of Lhun grub sdiñs in gSer gliñ. From the ācārya Zañs ts'a's other wife, namely Lha gcig

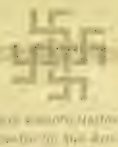
mdses ma of Guñ t'añ, were born the ācārya bSod nams abum and Ņi ma abum;⁷³ from the latter's handmaid rJe roñ ma rDo rje ldan was born the ācārya Ye šes abyuñ gnas, who became the chaplain⁷⁴ of king Humkāra⁷⁵ of the country of aJañs. From the ācārya Zañs ts'a's other wife, namely lCam Hor mo, was born the ācārya Rin c'en abyuñ gnas,⁷⁶ who died young. From Ma gcig mK'a' agro, wife of the agro mgon P'yag na was born Dharmapālarakṣita.⁷⁷

The ācārya Ye šes abyuñ gnas' son was the bDag ñid c'en po, bZañ po dpal, born in Bo doñ er.

After the aP'ags pa rin po c'e's death, P'yag na, by an act of authority, caused his son Dharmapālarakṣita to administer the see. Being falsely slandered to the Emperor, as if he had not been a member of the Sa skya family, the bDag ñid c'en po bzañ po dpal,⁷⁸ on the King's order, was obliged to go to a small island, more than twenty days' distance in the ocean. Meanwhile, Dharmapālarakṣita and his son,⁷⁹ having died, the dpon c'en⁸⁰ and other authoritative counsellors repeatedly sent several messengers to the Emperor, asking that the bdag ñid c'en po might be allowed to come back; but to no purpose. Then the venerable Kun dga' grags of Gya a sñan happened to come (to China); he was a disciple of the mystical instructions concerning the mGon po, hailing back to the two lords of the Law, uncle and nephew.⁸¹ And as a hailstorm⁸² had fallen on the royal palace, (58 b) and a raven had been seen, the size of a small mountain, with an iron beak and claws, which shrieked beating its wings, the venerable Kun grags told the Emperor the reasons why the bla ma bdag ñid c'en po, being a noble⁸³ Sa skya, should be indemnified for the insult he had received.

Thus the bDag ñid c'en po was taken to the palace and was then once more placed on the throne of the great see with all sorts of honours. In the meantime, as the prince of the Sa skya pa was in difficulty,⁸⁴ the Sar pa ruled over the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet. The lama bDag ñid c'en po's son, namely bSod nams bzañ po, died in mDo K'ams.⁸⁵ In dBus and gTsañ he married seven wives;⁸⁶ the son of Kun dga' abum Kun dga' blo gros, having gone into the Hor's country, was the Ti śri of king Bu yan, of king Gi gan and of king Ye sun t'e mur.⁸⁷ Of Ma gcig Yon bdag's sons, the eldest died as a child.

Kun dga' legs abyuñ went to the Hor's country as the master (Ti śri) of Ye sun T'e mur, and Kun dga' rgyal mts'an as master of Ratnaśrī⁸⁸ and T'o gan T'i mur. From Ma gcig Nam mk'a' rgyal mo he had three sons, namely Nam mk'a' bšes gñen, Nam mk'a' legs and Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an; of them Nam mk'a' legs sat on the throne of the great see. Of the three sons born from Ma gcig gŽon nu abum, i. e. Kun dga' ñi ma, Don yod rgyal mts'an and the glorious holy lama bSod nams rgyal mts'an, this latter lama, Lord of the Law, attained the extreme limit of all the sciences and having obtained (mystical) power from the great Sa skya who had realized the adamant plane, he became almost the diadem of all those who possess the teachings; he became particularly eminent



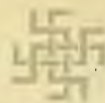
because he had been the sDe srid P'ag mo gru pa's spiritual guardian.

(59a) Ma gcig Ņi ma rin c'en bore three sons: Ņi ma dpal, Kun dga' legs rgyal⁸⁹⁾ and Kun dga' rgyal mts'an. Kun spañs lcām mo bore Blo gros rgyal mts'an, and K'añ gсар dpon mo bore bSod nams blo gros and Grags pa rgyal mts'an. The Ti šri Kun dga' blo gros⁹⁰⁾ allotted and gave to each of his younger brothers one of the four palaces. The venerable Nam mk'a' legs had as his son Ta dben⁹¹⁾ Kun dga' rin abyūñ. The latter had two wives; the eldest bore Gu šri Blo gros rgyal mts'an and the youngerst bore the ācārya Grags pa blo gros and Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an and a daughter. Grags pa blo gros begot Blo gros dbaṅ p'yug; these two, father and son, were celebrated as the bDag c'en of C'u mig.

The son of Kun dga' blo gros was Kun dga' dbaṅ p'yug. This branch was called (the branch) of the bZi t'og palace.⁹²⁾ The elder brother of the holy lama,⁹³⁾ namely Don yod rgyal mts'an, had two sons: Ņi ma rgyal mts'an and Zla ba rgyal mts'an; the latter's son was the great lama Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, who begot aJam dbyaṅs nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an and bSod nams rgyal mts'an of Ža lu, beside two sisters. The sons of Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an were rGya gar Šes rab rgyal mts'an, bDag c'en rdo rje aс'añ and four sisters six children in all. The Ža lu pa's son was the ācārya Grags pa rgyal mts'an. This is the branch known by the name of branch of the Rin c'en sgañ palace, which had teachers who mastered the deep meaning of the (esoteric) doctrine of the glorious Sa skya pa sect; they were interpreters of great secrets. The sons of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, the younger brother of the Ti šri Kun dga' legs abyūñ were (59b) the Ta dben C'os kyi rgyal mts'an and the Ta dben Blo gros rgyal mts'an. The former had three wives; the first bore the "King of the Law of the Great Vehicle,"; the second bore Dharmadhvaṇa and Rin c'en rdo rje, and the third bore the ācārya bSod nams bkra šis. The latter's son was the ācārya bDe legs bkra šis, whose sons were: bSod nams rgyal mts'an, Sa kya seṅ ge bSam grub rgyal mts'an and Don grub rgyal mts'an; Ša kya seṅ ge's first wife bore Kun dga' bkra šis, Kun dga' rgyal mts'an and Kun dga' sñiñ po; the second of these, in K'ams, begot two sons, C'os kyi rgyal mts'an and Kun dga' blo gros legs pai abyūñ gnas. This branch was known as the branch of the Lha k'añ palace. The ācārya Ņi ma dpal's younger brother namely Kun dga' legs pa, married two wives; from the eldest he had the ācārya bSod nams aḅum and from the younger he had the great lama bSod nams blo gros, another son who died young and dBaṅ grags rgyal mts'an. The latter married two wives, the first bore Kun dga' legs pai blo gros and dBaṅ rNam sras rgyal mts'an; the second bore C'os kyi rgyal mts'an. dBaṅ rNam sras married two wives; the first bore Kun dga' blo gros, the second bore dBaṅ Nam mk'a' legs pa and five daughters. Nam mk'a' legs pa also married two wives; the first bore two

daughters, the second bore dBaṅ Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an. The latter married three wives; the first bore a daughter, the second bore Nam mk'a' rin c'en, the third bore Nam mk'a' bkra šis. The latter's sons were the omniscient Sa skya pa the translator,⁹⁴⁾ (60a), the bDag c'en Ņag gi dbaṅ p'yug, aJam dpal grags and Nam mk'a' don grub. The latter's sons were Kun dga' bSam grub and the great exorcist (*śāg pa*) Kun dga' rin c'en; the former's son was the bDag c'en Kun dga' bde legs, who begot bSod nams lhun grub, Kun dga' lhun grub, aJig rten dbaṅ p'yug. The latter's sons were bSod nams blo gros, Byams pa bsod nams lhun grub and Ņag dbaṅ bSod nams lhun grub. Kun dga' rin c'en married three wives; the first bore two daughters, the second bore Ņag dbaṅ bSod nams dbaṅ po⁹⁵⁾ and three daughters, the third bore Grags pa blo gros, who had six children, male and female; the first two sons died young, the youngest were Kun dga' dbaṅ rgyal, mT'u stobs dbaṅ p'yug,⁹⁶⁾ then Ņag dbaṅ Kun dga' bsod nams.⁹⁷⁾ This precious gem of the Sa skya pa race descended from aK'on, its teachings concerning the interpretation of the sūtras and tantras still lives. As to the fortune of the temporal power, beginning from the aGro mgon, the king of the Law, aP'ags pa, up to the aGro mgon bSod nams,⁹⁸⁾ the dPon c'en including in the list those elected twice and up to the twentieth (of the series) appointed by imperial order were invested with power over the three districts (*c'ol ka*) into which the great Tibet was then divided, i. e. dBus and gTsañ province of the Law, upper mDo, province of men, lower mDo, province of horses. As regards the authority to punish evil and to reward good in the thirteen myriarchies constituting Tibet, namely, to specify them, six myriarchies in gTsañ:⁹⁹⁾ Lho and Byaṅ of La stod, Gur mo, C'u mig, Šaṅs, Ža lu; six myriarchies in dBus: rGya ma, aBri guñ, Ts'al pa, T'añ po c'e, P'ag gru, gYa' bzañ and one myriarchy of Yar aḅrog on the frontier between dBus and gTsañ, (60b) after the dPon c'en Ša kya bzañ po, whom we have already mentioned, and Kun dga' bzañ po, the office was assumed by Žaṅ btsun and Ban dkar; after them Byaṅ c'ub rin c'en was invested with authority; although he had the seal (*dam k'a*) conferring the office of *so vin si*¹⁰⁰⁾ upon him and the rock-crystal seal he was killed by one of his underlings in sDoñ mo t'añ in the environs of Šaṅs.

Then, in Kun gžon and gŽon dbaṅ's times there was inspection¹⁰¹⁾ and severe application of the law. After them the commander-in-chief Byaṅ rdor, later Añ len,¹⁰²⁾ who built the external wall of Sa skya, the wall of the Pon po ri¹⁰³⁾ and the K'añ gсар glin;¹⁰⁴⁾ then, as disagreement between the Sa skya and the aBri guñ pa had begun, Añ len, with the thirteen myriarchies' troops, marched against aBri guñ and burned the convent, causing the famous destruction of aBri guñ; then he wrote Añ len's name on a rock on the frontier of the lands to which he had led his army such as Dvags po. So great was this dPon c'en's force. After him, gŽon dbaṅ was once more



invested with power but died on the way. Then Legs pa dpal, Señ ge dpal, 'Od zer señ ge, who had the seal which invested him with the office of *svon jin dben*,¹⁰⁵⁾ then Kun rin, Don yod dpal, Yon btsun, again 'Od zer señ ge, rGyal ba bzañ po,¹⁰⁶⁾ dBañ p'yug dpal, bSod nams dpal, again rGyal ba bzañ po, dBañ brtson.

In the times of these two, the Sa skya pa having disagreed with the P'ag mo gru pa / as it befalls in natural manifestations of the order of things that (for instance) while the childhood of springtime prospers, protected by the spring months as by a nurse, the whole rigour of winter is dissolved through its own force / thus, through the will of Brahmā, forefather of the universe, (61 a) the sde srid P'ag mo gru took possession of the fourfold fortune.¹⁰⁷⁾ After him, although some dPon c'en are quoted, like Nam mk'a' brtan pa etc., nevertheless their power over the three districts was not equal to that of the first dPon c'ens.¹⁰⁸⁾

TS'AL PA

(61 b) King Mon gor¹⁰⁹⁾ separately chose as his chaplains the (lama) aBri guñ pa; king Se c'en chose the Ts'al pa, Hu la gu¹¹⁰⁾ chose P'ag mo gru, i. e. the Tibetans were divided and ruled over up by the various kings, who allotted to the various chaplains (a part of) the land, following the example of territories which were under the authority of the P'ag mo gru, Hu la gu's vassals. These lands beginning from Mon lug mgo steñ, upper and lower gNal, Gru šul, Lo ro white and black, Byar po, lesser E in greater E, T'añ po c'e, aP'yoñ rgyas, aP'yos, Mon mk'ar, mK'ar lhag do po, Sregs lte, 'On sna, Nam žal lña, down to Sar sgo gdoñ of bSam yas, and to the East of Lho brag mC'od sde bži, the two groups of Tibetans and aBrog pa of Ba si and beginning from Ko ron mdo in mNa' ris up to La rtsa in sPu rig.¹¹¹⁾

The aBri guñ pa and the Ts'al pa also had similar authority; hence, as gYa' bzañ, although it was counted among the thirteen myriarchies, was in fact as if it belonged to the P'ag mo gru pa, and the region of sNa dkar rtse was under the authority of the aBri guñ pa, all the other myriarchs, as regards political and religious authority, could not vie with the P'ag mo gru pa, the Ts'al pa and the aBri guñ. For this reason these three became the most powerful of all the myriarchs.

To come back to the Ts'al pa, by virtue of the white umbrella spread over all the earth¹¹²⁾ and of the immaculate¹¹³⁾ works of the aGro mgon (protector of the world) of Žaň, this family became a myriarchs' family. Dar ma gžon nu, his assistant (*ñe gnas*) celebrated as an incarnation of Indra, king of the gods, was the spiritual son of the world's precious protector and offered excellent services on the occasion of the construction of the monastery of Guñ t'añ. When the protector of the world died, (62 a) he was appointed lord of the country and of the monastery; then he had the lower outer veranda and the mGon k'añ built; inside he had a reliquary made

called the bKra šis 'od aBar, and he accomplished the remotion of the great sKu aBum. His nephew aByuñ gnas brtson agrus received the office of dpon and accomplished several far from humble deeds in the field of lay and religious life.¹¹⁴⁾ His true-born nephew, Ye šes aByuñ gnas, brought under his rule the territory of the lower sKyid, which comprised several inhabited centres and which is known by the name of Srid ma bži bu rgyad. Concerning his successor, the dPon Sañs rgyas don grub, this is said to be his origin: mGar¹¹⁵⁾ Ts'e nam ts'a aBrug from heaven descended among men; then, after him came in succession the lama of mGar, that great wise man, and mGar sToñ mes k'ri c'ags, the latter's son mGar sToñ btsan yul became the Minister of the holy king Sroñ btsan sgam po; with his activity in lay and religious fields he served the king and acquired great merits towards his Tibetan subjects. His son was bTsan po Yon tan rgyal bzuñ, next came in succession Lha gcig sñan ldem bu, K'ri zañs dum bu, K'ri gñer k'ri lcags; the latter's sons were sToñ mes k'ris snañ, K'ri stoñ stag gzuñ, the great master C'as pa sgo drug; the latter's sons were rMu bza' and aP'ags gzigs; then, in succession, mGar T'og dar rgyal, rGyal le, mGar rgyal ba aByuñ gnas; between the latter and the Žaň rin po c'e the relations were as between chaplain and patron; according to the prophecy that he would beget a perfect son, he begot the dPon Sañs rgyas dños grub, who was invested with the office of dPon and laid the foundations of the teachings of the dGe aDun ts'al pa;¹¹⁶⁾ his son, the dPon c'en Rin rgyal, assumed the office of dPon and went to the Chinese court; Se c'en gave him a diploma (62 b) investing him¹¹⁷⁾ with authority over the lay communities, with the task of reconstructing the temples which had been destroyed in lower and upper sKyid šod, in sTod luñ, Gra dol, aP'yoñ po, rGyal sman and in the three countries of E, Dvags po and gNal. Having gone to Guñ t'añ he built the small private Eastern palace and the large "seminary of the veranda". He had three sons. The eldest Ni ma šes rab, as a follower of the aGro mgon aP'ags pa, went to Chinese Court and also received a diploma. The second son, the dPon dGa' bde mgon po, is celebrated as an incarnation of Bya rog gdoñ can¹¹⁸⁾ and on behalf of the monastery or of the community of Ts'al pa, he went seven times to the Chinese Court.

He was subject to the constant watching of a servant of a great dignitary Zam k'a lha pa and to many accusations brought against him. Once when he had put under his garment a dress adorned with the figure of a dragon with five claws given to him on the occasion of a secret interview with the king he was taken over to the tribunal by Zam k'a. He then took off his upper garment and Zam k'a seeing the dragon with five claws, on the royal dress, was afraid. Afterwards, when a heavy disgrace befell Zam k'a, dGa' bde drank to his full satisfaction and sang the following song:

Between us both there is a great difference.
I am from dGe aDun ts'al
dGa' bde dpal.

I have the fortune of a happy mind
 I have the fortune of peace
 Now the Ts'al pa has the fortune of being happy.

Then, together with many skilful Chinese artists, he made endless extraordinary receptacles for sacred things and objects of worship, like the printing-press, the dome in Chinese style,¹¹⁹⁾ the golden "pot,"¹²⁰⁾ (of the mc'od rten) and after having founded the C'os ak'or gliñ he placed there a school for the explanation of logic, and in the dBus gliñ a school for the study of the Tantras; and because of these good works of his of vast proportions, the Chinese Emperor was extremely pleased. His younger brother Rin c'en dbaṅ p'yug took monastic vows. Of dGa' bde's sons, the eldest was Rin c'en seṅ ge (63 a), the youngest sMon lam rdo rje, who built the road encircling Lhasa, the dome in Chinese style of the Brag lha klu sbug and the golden pinnacle in the chapel of the upper floor¹²¹⁾ of the temple of the Jo bo and the temple of the "Great merciful," the gañjira of the aBum mo c'e, and he founded the temples called of the bKa' agyur, and the 'Od gsal ap'rul in the dBus gliñ. Many were his lofty and spotless works (in the field of the Law) and his fivefold authority towards political power seemed to reach the edges of heaven.¹²²⁾ His eldest son was the dPon Kun dga' rdo rje, who became extremely learned in the religious disciplines and in the sciences which his father and grandfather had been versed in; on his return from China he accomplished works far from humble in the field of religion and of lay life, as the construction of several receptacles for physical, verbal and spiritual relics and the foundation of the Ri bo dge ap'el; then he confided the myriarch's office to his younger brother Grags pa šes rab and, having taken monastic vows, was celebrated by the name of the extremely honourable, all-knowing, dGe bai blo gros. He invited in Ts'al Bu ston, the prince of the learned ones, for the consecration of a bKa' agyur...

The account made by the Lord of the Law bSod grags concerning the foundation of the C'os ak'or gliñ at the hands of the most honourable sMon lam rdo rje and the separate quotation made by himself of the Si tu dGe bai blo gros and of the great honourable Kun dga' rdo rje (as if they were two distinct persons) is a narrative casually related, because he had not accurately ascertained the contents of documents ...

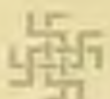
(63 b) The son of the great honourable Kun dga' rdo rje was the Si tu dGe legs bzaṅ po; the latter's sons were Tre pos¹²³⁾ dPal abyor bzaṅ po, Legs pa rgyal mts'an and Legs ldan bzaṅ po; the first had two sons, Tre pos dGa' bde bzaṅ po and dNos grub rgyal mts'an; all the descendants of this family successively received the order of investiture and high offices from the Chinese court and accomplished noble deeds, both in the lay and in the religious field. Furthermore the dPon Kun dga' rdo rje became associated with the dPon c'en of Sa skya rGyal bzaṅ po and dBaṅ brtson¹²⁴⁾ and with the dPon

of gYa' bzaṅ, and contrived many wicked intrigues against the sDe srid P'ag mo gru pa, like a common bird who striving to overtake an eagle causes only his own fatigue; he lost many subjects who had been assigned (to the Ts'al pa) by an imperial diploma in the times of the dPon dGa' ba bde and of the great honourable sMon lam pa.

ABRI GUÑ PA¹²⁵⁾

According to the dPal p'ag mo gru pai p'rin las kyī rgyan, the sKyu ra rin po c'e was the one who caused the monastery in which the precious doctrines of the initiatic schools were handed down to prosper in the continual diffusion of its teachings. Up to the fourth generation, out of the zeal for the supreme Law (possessed by him and by his descendants) neither political power nor the Emperor's recognition accrued to them, as it is told in the bKa' c'ems deb t'er of the Si tu rin po c'e: "The lama of those times was the precious sPyan śā: and sGom pa was Śā ka rin c'en; but you, who are Bla dpon, you did not obtain any (imperial) seal, you were not even appointed the Emperor's Ti śri ...

In the times of the first spread of the doctrine, an exorcist from sKyu ra married sNa nam bza'¹²⁶⁾ (64 a) who belonged to the ḍākinī's race and became a master of many kinds of superhuman magic. Now she is called aBri guñ A p'yir. They had a son called Nam mk'a' dbaṅ p'yug, from whom the family was descended up to A mes dbaṅ p'yug. The latter's fourth son, rDo rje by name, married rJe btsun ma, who bore the aBri guñ rin po c'e;¹²⁷⁾ having heard, from the aGro mgon rin po c'e,¹²⁸⁾ how the vase of the vast and deep Law is filled, he was celebrated under the name of Rin c'en dPal. After the aGro mgon's death, although he administered the see after the lama of Žaṅ sum t'og¹²⁹⁾ (the aGro mgon's successor), as his activity did not correspond to his wishes, he went northward and a disciple came to offer him the monastery of the enlightened sGom rin of Mi ñag; he caused it greatly to prosper and obtained supreme eminence in that diadem of Tibetan mystical schools called aBri guñ t'el. The uncle of the precious defender of the faith was dKon cog rin cen, the latter's son was called A mes grags rgyal; he had three sons, the eldest was the dPon rin po c'e;¹³⁰⁾ the second rDo rje seṅ ge, called of the dBon brgyud, i. e. of the nephews' lineage, the youngest, "the youngest brother's gem," rDo rje grags pa. This was celebrated as an incarnation of Tilli pa.¹³¹⁾ In his times, the sGom pa¹³²⁾ received his diploma naming him a myriarch; being also invested with power by an imperial edict, up to Byar and Dags, the fortunes of his riches and of his power were extremely great. They say that, having these things in mind, the sGom pa of aBri guñ addressed these haughty words to the Si tu rin po c'e: "Now the Sa skya pa are the ones who rule, but formerly we, the aBri guñ pa, were the rulers ...



In the times of the third and of the fourth sGom pa, as they were warring with the Sa skya pa, after the son of the second of the three above-mentioned brothers, Rin cen seṅ ge of T'og k'a, (64 b) and after the sPyan sña mTs'ams bcad,¹³³ they dwelt in the see of gNubs; and when the destruction (of the convent) took place and the assembly-hall¹³⁴ was devoured by fire, about 10.000 monks flew to heaven out of the windows. The hierarch (Žal ŋo) then fled to Koṅ po and his prestige was to a certain extent impaired. After him rDo rje rin cen, rDo rje rgyal po and the precious Ņer gñis pa¹³⁵ Don grub rgyal po succeeded one another; during the latter's rule the sPyan sña's dignity and the doctrines of the esoteric school prospered greatly. As to civil authority, the sGom pa of aBri guṅ were the counterpart of the Sa skya pa dPon c'en; their succession was as follows: the sGom pa rDo rje seṅ ge, Šā kya rin cen, Byañ še, Byañ c'ub, sPan ras, C'os seṅ ge, Rin cen seṅ ge, sGom pa dBon po, sGom pa Šā kya dar, Rin cen grags, Ye šes dpal. When the latter died, the Si tu rin po c'e came to aBri guṅ for an interview and met the Rin po c'e in bKra šis ljoṅs.

The Si tu rin po c'e conferred the office of first sGom pa upon Rin c'en rdo rje and by investing Kun rin with the dignity of second (sGom pa)¹³⁶ he gave him a proof of his good (feelings). Then, after Rin rdo rje's death, although Kun rin had not received the decree of his appointment from the Court, he had him fully invested by the *svon vi si* office of dBus and of gTsañ; in brief, although the two sees (of aBri guṅ and P'ag gru) were joined one to the other and although the Si tu had done a great deal for the sGom pa, nevertheless as the ācārya Kun rin was preparing some evil intrigues against the sDe srid P'ag mo gru, the aBri guṅ's temporal power declined. Then Šā kya bzañ po assumed the office of sGom pa. Then, although apparently power passed into the hands of the rDsoñ ji bSod rin¹³⁷ and of the sku žaṅ Ts'ul rgyal etc. the holy king Rin c'en dpal bzañ (65 a) received an imperial diploma¹³⁸ conferring civil and religious authority upon him and became *bla dpon*. The youngest of his sons, "the precious bCo lña,,", both through religious merit and temporal authority, reached extremely high offices. He had three sons; the eldest went to P'ag mo, the second was the Lord of the Law Kun dga' rin c'en, who remained in the see. In these times internal revolts broke out against the hierarch (Žal ŋo) and although between the two systems that of the aBri guṅ pa of sña T'og and that of the dGa' ldan pa, there were close relations, the dGe lugs pa monasteries which were subject to these aBri guṅ pa and depended from them changed their caps;¹³⁹ troops were employed also in the other convents and revolts broke out; after this, the aBri guṅ bka' brgyud's doctrine not having gained many advantages, he died. The youngest son (whom the holy king had from sPu luṅ bza') was the dPon Rin c'en p'un ts'ogs, who had a clear remembrance of his former births in India and in Tibet as a doctor and as an ascetic; he was raised to the abbatial throne and according to the prophecy

which said "one who will bear the name of Ra tna shall rule the world,,", during his times the power of the aBri guṅ pa reached its fullest development.¹⁴⁰ After him the dPon Rin po c'e of P'ag mo came to this see. The *nañ so*¹⁴¹ of T'og k'a took command of an army of Koṅ po; as he had conquered aBri guṅ and gTsañ and caused a revolt of his subjects against the Goṅ ma the sDe srid¹⁴² very grievous times followed. After him came the son of the Zur pa, the lord, holy king P'un ts'ogs rgyal po, who was celebrated as an incarnation of king gTsug lag aḍsin;¹⁴³ after his son, the lord bKra šis p'un ts'ogs, Yan lag gi sprul sku, the lord dKon mc'og rin c'en, the lord dKon mc'og p'un ts'ogs: of these four the Lord of the Law Rin po c'e dKon mc'og p'un ts'ogs now rules the see, continuing the political and religious power (65 b) (of the family). Thus none of the myriarchies mentioned above could vie in riches and power with the aBri guṅ pa and with the Ts'al pa; nevertheless the lord of sNa dkar rtse received the imperial decree and the seal of myriarch of the aBrog pa; Añ len, dpon c'en Sa skya, he who destroyed the monastery of the aBri guṅ pa, the incarnation of the Gur mgon and who was known to have the signs of a hero, was a hierach (Žal ŋo) of this family.¹⁴⁴

The sde pa bsTan aḍsin, instead of building as his karmic premises required, a mc'od rten of nirvāṇa, out of the eight mc'od rten of the Tathāgata, made of precious substances, prepared, a series of sacred offerings and performed various meritorious works of this kind; then (the temple of) bTsan rdsoñ of sTag luṅ in Yar aḅrog having been built in his times, he acquired great fame, both for his religious merits and for his political power; above all he greatly honoured the Sa skya pa and the doctrine of Bo doñ pa, Lord of the Law. Then, because he was munificent towards all systems and did not commit sinful actions, he obtained a lasting name and prestige; this race of princes, through the ample doorway of knowledge and by actions well advised in the choice of means, holds power up to our days, uninterruptedly, up to the present *sa skyoñ*, Kun dga' dbaṅ c'en p'un ts'ogs and his brother.

BYAÑ

As regards the bdag po of Byañ, in the seventh generation after Si 'u, king of the Mi ñag, who had obtained the investiture through a heavenly decree of him who sat on the throne (of the emperors of) China,¹⁴⁵ whose power is derived from a glory of perfect merits, lived rGyal rgod of the Mi ñag, from whose descendants Mi ñag seṅ ge was later derived. His son rDo rje dpal met rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mts'an.¹⁴⁶

(66 a) This was the beginning of the successive relations between (his family and) the glorious Sa skya pa family. His son was dKon cog, who had three sons; of these aBum sde was particularly devoted to the Lord of the Law Sa skya paṇḍita; he had

six sons, among them Grags pa dar; the latter, according to the decree of Se c'en, emperor of China, received the office of Si tu and the precious seal and also founded the monastery of Byan Nam rin.¹⁴⁷⁾ The son of the dpon c'en Grags pa dar, celebrated under another name as Yon btsun, was rDo rje mgon po, who like his father and his grandfather, had the office of dpon c'en of the Sa skya and greatly honoured the four kinds of assemblies.¹⁴⁸⁾ He had six sons, among whom Nam mk'a' brtan pa, who went to China and received from the Emperor the gem of the third (degree) ornamented with a tiger's head, the title of *gui guñ* and the rock-crystal seal;¹⁴⁹⁾ he also received the name of Ta dben gu śri and the rock-crystal seal. He performed many good deeds both in the religious and in the lay field and in particular he greatly honoured monasteries, beginning with those of Sa skya and Nam rin. Of his two sons, Rin c'en rgyal mts'an and Nam mk'a' rin c'en, the eldest received from his father the dignity of C'en po and was celebrated as an incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs. His son by his first wife,¹⁵⁰⁾ Gui gun C'os grags dpal bzañ, obtained the office of Si tu C'añ gu; his son by his second wife was Zla ba rgyal mts'an; he also had a daughter who married bSod nams, the master of the aK'on¹⁵¹⁾ race. His younger brother was called aJam dbyaṅs rje btsun and remembered his birth in the Sa skya paṇḍita's times, as one of his followers; having an intelligence which amply penetrated all that it is possible to know, he was invested with the office of *kva diñ gu śri*; then, according to his father's and his elder brother's command, he was ordained as a monk; he had three children, male and female.

(66 b) The eldest son of the Gui guñ C'os grags pa, namely the bDag c'en rNam rgyal grags bzañ, received the office of Si tu and the youngest dKon cog legs pa the office of *srii ji dre bos*:¹⁵²⁾ he enjoyed great political authority. He particularly tasted the ambrosia of the sayings of Byan c'ub rtse mo, the great lotsāva of gCen and of other lofty personages and heard many teachings of the vast and deep Law, at the school of Śāriputra,¹⁵³⁾ the abbot of Bodhgayā in India and of P'yogs las rnam rgyal of Bo doñ.¹⁵⁴⁾ In a particular manner he became extremely well versed in the Kālacakra. The learned rDo rje rgyal mts'an and C'os grags bzañ po of Mi ñag were disciples of this holy king and heard from him the commentary of the Kālacakra; Saṅs rgyas lhun grub of rTse t'añ heard thoroughly from this noble master the Kālacakra commentary, then he learned the different sciences from the paṇḍita Byams pa gliñ pa, in dBus... (67 b) After him came Nam mk'a' ts'e dbaṅ rdo rje, who had three sons, Nam mk'a' rin cen, bSod nams rgyal mts'an, and Kun dga' legs pa; the second was ordained as a monk, the youngest became lord of the whole of Lho byaṅ and became famous as a terrible hero. From the three brothers' family were born Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, Kun dga' rin c'en, bKra śis stobs rgyas, dBaṅ poi sde; the latter received the revelation of the deep laws of the great ācārya ...¹⁵⁵⁾

(68 b) According to what is told in the *Po ti bse ru*,¹⁵⁶⁾ concerning human generations:

"From the essence of the five elements a large egg issued;¹⁵⁷⁾

from the shell of the external part of the egg the divine white rock was created;

from the liquid inside the egg a lake, white as a shell fluid and winding (emanated);

in the front side, in the middle parts of the egg, the six kinds of creatures issued;

from the yolk of the egg (another) eighteen (eggs) were born;

theses eighteen eggs, of a middling size,

were conglomerated into an egg (white) as a shell,,

From that egg (white as a) shell was born a graceful child, with the five organs of the senses and limbs each one well formed, like one (obtained) in answer to a prayer; therefore he was called Ye smon rgyal po.¹⁵⁸⁾ From his wife C'u lcag rgyal mo, a miraculous son dBaṅ ldan was born to him. He married Duñ bza' dñul mo from whom sKye gcig was born.

Of his three sons, belonging to the human lineage, the youngest sTag ts'al 'Al 'ol married aTs'ams bza' k'yad k'yud, from whom were descended the four brothers mGur lha. The six Yab lha were the sons of the youngest; the youngest of them, 'O de guñ rgyal had the nine Lha c'en brothers from his wife Lha mo; and from his other wife gÑan mo the nine gÑan ts'a¹⁵⁹⁾ brothers; from his third wife rMus mo the nine rMu ts'a brothers; from his fourth wife Klu bza' the eight Klu ts'a brothers; altogether he thus had thirty-five sons. The youngest of them sNe k'rom lag k'ra married Lhalcam, who bore La k'a rgyal po; the latter's wife Luñ k'a hril mo bore three sons; the eldest of them was mT'in gi, whose wife Lha lcam dkar mo bore Bod ajons; the latter married rMu bza' mT'in bsgril of Brañ, who bore rGya k'ril žaṅ; his sons were three Kings, great and small; thus there were eight families;¹⁶⁰⁾ the youngest son's wife, mT'in mo (69 a) bore three sons, one of whom was K'ri rje gñan t'añ; his son was dPal lha; the latter's son was A mi mu ji k'ri do; of the latter's wives, gÑan bza' Śa mig bore him three sons, rMu bza' one son and Srin bza' two sons, six in all, from which the eighteen great kindred clans were derived:

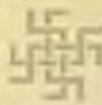
"The aBras are of three kinds: black, white and particoloured.

(The story of) the origin of human races in Tibet is (told) in extremely different manners,

(nevertheless), concerning the nine aBras dkar brothers of the high region, it can be said (that they were):

Bal po, Bal mo, Bal srid, Ma stoñ, Bal stoñ, Con stoñ, Mar ba, Žaṅ c'uñ, Pu rañs, namely nine,,

As we read (in this quotation) there are many kinds. bTsan bza' dGe ldan ma, wife of bSe k'yuñ abras, bore aBras the particoloured; his wife Sruñ



bza' k'ra mo bore him four sons, the eldest of whom married Hor bza' abum mo, who bore K'yuñ ru dkar po; the latter's son was aBum re šel mig, from whom Ar rje gtsug gsum was born. The fifth of the eight gNam lha brothers, being miraculously incarnated as his son, was called Mañ ldom stag btsan; his wife was Roñ bza' K'ye lcam. As he had no children by her, grieving sorely, he went to heaven and, having questioned his elder brothers there, so he was told by them:

"We are eight brothers, divine sons,
but you are an incarnation descended among men;
if you grieve because you have no issue,
practice asceticism for thirteen months:
meditate on your protecting deity and recite secret
formulas;

on the thirteenth day¹⁶¹⁾ of the first month of the new
year

go on the divine mountain gÑan po can,
offer incense and sacred service and pray;
Brahmā's daughter, conquered by your asceticism,
will come.

Thus from a divine son a human race will be born
and will descend from him an extremely eminent
progeny,

up to the seventy-third generation,
in an uninterrupted series of masters and princes.

(69 b) This will lead men;
and a hero will conquer the world and his fame will
cover all the earth,,¹⁶²⁾

Thus they said and, obeying their words, he returned to the world of men and practised asceticism, and on the first month of the first year he went to the top of the divine mountain and offered sacred service. Then a five-coloured rainbow appeared in the sky and many wonderful events took place in the sky, like sounds of rejoicing and he saw Brahmā's daughter descend, surrounded by her retinue of eight attendants. He sought her in marriage, the retinue disappeared and Brahmā consented. Having washed the bride's body with baptismal water of rDo rje ajoms, he went back to his land. A long time went by, but the son was not born. Once a voice was heard in the sky, saying:

"Mañ ldom stag btsan! Go and fight,
China's armies wish to approach Tibet.
If China's armies approach Tibet,
nobody will be able to vanquish them except
yourself,,¹⁶³⁾

Mañ ldom went forth, riding on a white duck with turquoise wings; he put on a cuirass of shell, white as silver¹⁶⁴⁾ and put on his head a helmet of white rock-crystal and girded on his shining weapons; through the paths of the sky the armies of the gods and through the paths of the waters armies of serpents began to march and all came; the Chinese fled and he won. In those times Duñ gyi mdso mo (the

zo,¹⁶⁵⁾ white as a shell) who had been led away from heaven by sMan btsun, fled; but she was retained by Mañ ldom; when he saw that sMan btsun had come seeking for the mdso mo, he tied her with the magic seal which did not allow her to move, let her go into a stone that was like a tent, closed the door and began to spy from a corner. (He saw that sMan btsun) was offering milk, which the mdso mo had milked, as a sacrifice to the three gems and to the protecting divinities of Mañ ldom.

(70 a) Then she threw all the rest (of the offering) into the water, framing a vow that an extraordinary race might be born out of it. sMañ ldom was pleased; a moment later a voice was heard in the sky, saying:

"The divine race shall prosper;
in the beginning of next year
a divine son shall be born,,

Mañ ldom, going near sMan btsun, went to sleep and in the morning a white man and a white horse miraculously appeared; so what his seven brothers had said happened. To answer the question, how the child was born, they say:

"the human progeny of divine descent is divided into
three branches;

the first is the lamas' progeny
and guides created beings;
the other will become lord of Tibet
and rule over all the lands of Tibet,
another will be the family of heroes,,¹⁶⁶⁾

Then, when the seventh month was accomplished, he said to the goddess, as an experiment "This is not my son,,; when the child was about to be born, sMañ btsun went to the place where she had slept (with her husband) and dreamt of a golden mc'od rten, ornamented with precious substances; within it there were numberless steps, on which were gathered above, below, in the middle, lamas, gods and goddesses, one after the other; when she awoke and the child was born, she carried it on the divine mountain and put it in a chest made with slabs of stone, framing this vow "if he is Mañ ldom's son, may human progeny be stronger than the gods; if he is not, may he be eaten by birds and wild beasts,,. Owing to the impurity derived from her contact with a man, she could no longer soar to heaven; she therefore returned to her former place and told Mañ ldom the whole story; then father and mother together went to the top of the divine mountain, and there they saw (70 b) a child having a turquoise-coloured topknot, from the nape of whose neck a white steam arose; a turquoise-coloured dragon stood before him pouring out water; a lioness was giving him suck, a vulture covered him with his wings, wild animals and gazelles surrounded him, the rainbow protected him like a tent. His father was very glad and said three times "he steams, he steams,, (rlaṅs); this was the origin of this clan's name rLaṅs.¹⁶⁷⁾ Sometimes

we find (the spelling) Ga gla, but it is certain that this is a mistaken tradition of the copyists.

The latter's wife was lDoñ bza' K'ri sgron, who bore him dPa' bo; his wife was lCog ro bza' Lha gnam, who bore him sToñ t'o; the latter's son was C'e c'e and his son was rGod ldiñ, so named because (a bird) like a vulture rose and circled above him when he was born. His son was sToñ dge; his son was sToñ k'ri; his son was P'ag ts'añ; his son was lNāñ ra; his son was gTsug gñen rdson k'on; his son was bTsan pa adab šon; his son was sNāñ gñan k'on sleb; his son was Mañ po c'e sgro k'a; his son was sTag po c'e dar dpal; the latter, on the bank of the Ma p'am¹⁶⁸ turquoise lake made a golden image of Śākyamuni and offered shining turquoise and made many gifts for the religious services, like coral which has a reflection of good omen and he invited the Siddha Señ ge for the consecration. On this occasion his wife sGañ bza' lha mo bore him a son and the Siddha, thinking that the lake was of good omen and that the child was looking with a divine eye, said that he should be named mTs'o bzañ lha gzigs.¹⁶⁹ He consented and (the child) was (later) celebrated as rLañs lha gzigs.

The latter's son was A mi byañ c'ub adre ak'ol,¹⁷⁰ who at the age of eight went into the country of O rgyan where (71 a) he vanquished the witches and having come again (to Tibet) he had a vision of his protecting deity, and then, twice, was invited by Ge sar to Glin; the last time, riding a rock as if it was a horse, he conquered the fiends of the four points of the compass and accomplished other miracles without end; first he was called Byañ c'ub rdo rje, then they named him: adre ak'ol because he had subdued the witches. Padma (sambhava's) prophecy alludes to him:¹⁷¹

"An extraordinary man will come
called Byañ c'ub;
He is my spiritual son,...

Or, in the same Byañ c'ub adre ak'ol's words:
"In the thirteenth generation from today, (my lineage) will take possession of Tibet, ... Such was this (man) who was seen and heard of by all people noble and humble up to the palace of the Emperor of China.

From his wife sKal ldan ma he had three sons, dPal gyi señ ge, gÑan t'og a k'rom and sTag ts'ab. His second son gÑan t'og a k'rom had a son, gÑan po ña mog k'ri; the latter's son was the master of rLañs, Bya žu nag po; the latter's son was A señ, his son A ser. His sons were seven sKyabs, dPal as the eight, bTsan as the ninth. The eldest of them all was Yon c'en rgyal ba skyabs, who was spyi dpon¹⁷² of T'o in rLañs stod; mGo rum señ ge¹⁷³ vanquished rGya and rTse at'on conquered the four terrible (drag po) brothers: lDoñ sras conquered the country of aDan and became extremely eminent in the world, as far as men's power is concerned; as regards the supreme divine Law, Byañ c'ub adre ak'ol, whom we have mentioned, and his three sons performed endless miracles.

(71 b) rLañs k'ams pa Go c'as was celebrated as the middle one of the seven sad mi¹⁷⁴ who took vows; rLañs dPal señ ge was the great ācārya's spiritual son and obtained the mystical realization; Ye šes rdo rje conquered Ni ma ltoñ and Ye šes señ ge disciplined the robbers in dPal t'añ, dPal gyi abyun gnas exorcised the Lha and the aDre; Dar ma señ ge went to the cemetery bSil bts'al¹⁷⁵ and dPal gyi rdo rje made the sun to wear the monastic tunic.

These are some of the measureless miracles they accomplished (by virtue of the) force derived from the mystical power they had obtained ...

That Yon c'en¹⁷⁶ rGyal ba skyabs had three wives: aBro ldog bza', De gu ma and aBro bza' Ye šes mts'o; the sons of the first were the precious spyan śna,¹⁷⁷ the dpon Sañs rgyas bskyabs and the dpon Šes rab rgyal; the son of the second was the dpon mGon po rgyal mts'an; of the third rGyal ba rin po c'e and the bcu gñis pa gTer rgyab pa Rin c'en rdo rje. (72 a) Of all these the precious spyan śna applied himself to the study and meditation of the holy words of the Victorious, (vast) as the ocean and particularly the law of the bKa' brgyud and that which his father and grandfather had taught him, mastering the doctrines concerning mystical realizations. Then having pacified by his miracles Dor rta nag, who by the king of the East's command had accumulated terrific deeds, killing all who saw him and frightening those who heard of him, he acquired much merit with the Tibetans. After him came rGyal ba rin c'en,¹⁷⁸ who took monastic vows, assuming the name of Grags pa brtson agrus; having then gone to dBus, through the grace of the spyan śna he obtained the enlightenment of the identity of all things. Having acquired the highest virtues of scholars and ascetics, he wound round his tunic¹⁷⁹ a thunderbolt fallen from the sky. Great was the fame of his magical power, (which gained him the name of) Bodhisattva, the Conqueror of lightning. When he went back to his see, the kings of Siñ gha gliñ, Ti ra hu ti, Ya rtse,¹⁸⁰ gave him numberless objects of all kinds, such as to vie with the gifts (offered by) rNam t'os sras. This was the time when this see of T'el bzañ¹⁸¹ became famous in Tibet because it possessed sacred articles made out of all kinds of gems, to begin from the one known as Sog po rBad agyel.

Although, before the spyan śna, the members of this family had no diplomas at the Chinese court, in his times they depended from Hu la gu; but although sGom brtson of lDan ma was spyi dpon and possessed the imperial diploma investing him with his authority, as he did not behave honestly, rGyal ba rin po c'e called the dpon rDo rje dpal dpon of rKañ bži¹⁸² and conferred the office of myriarch upon him; he then went three times to the Emperor and founded twelve feuds:¹⁸³ P'o brañ sgañ, (72 b) Ts'oñ adus brag k'a, sNeu gdon, sNa mo, Ha la sgañ, gLiñ smad in T'añ po c'e, the feud of P'yos, bKra šis gdon in Mon mk'ar, rGyal t'añ, Gri k'u in lCags rtse, mC'od rten gliñ, C'ad dkar and his power grew greatly. They say that even the dPon used to wear an ascetic's



cap on his head and a threefold monastic tunic; as he appreciated venerable persons and acted according to the principles of religious and civil life, he was esteemed greatly by all; thanks to the great strength he displayed in curbing his dependants,¹⁸⁴⁾ all his subjects, in the dPon's presence, could not be arrogant.

What bSod nams grags pa says, namely that "in the times of the precious *bcu gñis pa*, (the family) obtained a diploma and on the fourth day of the month the dPon rDo rje rin c'en was appointed myriarch, etc., is an error, presumably written without consulting the original scriptures...

The precious *bcu gñis pa* Rin c'en rdo rje was an incarnation of the precious aGro mgon¹⁸⁵⁾ and had endless virtues, both regarding religious instructions and mystical illumination. Having come to his see, praying to dGra nag, the lesser lotsāva of Pu rañs's¹⁸⁶⁾ protecting deity, he pacified a revolt of the Southern populations, he obtained omniscience from which nothing is precluded and he accomplished other marvellous deeds leading to salvation.

In his times the myriarch rDo rje dpal died and he conferred the myriarch's office on the latter's younger brother, gŽon nu rgyal mts'an, who used to wear a hat made of bamboo and a Mongol dress and Mongol shoes on his feet; half the night he used to sing mundane songs and dance, half the day he slept. Passing his time in such a dissipated life he (73 a) greatly damaged the P'ag mo gru pa's prestige. After his death the *spyān śā* conferred the office to Rin rgyal, abbot of gSōn sde in Lho brag and asked for the diploma. After him, he appointed myriarch Byañ gžon of Yar ābrog, who through his predecessor's influence, became a slave to the same dissipated life. The dPon mGon po rgyal had four sons: Rin c'en šes rab, Grags pa ye šes, Grags pa rin c'en and Rin c'en skyabs... After the myriarch Byañ gžon, gŽon nu yon tan occupied the myriarch's office for six years; but caring only for drink and women,¹⁸⁷⁾ the government derived no prestige from him. His younger brother Grags rin c'en was supreme for learning, wisdom and meditation; while living in his see, he received from Ti šri Grags 'od and from T'e mur bog¹⁸⁸⁾ the diploma with a tiger's head. To avoid that a myriarch should be appointed temporarily, he was jointly bla ma and dpon and he redeemed with his own money Do sñon, rGyul t'añ, sMon mk'ar, Sa at'on, Byi c'uñ, Za ra t'o t'añ, lDiñ gsum gYu sriñ and other lands which had passed to Žon rgyal 'od, *du dben ša*, to the dPon c'en Legs dpal, to the ācārya Ācāra, to the dPon c'en A Blon and to the Sa skya pa; he acquired great merits as regards the P'ag mo gru myriarchy...

(73 b) The dPon Rin c'en skyabs had two wives: Žañ lcam and K'ri smon aBum skyid. From the first he had three sons: rGyal mts'an dpal bzañ, Grags pa rgyal mts'an and Grags pa bzañ po. From aBum skyid he had Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an appointed Tai si tu by the Chinese court, Grags pa šes rab and bSod nams bzañ po, namely six brothers, the sons of different mothers. Grags pa rgyal mts'an applied

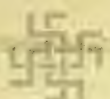
himself greatly to learning, wisdom and meditation; he had, in a special manner, the revelation of the mystical doctrine of the mGon po and dwelt for a long time in the see. In his time the ācārya rGyal mts'an bzañ po went to the imperial court, but although he was a myriarch and also had the imperial decree with its seal,¹⁸⁹⁾ owing to his thoughtlessness there was not much order in the administration of civil and religious affairs.¹⁹⁰⁾ After him, although rGyal mts'an skyabs held the office of myriarch, his influence was scanty, he was held in slight esteem by everybody and the prestige of the P'ag mo gru government greatly decayed. After him the myriarch's office passed into the hands of the Tai si tu,¹⁹¹⁾ alluded to in the prophecy contained in the *Pad ma t'añ yig*:¹⁹²⁾

"In Yar kuñs a king will be born, begotten by karmic maturation...

the boars (p'ag) will turn the earth up down and the Hor will eat the earth of K'ams and one hundred and eight fortresses will then be built,...

(74 a) He was born in the year water-tiger.¹⁹³⁾ When he was three years old he became proficient in reading and writing. At six, having heard the esoteric instructions concerning the C'os skyoñ Bya rog gdoñ c'en, he understood them thoroughly. At seven he took vows as a devout layman with the *spyān śā* C'os bži pa,¹⁹⁴⁾ and received the name of Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an; at nine he took monastic vows with the great abbot Ts'ul dar and the Ācārya of Pu rañs; having dedicated himself to the cult of bDe mc'og and of the mGon po, he obtained extraordinary signs of the realization he had attained. At fourteen,¹⁹⁵⁾ in the seventeenth day of the month Caitra (March-April) he prepared to go to Sa skya. In the first fortnight of the fourth month he departed from sNeu gdoñ,... and subsequently arrived in Sa skya. The dpon c'en 'Od zer señ ge was impressed¹⁹⁶⁾ and said to the bDag c'en rin po c'e "if this nobleman of the P'ag gru family becomes a disciple, so much the better; if he does not become one, I propose that he should receive a charge¹⁹⁷⁾ among the officers depending from the bŽi t'og... Following these words he appointed him keeper of the seal (*dam gñer*).¹⁹⁸⁾ But as the bDag c'en po had a violent temper and was in the habit of suddenly using bad language to his *dam gñer* and house-stewards, he asked for leave and stayed there privately, without holding any office. In the year of the snake,¹⁹⁹⁾ while (the bDag c'en) was going to C'u mig for the spring religious ceremonies, among the persons of his retinue, among which were some holy friends (*kalyāṇamitra*) like the master of logic aJam dpal and the master of Tantric formulas Kun dbañ, with other assistants and the dPon c'en dBañ p'yug dpal, the dPon po of Sañ ye, the dPon po of bDe luñ pa, the dPon po of sTag luñ, he called the Si tu dPon po of P'ag gru, and thus the latter became greatly respected among all the other dpon po...²⁰⁰⁾

(75 a) Then, in the first month of the year of the horse,²⁰¹⁾ he went to Rin c'en sgañ, to the dpon c'en Rin



c'e sen ge; but having sickened with small-pox, he remained three or four months in Grag pa and in aJad. Then, about to start for dBus, he went to the bDag c'en rin po c'e to offer him the gifts of leave-taking, and then the learned and venerable lama and the Si tu shook hands and assured the lama that he would be the *mgo gñer* (guardian)²⁰²⁾ of the Si tu, and the Si tu that he would remain the lama's servant.

(75 b) Then, when he returned to dBus, the Emperor of China conferred upon him the myriarch's office, together with the third gem, the one with the tiger's head. In the eight month of the year of the dog²⁰³⁾ rGyal mts'an skyabs was myriarch, but his authority was scanty as regards both religious and civil affairs; because, to take sGrol ma skyid away from him, he had killed rGyal dpal, who had thrice gone to visit the Emperor at the Chinese²⁰⁴⁾ court with the object of being entrusted with a mission, and had then spread abroad various slanders concerning the Si tu; hence when the great lama Kun blo²⁰⁵⁾ came to Sa skya from the Chinese court for the perfect ordination and the Si tu Rin c'en grags was granted the seal of a glorious *ju dben hun dpon* with penal jurisdiction, the Si tu went to meet him and had rGyal mts'an skyabs called to judgement and removed from his post. In the ninth month of the year of the dog, in the ninth day, the order was notified;²⁰⁶⁾ in the fourteenth day he took possession of sNeu gdon.²⁰⁷⁾ Although gŽon nu 'od had been named by him administrator, he did not prove accurate (literally: "as he did not turn out after the fashion of a sieve,") in distinguishing friends from enemies, so he did not confer upon others²⁰⁸⁾ the exaction of tributes.

Then, in the year of the snake,²⁰⁹⁾ he appointed as administrator Hor gŽon nu bzañ po of aP'yon rgyas, a nephew of Ts'ul dar, the abbot from whom he had taken vows.

(76 a) Then he attended to land-reclaiming the feuds, in different regions; he planted trees, built a great bridge on the river's lower course; he enlarged the palace of sNeu gdon rtse, so that it seemed as if had transplanted the *Vajrayanta*²¹⁰⁾ upon earth. Then, a short time later, much strife broke out with the chief of gYa' bzañ. This gYa' bzañ, as regards religion, belonged to the same spiritual descent as the P'ag gru pas, having had the same masters; but as to his temporal relations (with the Si tu) notwithstanding the fact that he had been obliged to submit to P'ag gru, who (in his turn) was under Hu la hu, he was carried away by the force of his karma, so that the example of him who "took a road opposite to the one followed by intelligent people, became a master of heretics, and followed the crazy systems of penances enforced by dBaṅ p'yug,, became applicable to gYa' bzañ. In fact several times he attacked P'ag gru with his soldiers; as the Ts'al pa who was in rGyab p'ugs and the dPon c'en were crafty and hostile, this time gYa' bzañ prevailed. Nevertheless, as the root of discord was not yet cut off, there was fighting in Par t'añ between gYa' and P'ag and P'ag gru was defeated. About thirteen notables were killed, beginning

from gŽon 'od, and nearly all the others fled, with the exception of about fifteen men headed by gŽon nu bzañ po, together with the Si tu. Then the dpon c'en dBaṅ p'yug dpal called gYa' bzañ and P'ag mo gru pa to be tried before him. But although P'ag gru was in the right, nevertheless gYa' bzañ pa was victorious, owing to the dPon Kun rdor's double dealings. After a short time he was called by the dPon c'en dBaṅ brtson to attend a festival in Dog lum pa, and in a deceitful manner they tried to induce to give up his seal with the tiger's head²¹¹⁾ and was kept in prison in Guñ t'añ for nineteen days. (76 b) Nevertheless, as they say:

"the intelligent man, even when deceived, does not lose his head and seeks out what he can do; the ant, although eyeless, is swifter than other (insects) provided with eyes ..

As he was wise and brave, the dPon was not able to do him any wrong; so he escaped scot-free. Then when the Si tu Dar ma rgyal mts'an²¹²⁾ came to make an inspection²¹³⁾ upon the thirteen C'ol k'a and to pacify²¹⁴⁾ the country outside mŇa'ris, he was unable to bring him to judgement either in aDam or in the market of Gur mo; nevertheless when he came back to Yar kluñs and, after his tour in mŇa' ris, saw his documents, as the diplomas of investiture²¹⁵⁾ of king Se c'en, the Si tu Dar rgyal was astonished.

Although the disagreement between gYa' (bzañ) and P'ag (mo gru) had been settled, nevertheless Ts'ul abum 'od of gYa' bzañ levied soldiers from E and gŇal and passed through rDog po; they engaged in battle and P'ag gru was the victor; twenty persons were killed, beginning with dGra dags; gYa' bzañ in aBras mo attacked the dpon gŽon nu bzañ po together with his followers, but the Si tu with his men delivered him and gYa' bzañ's soldiers withdrew in flight. He then levied tributes from the convents and the feuds of gYa' bzañ. Then, in Sa skya, the lama Kun spañs pa and the dPon c'en rGyal bzañ started ill-advised intrigues to kill the Si tu and to take tribute of sNeu gdon; but when, on account of the intimate relations between the Sa skya and the P'ag mo and above all in consideration that the Si tu had been one of the officials in the retinue of the bDag ñid c'en po bZaṅ po dpal, it was calculated that all this might turn into an evidence against the dPon c'en, the dPon c'en came to dBus and (77 a) successively arrived in Yar kluñs. The day following (his arrival) having been fixed as the one in which gYa' (bzañ) and P'ag gru should have been called to judgement, the Si tu gave the following directions to his ministers, beginning from gŽon nu bzañ po: "To-morrow I and gYa' bzañ will have to appear in judgement in the myriarch's presence; it is not unlikely that if the dPon c'en catches me, I will be flayed, nevertheless I recommend that sNeu gdon be not handed over,.. Next day, although the Si tu was taken by the dPon c'en, as the letter had been burned,²¹⁶⁾ the former could not take possession of get any reply. Then the dPon c'en besieged²¹⁷⁾



sNeu gdon, but all the dignitaries (of sNeu gdon) said that the *sde srid* was worth more than their own self (*žal no*), and they did not hand over (the city). Then the dPon c'en ordered that the Si tu should receive 135 blows,²¹⁸⁾ he put on his head a hat with a tail, like those prisoners wear, and had him led by the soldiers of Ts'al as far as sKyi nag, where he covered him with insults and otherwise violently persecuted him... In C'os rdson in Nūg he remained a month and a half and in Ko spel one month. Then, while in Bo don judgement was being held,²¹⁹⁾ the dPon c'en dBaṅ brtson, with the diploma (investing him with office) arrived in mT'oṅ smon;²²⁰⁾ hence, while the dPon c'en rGyal could do nothing²²¹⁾ against the Si tu, the latter returned to dBus and induced the ministers who were in sNeu gdon, beginning from gŽon nu bzaṅ po, to desist from their purpose of becoming ascetics,²²²⁾ until this contention should be settled. The dPon c'en dBaṅ brtson in the meantime had gathered the soldiers of the myriarchy and had arrived in Dog luṅ pa, (77 b) but then the news came that the Si tu too had collected the contributions and the soldiers of his strongholds, and that in front of Byaṅ la, Lha btsun of K'rom po, with a hundred men of his retinue and the dPon c'en's soldiers together with Lha btsun of T'ug, had been reduced to the height of a hand (= had been killed). Next day gŽon nu bzaṅ po, having been appointed general, guiding the army²²³⁾ of the P'ag gru myriarchy, arrived near Lhum in full daylight... The dPon c'en attacked the myriarchy's army which had arranged its wings in battle order; the battle began under Mon mk'ar and all the soldiers of the myriarchies of dBus and gTsaṅ commanded by the Sa skya pa were routed...

Beforehand, when the dPon c'en rGyal bzaṅ had arrested the Si tu, Hor gŽon nu bzaṅ strenuously²²⁴⁾ resisted in the great palace; with his methods of attack, which put down revolt and overcome the intrigues of the thirteen myriarchies' armies, contrived by dBaṅ brtson of Nā lam, he was like the root of the P'ag mo gru pa's prestige...

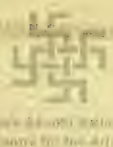
(78 a) Then the Si tu, having taken command of the army, took most of the land, fortresses and feuds of the South, like Gra p'yi, aP'yoṅ rgyas, etc. and got rid, here and there, of all the causes of strife already existing, or that might develop. Then the holy Lama²²⁵⁾ ordered the dPon c'en to gather the troops, and then, though there were various attempts to reach an agreement, the dPon c'en, letting others influence him, would not come to an agreement. The Si tu retaliated by taking Goṅ dkar. Then, when the dPon c'en's army took the field, as many men were killed or imprisoned or drowned and much (unrest) of this kind followed, the Si tu became victorious. He took from rTa rnig the Lho abrug, included in gTsaṅ, outside K'a rag; then he met the dBen pa;²²⁶⁾ as the latter had told him to go to the Chinese court or to send two men, as he preferred, conforming to this advice he sent dBaṅ p'yug and Šes rab rdo rje, who came back without injury. Thus he obtained

his diploma²²⁷⁾ and the silver seal required for the conferment of a myriarch's office. Then, as Kun rdo rje sgom pa of aBri guṅ did not recognize the benefits he had received in various circumstances, much ill-feeling and many struggles followed between P'ag mo gru and aBri guṅ. Above all it came to pass that aBri guṅ pa, Nam grags pa and gYa' bzaṅ, having plotted together, attacked P'ag gru.

(78 b) He placed choice troops²²⁸⁾ of the Upper sTod, commanded by gŽon nu bzaṅ po, to defend aBras mo; the Si tu in person, having levied a great army in Byaṅ k'ar, defeated the aBri guṅ pa, hence gYa' bzaṅ too fled. While the P'ag mo gru soldiers were reaching gSaṅ mda', as the Ts'al pa and Nam grags²²⁹⁾ had built a fortress on the K'ron pa ri and at gYu rtse brag, (the Si tu), learning that aBum grags (xyl: p'rag) 'od of gYa' bzaṅ with the gNal soldiers had reached Lhun po rtse, turned back.

A battle was engaged and aBum grags 'od was besieged in Lhun po rtse, with some nine hundred of his men. Then the gNal soldiers who had arrived were killed and their arms and equipment taken. Then aBum grags 'od and all his dependants promised to submit and P'ag gru sent a rdson dpon into all the feuds of gNal, like Šel mk'ar, etc. and established settlements there. On that occasion the Lord of the Law, the holy Lama, acted as a go-between,²³⁰⁾ and a meeting was arranged between the Si tu and the dPon c'en rGyal bzaṅ, in Goṅ dkar. In the very moment in which the dPon c'en was apologizing to the Si tu, Nam grags attacked mT'oṅ smon in Šaṅs. The P'ag gru pa troops having departed to help the dPon c'en, under the *c'en po's*²³¹⁾ command, there was fighting in Lho k'ar of Šab c'u and the Naṅ pa's²³²⁾ army was defeated. Then, although the P'ag gru soldiers had decided to go to Sa skya, as the dPon c'en was induced by others to change his mind, the army went back. The dPon c'en having then gone to Sa skya, he was imprisoned by the lama Ti šri's two sons; then the Si tu sent (79 a) a great army to gTsaṅ and by various means, peaceful and violent, he had the dPon c'en delivered from prison and nearly all the land of gTsaṅ fell into his power. On his way back he ordered that the feud of Rin spuṅs should be founded. Precisely at this time the various Sa skya hierarchs had been divided into four palaces; owing to the various internal discords which had cropped up, (Sa skya) political prestige²³³⁾ ended by passing under the P'ag's domination; thus was fulfilled the prophecy which says "the earth (*sa*, i. e. allusion to Sa skya) will be internally mutilated and a boar will lay it waste. From Yar klunṅ will appear a P'yag rdo rje's incarnation, ..."²³⁴⁾

Then the Emperor of China accorded to P'ag gru credentials²³⁵⁾ as a Da ra k'a c'e and the title and seal of a Si tu. Next, as aBri guṅ had gathered a large army against P'ag gru, the Si tu levied troops in Goṅ dkar and arrived in Brag dkar; about that time an internal revolt had broken out in Sa skya and the lama Kun spaṅs had been killed. The Si tu set off for gTsaṅ to ascertain (the causes of) discord and



called for the dPon c'en rGyal bzan;²³⁶⁾ while the latter was coming to Lha rtse to confer with him, it is said that the dPon c'en dBaṅ brtson and the abbot Nam mk'a²³⁷⁾ ye šes gave him poison; others say that he drank a large quantity of alcohol; anyhow the dPon c'en died.

(79 b) Then the Si tu took the letters²³⁷⁾ on which the dignitaries,²³⁸⁾ beginning from the Sa skya, (founded their authority), and having come to Sa skya definitely to establish (law and order)²³⁹⁾ in case there were dissent between (the powers those dignitaries had assumed) and those (specified in the) letters of investiture, he established the punishment (they would incur). About a hundred soldiers,²⁴⁰⁾ were settled in the great temple with Rin c'en 'od at their head. According to the history of Sa skya, in this time marvellous signs appeared, due to the magical practices which the rDson c'uṅ pa was performing against the Si tu with the excellence of his dhāraṇī and magical formulas. Then, after the Si tu had returned in dBus, he of Lha rtse and he of Byaṅ²⁴¹⁾ waged war; so to punish them, on the base of what had been established in the letters of investiture,²⁴²⁾ he sent his army, commanded by the c'en po.²⁴³⁾ When they got to sñi ts'ar, having heard that the dPon c'en dBaṅ brtson had besieged the great temple of Sa skya, the troops went from sñi ts'ar to Sa skya²⁴⁴⁾ and many were killed in battle; the dPon c'en was captured and about four hundred persons were punished according to the law. Then the Ti šri Kun dga' rgyal mts'an,²⁴⁵⁾ the ācārya bSod nams blo gros,²⁴⁶⁾ the myriarch of Ts'al pa and others submitted to the Emperor false charges, saying that the Si tu had destroyed Sa skya with army and was persecuting the other myriarchs. For this reason, with the object of effacing any suspicion from the Emperor's mind, he sent the most honourable Šes rab bkra šis²⁴⁷⁾ to His Majesty the Emperor with many gifts, beginning with a white lion's skin whose four paws were intact; so he obtained the imperial diploma, transmissible from generation to generation, and the imperial decree ...

(80 a) He founded thirteen fortresses at the points where the highways met, in the centre of the regions of dBus and gTsaṅ, as in Goṅ dkar, T'ag dkar, sNeu, sTag rtse in 'Ol k'a, bSam agrub rtse, Lhun grub rtse, Rin spuṅs etc.²⁴⁸⁾ In his palace in sNeu gdoṅ rtse he had three orders of royal doors, inner and outer. Beyond the inner doors the use of women and c'aṅ were forbidden; the Si tu lived according to monastic rules, taking no food at dawn and at sunset and he was like the gem *cintāmaṇi* on the diadem placed in the head of all the laymen and monks. Beforehand, although the glorious family of the Sa skya pa had taken possession not only of the kingdom of Tibet, but also of the kingdom of great Tibet,²⁴⁹⁾ the princes of this family were drawn hither and thither by their desires, and the dPon c'en too, without any rule, were greatly infatuated; even Chinese customs were corrupted,²⁵⁰⁾ as result of the cruelty of the Mongols. For this reason and because severity and condescension, perspective between noble and vile things and, above all, the justice of Mongol

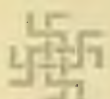
laws, characterized by the fact that, if a man is slain, a life is sacrificed for his life, were all tainted by sin, the Tai Si tu wished to take as a fundamental law the judiciary system of the ancient, saintly Kings of Tibet, founded on the fourteen moral rules.²⁵¹⁾ So he arranged the laws under fifteen headings²⁵²⁾

(81 a) Then, regarding the school of the bKa' brgyud pa of the Dvags po sect,²⁵³⁾ with the purpose of renewing the school explaining the sūtra, whose tradition had been lost, he founded the great monastery of rTse t'aṅ...²⁵⁴⁾

(81 b) On his death he was succeeded by aJam dbyaṅs Gu šri c'en po,²⁵⁵⁾ regarding whom it should be known that bSod nams bzan po had two wives, Ńi ru ma and Maṅ ṅam; the first bore this one (we are speaking about) and the bdag po, Šā kya rin pa; the second bore the dPon Rin c'en rdo rje. aJam dbyaṅs learnt to read and write from the lama Klu luṅ grags pa and received the rules of laymen from the C'os bži Grags pa rgyal mts'an; being then ordained a monk by the ācārya g'Zon brtson, he took the name of Šā kya rgyal mts'an. As in his see he explained the *brTag gñis* and in rTse t'aṅ the four sections of the scriptures,²⁵⁶⁾ he obtained fame as a wise man... With the Lord of the Law the saintly lama he took complete vows; for thirteen years he protected the predication of the Law in Lhasa and the community of rTse t'aṅ.

After a short time, having again ascended his throne in the palace of sNeu gdoṅ, the Emperor of the Mongols gave him the diplome of *Si tu* and *Tai si tu C'aṅ gu* and the office and seal of *Kva adin gu Ńi* and the diploma of investiture over three c'ol k'a of Tibet with all the people, so that he became the loftiest chief in the Tibetan realm of king sPu rgyal.²⁵⁷⁾ When he got an army ready against some persons bribed²⁵⁸⁾ by Kun dga' bkra šis, who had rebelled in gTsaṅ, owing to the power of the C'os skyoṅ Bya rog gdoṅ can,²⁵⁹⁾ his soldiers went as far as gTsaṅ po without meeting with any obstacle. (82 a) Having turned back, he held a religions meeting, doing great honour for ten days to many ten thousand of monks gathered together, with the glorious saintly Lama at their head, and he obtained great prosperity for his subjects.

As to Rin c'en rdo rje, he had married Zin bkra šis skyid and Do brag ma Rin c'en aṭs'o; the first bore him rGyal sras Grags pa rin c'en and the Lord of the Law C'os bži pa.²⁶⁰⁾ When the latter was a child, the great abbot Seṅ ge rgyal mts'an was invited (to meet him), who prophesied his future, saying he had seen a light issuing from the heart of the palace of the sMan bla and disappearing into his body. Having asked rGyal sras Grags rin for instructions concerning the *brTag gñis*, he applied himself to studying them thoroughly. He took vows as a devout layman with the *spyān śā* Grags šes rab²⁶¹⁾ and assumed the name of Grags pa byaṅ c'ub. Although aJam dbyaṅs gu šri ordered him to marry and to continue his line, he refused and took complete vows with the Lord of the Law, the glorious lama.²⁶²⁾ Then dwelling in his see and assuming its supreme



dignity, through the vast and deep law he caused to mature (in goodness) many beings, capable of being converted due to their adequate karmic preparation. Having ascended the throne of sNeu gdon after the great Gu šri, he was proclaimed Bla dpon and held temporal and spiritual rule at the same time. The second Buddha of the corrupt times in which we live, bTsoñ k'a pa, met him and felt an incomparable faith in him, which never fell short.²⁶³⁾ He composed a book on rhetoric, known by the name of *rTogs brjod dpag bsam lbun po*, deriving (its subjects) from the works of that prince of scholars who was Dañdin.²⁶⁴⁾

(82 b) His younger brother, the Lord of the Law bSod nams grags was the son of Do brag dpon mo; he took vows with the great abbot gZon dbaṅ... and complete vows with the great lotsāva Byaṅ c'ub rtse mo; later he ascended the throne of the palace.

The *sa skyoṅ* Šā kya rin c'en married Zin rin c'en adsom...²⁶⁵⁾ who bore him the lord of men Grags pa rgyal mts'an, the honourable Byaṅ c'ub rdo rje, the *spyān śā* dPal ldan bzaṅ po, the *spyān śā* bSod nams rgyal mts'an,²⁶⁶⁾ the honourable Saṅs rgyas rgyal mts'an. Among all of them, the lord of men Grags pa rgyal mts'an, ... ordained as a monk by the abbot gZon dbaṅ po, heard completely the secret explanations of the Law with the *spyān śā* Grags pa byaṅ c'ub, and then obtained the name of Grags pa rgyal mts'an dpaḷ bzaṅ po ...

(83 b) His father, the *sa skyoṅ* Šā kya rin c'en, had obtained a decree of appointment from T'o gan T'i mur and therefore assumed power (lit. came to the palace), (84 a) as a myriarch. In T'o gan T'i mur's times Gru t'a la gru was sent to collect the tribute in a district of China. Having made an agreement with a Chinese official (on the way back), he had many carts made, he put into them soldiers below and gems and silk dresses on top, as if he was transporting tributes. When they arrived near the palace, the soldiers surrounded it; but the king went out from a secret door and Gru t'a la gru became master of everything.²⁶⁷⁾

His son was Kyen cun,²⁶⁸⁾ and the latter's son was Yung lo ta miñ,²⁶⁹⁾ in whose times Grags pa rgyal mts'an received the golden seal, and also the rock crystal seal and the diploma conferring command upon him...²⁷⁰⁾ To the notables residing in the great rdsoṅ he gave the rock crystal seal and the hereditary diplomas²⁷¹⁾ so that everyone noble and humble called him the saintly king, the Goṅ ma.²⁷²⁾ The Šar k'a pa of Ñaṅ stod Rab brtan kun bzaṅ ap'ags pa²⁷³⁾ of rGyal mk'ar rtse, who had the office of *gzims dpon* of these last two Goṅ ma, although his power had been increased by the grace of this regent, somewhat forgetful of benefits received, offended²⁷⁴⁾ the Goṅ ma; twice he levied²⁷⁵⁾ troops in Ñaṅ stod, while the Šar k'a pa of Ñaṅ stod was said to be an enemy of those of Yar kluiṅ; nevertheless, remembering (the past), (the Goṅ ma) did not take tribute from rGyal mk'ar tse.

These events excepted, there was peace in dBus and gTsaṅ; as he did not wish to commit sinful deeds, like the use of armies, (84 b) while this saintly king's

sun of justice rose, those night-lotuses whose leaves are the hatreds of wicked men, amply spread out, through his strength, were closed.

Upon Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an of Rin spuṅs, a Minister able in managing the affairs of a heroic, wise and intrepid king, he conferred the offices of rdsoṅ dpon of Rin spuṅs and dpon c'en of the great temple of Sa skya,²⁷⁶⁾ and to Hor dPal abyor bzaṅ po of aP'yoṅ rgyas he gave the office of rdsoṅ dpon of bSam agrub rtse and of commander in-chief; then Nam mk'a' bzaṅ po of sNeu and Rin c'en dpaḷ of Brag dkar made a name for themselves. The circle of his retinue was extremely numerous and consisted in men (versed) in civil and religious affairs, well-born, having virtue and power. He established the order of ornaments and dresses corresponding to the office they occupied and above all he distributed the special ornaments, after having founded the festival of the first day of the new year, called "time of precious ornaments", and ordered, to give lustre to men's ears, the use of earrings wrought with gems, to be worn always...²⁷⁷⁾

As to what is contained in the history of the Lord of the Law bSod nams grags pa, namely the insertion of Šes rab bkra šis of Brag dkar²⁷⁸⁾ among the Ministers of this saintly king, it must be noticed that Šes rab bkra šis when he went, in the Goṅ ma T'ai si tu's times, to the Chinese court to ask for the imperial edict, he had reached the gate of his forty-seven years, and that between the Si tu rin po c'e and this Goṅ ma some generations intervene; therefore to speak in this connection of Šes rab bkra šis has no sense. (85 a) Thus also, Nam mk'a' rgyal po of Rin spuṅs being the son of Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, by quoting him before Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, he (behaves) like a blind man walking alone; this is one of the many subjects (to be found in his writings) differing from what all the others say ...

His younger brother Saṅs rgyas rgyal mts'an married a Rin spuṅs princess,²⁷⁹⁾ who bore him two sons: Grags pa abyun gnas and Kun dga' legs. As to Grags pa abyun gnas, ... after the great and saintly king's death, being very young and the Ministers not being of the same mind as to whether the father or the son should succeed him on the throne of the palace, the *spyān śā* bSod nams rgyal mts'an, whose advice had been asked for, (85 b) ordered that the son should be named and it was done accordingly. But after the *spyān śā*'s death, as the father wished to occupy the throne himself with the pretext that his son's accession was unjust, a revolt broke out in Yar kluiṅ: the father, the C'e sa²⁸⁰⁾ (of T'el monastery) together with his disciples, resolved to go to Yar rgyab ... Then the Emperor of China, aJam dbyaṅs Goṅ ma Kyen t'ai²⁸¹⁾ gave him a diploma investing him with power and he was then proclaimed dBaṅ grags pa abyun gnas. Although the two sees of T'el and rTses t'aṅ were not neglected, he preached his most important sermons within the palace... He had the C'e sa²⁸²⁾ come from Yar rgyab to rTse t'aṅ, he pacified the internal strife which had troubled the chiefs, hence their minds (again) were in harmony.

To watch over the Northern frontiers,²⁸³⁾ he built the stronghold of 'U yug gliñ dkar. Nor bu bzan po of Rin spuñs and Hor dKon cog rin c'en of aP'yoñ rgyas, disciples of the saintly king, in the times of this Goñ ma, were Ministers of Justice.

His younger brother Kun dga' legs pa, having studied the sacred scriptures thoroughly (86 a) went to the see of rTse t'añ and married a Rin spuñs princess, who bore him Rin c'en rdo rje dbaṅ gyi rgyal po; the Emperor of China C'en han²⁸⁴⁾ gave him the diploma of dBaṅ ...

Then, as the Goñ ma, the fourth pillar,²⁸⁵⁾ and the latter's brother, listened to all what people said to them serious disagreement broke out between he and his wife.²⁸⁶⁾ The sde pas of Yar, of Goñ, of Bya²⁸⁷⁾ and of bSam sided with the princess, those of sNeu, 'Ol and dGa'²⁸⁸⁾ with the Goñ ma and so extremely troubled times followed. Nevertheless, as he of aP'yoñ rgyas rDo rje ts'e brtan had sided with neither party, he brought about a reconciliation. And since this had increased internal peace, there was obedience to the sde srid. After his wife's death, mTs'o skyes rdo rje of Rin spuñs took mK'ar t'og. All this is related according as it is written in the *Deb t'er sñon po*. "Then the bDag po Kun dga' legs pa and the C'e sa Sañs rgyas rgyal mts'an held counsel; in the tenth day of the eleventh month of the year wood-dog, the precious Lord of the Law Nag dbaṅ po, who was sixteen years old, was invited to occupy the abbatial throne ...²⁸⁹⁾ In the interval the see of T'el had remained empty; some say that the *spyān śā* Nag gi dbaṅ, who dwelt there again, had for his father the C'os lña Rin po c'e²⁹⁰⁾ Grags pa abyūñ gnas and other deny this, because the precious C'os lña kept his monastic vows all his life ... Also *spyān śā* Nag gi dbaṅ succeeded (literally: came) as *spyān śā* of the great see (T'el). Meanwhile, owing to the appointment²⁹¹⁾ of the Goñ ma, much internal discord had developed; then, in the course of time, when peace was restored (between them), Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs led the gTsañ armies against dBus and took some feuds, which were the dependencies²⁹²⁾ of the feud of sNeu. The *spyān śā* was invited to return to the royal palace²⁹³⁾ on the Ministers' advice: dPal abyor rgyal po of sNeu, Rin c'en rgyal po of Yar rgyab, bKra šis dar rgyas of Byar, having at their head mTs'o skyes pa of Rin spuñs and Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs and Hor Ts'e dbaṅ rnam rgyal of aP'yoñ rgyas, together with his brother Hor Rin c'en. A short time later, the Žal ño and the Goñ ma²⁹⁴⁾ having died, no one remained to continue the divine rLañs family, except the *spyān śā* ...²⁹⁵⁾ Therefore the Ministers, (87 a) insistently begged the *spyān śā*²⁹⁶⁾ Goñ ma and offered to him in marriage the daughter of rDsoñ k'a pa and obtained that the good ancestral rules should shine like the moon in the fortnight of its increase.

A son was born, famous under the name of Nag dbaṅ bkra šis; after a short time, the *spyān śā* being about to die, as his son was still a child, he was greatly grieved, owing to the strong attachment he felt for

him. Then the *spyān śā* C'os kyi grags accepted to assume the burden (of the office of) *spyān śā* of T'el, until the heir²⁹⁷⁾ should be grown up and to occupy the office of sDe srid, with authority to issue orders and confer offices,²⁹⁸⁾ together with the Ministers, counsellors and superiors of T'el and rTse t'añ.

Meanwhile, according to the wishes of some and without taking counsel with the other ministers, mTs'o skyes rdo rje of Rin spuñs had contrived to be appointed as a regent;²⁹⁹⁾ but as other sDe dpon did not want him, a revolt broke out. Nevertheless, as aP'yoñ rgyas, inclined to the maintenance of the office of sDe srid was extremely resolute,³⁰⁰⁾ the disturbances did not assume vast proportions.

Then the Emperor of China gave the *spyān śā* the diploma of dBaṅ; but after the *spyān śā*'s death the ambassadors left all their gifts with the treasurer and went back. Then the ministers, headed by him of Rin spuñs and him of aP'yoñ rgyas, having held a counsel, placed on the palace throne Nag dbaṅ bkra šis grags, of the precious lineage... (87 b) In his times it came to pass, as it had been said in the prophecy: "A man bearing the great name of Grags abyūñ will take sNe gdoñ, and by nine men like poisonous serpents the P'ag will be deceived like a hare ..."³⁰¹⁾

Nag dbaṅ rNam rgyal of Rin spuñs, leading his army against E and gNal, offended the Goñ ma. Then the fourth Žva dmar³⁰²⁾ said to him: "This regent of P'ag mo gru loves the whole realm in general, the governors of provinces in particular, but in a special manner he loves you of Rin spuñs, therefore we must be cautious ... But his wish was not considered ...

At that time the Emperor of China gave him the title and diploma of dBaṅ and then on the mirror of all the three worlds shone the dance of the name of Žabs druñ, Goñ ma c'en po, dPal nag gi dbaṅ p'yug bKra šis grags pa rgyal mts'an, victor over all the points of space, *kva dñ gu ři ho vañ*. A short time later he of Rin spuñs, with his sinful mind, practicing austerities but following the works of Māra, (89 a) instigated a rebellion: however as when the Asura, envying the power of the Gods,³⁰³⁾ took up arms against them, and through the power of the celestials' merits only the name of those fiends was left, thus also the sDe srid's prestige³⁰⁴⁾ prevailed. Nevertheless, Žva dmar C'os grags pa having interfered, he of Rin spuñs, who had been in prison three years, was freed, but he caused another revolt to break out.

While he was marching towards rGyal mk'ar rtse, a great army of the Goñ ma led by him of aP'yoñ rgyas and by Rin c'en rgyal mc'og,³⁰⁵⁾ advanced on Ñaṅ stod. The general of dGa' ldan, bSod nams rgyal po, leading the troops of sKyid and of aP'an, marched on Sañs, and in an instant the accumulated fruits of that cause which could not be eliminated ripened, namely the revolt of the subjects of the feud of Rin spuñs. That vain and ambitious man was left like him who wanted to beat his head against the mountain; he was reduced to such straits that he no longer knew what to do; anyhow he asked that the lands of rGyal rtse and bsNams, which he had



lost, should be given back to him, and apologizing to the Court he begged the office of *rdson dpon* be conferred upon him, making many promises that in the future he would renounce any unlawful plan. Nevertheless, due to the times, as the merits of created beings were scanty and the power of the fruits of fiendish acts (derived from) minds perverted by evil were difficult to repress, he of Rin spuñs, the chief with his Ministers, caused a new great revolt to break out, but the *sDe srid's* prestige suffered no harm ...

(88 b) In his times, although there were internal rebellions, instigated by him of Rin spuñs, by the *dPon* and by the ministers, in his court a numerous and very important retinue of ministers and officials is recorded, like *Nag dbaṅ rNam rgyal* of Rin spuñs, who had the rank of Minister of the external seal,³⁰⁶ and his son *Don grub rtse brtan rdo rje*, and *Hor Rin c'en rgyal mc'og* of *aP'yon rgyas*, together with his brother and his son *Hor bSod nams mgon po*, with his two brothers and the latter's son *Hor bSod nams dar rgyas* and *aJam dpal ts'e rin rgyal po* of *Brag dkar* and *Rin c'en bkra šis* of *Yar rgyab* and *bSod nams rgyal po* of *dGa' ldan* and *Nor bu bkra šis* of *Bya*.

This *Goñ ma* married a daughter of him of Rin spuñs and had two sons, the *Goñ ma aGro bai mgon po* and the *spyān śāa Grags abyūñ pa*. The *Goñ ma aGro bai mgon po*, having gone to *Goñ dkar*, married the princess³⁰⁷ of *aP'yon rtse*, who (89 a) bore him the *Žabs druñ Nag dbaṅ grags pa*, who, on the *Goñ ma's* death, made in the palace *Goñ ri dkar* a reliquary studded with gems, to contain his relics. The *spyān śāa Grags abyūñ pa* then went in the *T'el* residence. Since he was not well, he particularly insisted on a prayer for being in excellent condition. He was specially efficient in the evocation of the cycle of *gSed*, *Ma mgon* and *Bya gdoñ can*. When the *sde pa* of *'Ol k'a* was preparing intrigues in order to provoke a revolt in the fiefs depending on the monastery of *T'el*, seeing that there was a good omen in the fact that the omniscient *bSod nams rgya mts'o* resided in *'Ol k'a*, he went to *rGyal*; a short time after the *sde pa* fell and died; the people of *T'el* say that when he fell a raven appeared in the sky and took him off his hand, which, they say, can even now be seen in the *mGon k'añ* of *T'el*. When the *Žabs druñ Nag dbaṅ Grags pa* dwelt in *Goñ dkar*, as in the palace of (*sNeu gdoñ*) *rtse* there was a brother of his from a different mother, a slanderous rumor³⁰⁸ spread abroad that *dPon sa aP'yon rtse ma* had not properly provided for the appointment (of a successor). Those of Rin spuñs and he of *dGa' ldan* began to equip an army against (*sNeu gdoñ*) *rtse* at the service of *Žabs druñ Nag dbaṅ grags*; then although there was no sign³⁰⁹ that *Hor bSod nams dar rgyas* and the other ministers were inclined to resort to arms, nevertheless the *Goñ ma c'en po* remained there until he of *bKra šis rtse* was elected *Nañ blon*; then, as the *Goñ ma* did not wish the palace of *sNeu gdoñ rtse* to be besieged, he came to *'On rgyal bzañ* and invited the *Žabs druñ nag grags* to occupy the throne.

(89 b) Nevertheless *Padma dkar po*,³¹⁰ the incarnation of *aBrug pa*, says that he explained the motives³¹¹ of his conduct to all the *sde dpon*; anyhow, the *Goñ ma*, without delay, went back to the palace. When the *Žabs druñ Nag dbaṅ grags* was in *Goñ dkar* and preparations were made for the siege an ordinance of the *Goñ ma* reached him in which it was said " *Goñ dkar* is the junction between *dBus* and *gTsañ* and if it is not in our hands great damage will come to Tibet; therefore the fort should not resist ... This ordinance came into the hands of the besieged and all were happy and peace was made.

This *Žabs druñ Nag dbaṅ grags pa* performed innumerable good works, both in the civil and in the religious field. He was particularly a devotee both of the *dGe lugs pa* and of the *aBrug pa* and heard (from them) many holy teachings. As his thoughts had been purified, because he was bound to the omniscient *bSod nams rgya mts'o* by the links which pass between a chaplain and a giver of oblations, similar to those uniting the moon to the sun, the Chinese Emperor's court was constantly sending offerings to *Goñ dkar*.

The great *Goñ ma's* sons, the *Zur pa* etc., dwelt on the throne of the palace of *sNeu gdoñ*, but owing to the activity of nine brothers,³¹² fiendish men of *dBus* and *gTsañ*, the demons of revolt repeatedly broke out. During the rebellion, in the years of the mouse and of the ox,³¹³ there was a great change. The *Žabs druñ Nag dbaṅ* had two sons: *bKa' brgyud rNam par rgyal* and *rNam rgyal grags pa*...

The eldest son's son was the invincible *bSod nams dbaṅ p'yug grags pa rnam rgyal dpal*, now living in the palace of *sNeu gdoñ*.³¹⁴

RIN SPUNŚ

Now, among those who guided the great chariot of the *Goñ ma sde srid's* government, let us begin from him of Rin spuñs.³¹⁵ (The lineage) begins with *dPal ldan legs 'od* of *sGer*, descended from a son of *Ma sañs*, in the times of the king of Tibet *Ša k'ri bzañ po*, whose name was *K'ar k'ye 'u*. Of the three branches descended from him, up to the twenty-fifth generation, namely *P'yi sger*, *Nañ sger* and *Grub t'ob kyi sger*, (90 b) *Ral pa aḍsin* of *Nañ*, brought with him from the country of *Gru gu*³¹⁶ in seven boats merchandise of turquoises. By virtue of a magic formula, having conquered a demon who bore on his gory body five heads and from which a thunderbold voice issued, he acquired fame as a most powerful person and behaved like *Pad ma pā ṇi*, turned into a lord of men. He became *nañ blon* of *Sroñ btsan sgam po*; after him *Zla ba rgyal mts'an*, who possessed a great talent, became *C'os blon* of the *mNa' bdag K'ri sroñ lde btsan*: these offices were held (by him and his descendants) up to the end of the twentieth generation. *sGer Ša kya aḅum's* son, named *Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an*, was a contemporary of the *Goñ ma sde srid dbaṅ grags pa rgyal mts'an*, who appointed him

rdson dpon of the Rin spuñs feud and myriarch of C'u mig and dPon c'en of the great Sa skya temple. His son was Nam mk'a' rgyal po ... The latter's son Nor bu bzañ po, a contemporary of the Goñ ma, received from the latter a myriarch's diploma and the investiture over the rdson which his grandfather and his father had received before him.

Employing an army, he took the rdson of rTa gyag and vanquished many petty kings like that of lCag t'ag mgo sbrel, and he was appointed rdson dpon of bSam agrub rtse, in Ñañ smad ... Then he founded the monastery of Roñ byams c'en,³¹⁷⁾ and on the sides of the (91 a) old monastery of Brag dmar he built over one hundred cells ...³¹⁸⁾ What the Lord of the Law bSod nams grags pa states, namely that the Lord of the Law Nor c'en po is believed to have told Nor bzañ of Rin spuñs to prevent the lord dGe adun grub from founding the monastery, is a false account written according to an unverified tradition. While the all-knowing dGe adun grub was founding the monastery of bKra šis lhun po, the rdson dpon of bSam agrub rtse was Hor dPal abyor bzañ po of aP'yon rgyas; that dGe adun's main patron was precisely the latter, is clearly stated in the genealogy of bSod nams rnam par rgyal mts'an of Byams pa gliñ in Yar rgyab, who is known to have been not a scholar in name only, but a pañḍita in the full meaning of this word.

The sons of Nor bzañ of Rin spuñs were: Upa-sika, Kun bzañ po, Don grub rdo rje, mTs'o skyes rdo rje and Ša kya rgyal mts'an; the first of these five died young.

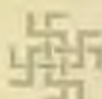
Kun bzañ po met dBañ Grags pa abyun gnas and his brother, from whom he received the diplomas and the charges conferred upon his grandfather and his father; he was appointed rdson dpon of Rin spuñs. He was bound by the relation of donor to master with the all-knowing Sañs rgyas ap'el of the Sa skya pa school and with bSod nams señ ge of Go rams; he founded the school for the explanation of sacred texts in sKyed mos ts'al in aBras yul and provided what was necessary to build the monastery T'ub brtan rnam rgyal in rTa nag. Don grub rdo rje received the office of rdson dpon of the feud of bSam agrub rtse. (91 b) Ma sañs³¹⁹⁾ mTs'o skyes rdo rje took the rdson of mK'ar t'og in Yar klun and after the death of the spyan śāa dPal Ñag gi dbañ p'yug, as the heir was a child, he was entrusted the regency of sNeu gdon.³²⁰⁾ While Ša kya rgyal mts'an resided in a feud belonging to the rdson of Ñañ k'og, the bDag po of rGyal mk'ar rtse became known for his skill in hostile deeds of violence, etc.³²¹⁾

Kun bzañ po had two sons: rDo rje rtse brtan and Don yod rdo rje. The latter, exalted by the office (he had received, of ruling) two great rdson, leading his army against Nor adsin in dBus, wrested from the authority of sNel the feuds of Brag dkar and Lhun po rtse of C'u šul.³²²⁾ A little later he invited the spyan śāa Ñag gi dbañ p'yug, subservient to the advice of his other Ministers like those of aP'yon rgyas, to take possession of the throne of sNeu gdon. Having led several military expeditions against the

regions of La stod and Lho, he was always victorious. A short time after the spyan śāa, the Goñ ma also died; until the precious heir³²³⁾ had grown to such an age that he was qualified to become his successor ... as someone changed his mind, he led the army into sKyid šod, but his troops, due to adverse circumstances, were twice beaten back from the great see of dGa' ldan rNam par rgyal gliñ, inasmuch as that prince of scholars and ascetics, the all-knowing sMon lam dpal ba, had recourse to the rite of the great offering to the six-armed mGon po. Then, after (92 a) the news of the all-knowing sMon lam dpal ba's death came, he took up arms once more, and as the prince Nam mk'a' rgyal po of dGa' ldan³²⁴⁾ and other vassals³²⁵⁾ had caused still more violent trouble, he took tribute from the feud of sNeu. Nevertheless, having supported the opinion of the other Ministers, who thought that the great Goñ ma should be put on the sNeu gdon throne, he dressed himself in meekness, on the advice of Žva dmar C'os kyi grags pa, with whom his relations were those of patron to master. He furnished the materials needed to found the temple of Yañs pa can, with the nearby monastery. According to the advice of the honourable Lord C'os grags rgya mts'o, he founded a convent near Lha ldan, but due to hindrances caused by the force of his karma's fruits, (this monastery) lacking the power to resist, did not last long.

The son of mTs'o skyes rdo rje Ñag dbañ rnam rgyal, met the spyan śāa, the Goñ ma, who conferred upon him the office of rdson dpon ...; but as he led his troops against E and gÑal, hurting the feelings of the great Goñ ma by his haughtiness, since he did not preserve the pure principles of equitable hierarchy between a lord and his subjects, the rdson and feuds of sNeu,³²⁶⁾ etc. slipped out of his hands and his power was substantially reduced. Nevertheless Señ ge rtse ba in the region of gTsañ and La stod and Lho and other localities remained subject to him ...

He had three sons (92 b) the eldest of whom died young; the second, Don grub ts'e brtan rdo rje took possession, which had not been taken in his fathers' and grandfather's time, of the rdson of Lhun grub rtse in sNams, with all its dependencies; according to the words of the honourable lord, Mi bskyod rdo rje, he founded the gSuñ rab gliñ monastery and in the blama bKra šis dpal bzañ's school he learnt the mystical instruction of the (Vajra)yānaśikhara.³²⁷⁾ The youngest son Ñag dbañ ajigs grags ... composed several treatises, representing the best that has been written on rhetoric, to begin with the one entitled "Dañ dñi dgoñs rgyan ajigs med señ gei rgyud kyi ña ro ...". He was excellent as regards both religious and temporal affairs; but this was the time when the prophecy was to be realized that "the boars will be counfounded by the hare ...". Žiñ gšag rebelled and his son Pad ma dkar po was killed. "This was the time when in the Rin c'en spuñs there will be strife ...". Towards the end of his life, his power to a large extent slipped from his hands. The issue of his son Zla ba bzañ po lasts to this day.



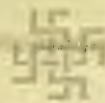
As for Hor gŽon nu bzañ po, the Goñ ma's minister, they say that he belongs to the royal family of Za hor.³²⁸⁾ In the city of Sin t'abs can, king Sin rta bcu pa had as his son the saint Mya nian med,³²⁹⁾ who by virtue of his truthfult word built one million mc'od rten.

His son was King Dsa; (93 a) through the power of his vow, a rain of books (revealed by) rDo rje sems dpa', fell on his palace; but the *Za ma tog* was carried off by the wind and fell on Yom bu gla sgañ's palace, and was called "the secret demon,, of King Lha t'o t'o ri sñan žal.³³⁰⁾ His son was Indrabodhi,³³¹⁾ king of Zahor who, although he had obtained two books by P'yag na rdo rje's grace, was unable to understand their symbolic meaning; but having invited the ascetic Ku ku rā dsa pa,³³²⁾ he was made spiritually mature (for their inderstanding). He had a daughter: Go ma de vi and a son Ša kra³³³⁾ who realized the condition of the vidyādhara. The latter's son was king gTsug lag ādsin, who was inspired³³⁴⁾ by the deep Law and instructions of the great master.³³⁵⁾ He had three children: Dharmarāja, the great abbot Ži ba ts'o and princess Man da ra vā...³³⁶⁾ the first of whom ruled over his father's kingdom and had three sons: Dhar ma pā la, Ša kya de va and Ma hā de va. When in Tibet the great ācārya³³⁷⁾ enjoined the "five-crested nāga,,³³⁸⁾ to be the keeper of the bSam yas temple, built by king K'ri sroñ lde btsan, (that Nāga) said: "This is not fitting for me, but in the kingdom of Za hor there is a descendant of the Nāga in the dMu family; he is called king Hu,³³⁹⁾ in a single day he can walk as far as a vulture in eighteen days, in pursuit, of any (stolen) property, were it (as small as) a needle. This is the one who must be appointed (keeper of bSam yas),,. He (the ācārya) then evoked rNam sras of the blue lion and the eight knights and caused them to disappear into the flags³⁴⁰⁾ on which their figures were painted; then he made his camp in Gyer ma t'añ in K'ams.

(93 b) The great ācārya then called Pe dkar by the force of his meditation. He came for the first time to Tibet, but as there were exceedingly great calamities, the abbot, the master and the saintly king³⁴¹⁾ again despatched messengers to Za hor; they brought back king Dhar ma pā la and a statue of Sākyamuni, made of turquoise, miraculously wrought, and a leather with the image of a face and a rock-crystal lion as a mount; then, Pe dkar having mounted a wooden bird decorated with many gems, all the fiends came into Tibet; but as the ācārya placed the vajra on the top of his head, they promised to protect the Law. Even today, when the god takes possession of the king,³⁴²⁾ the imprint of the vajra appears on his head. Here two stories seem to coincide:³⁴³⁾ the one of *rNam sras sprin gseb ma*³⁴⁴⁾ and the story of Pe dkar's tribulations (*ar gtad*).³⁴⁵⁾

Dhar ma pā la became the master of king K'ri sroñ lde'u btsan and obtained in the dPal c'u bo ri the intuitions of the deep experiences of the supreme

vehicle. He married P'o yon bza'³⁴⁶⁾ of the race of the mK'a' agro ma and had two sons: dPal gyi rdo rje and Rin c'en rdo rje. The youngest went to India and became proficient in learning, reflection and meditation; in the city of Si tā, without abandoning his body, he passed away flying into the sky. dPal gyi rdo rje married a wife of the Pa ts'ab race and had three sons: rDo rje grags, Rin cen grags and C'os kyi grags. The youngest was ordained as a monk; the son of the eldest... was Zla ba grags pa; the latter's son Rig pa señ ge; the latter's sons: Ša kya blo gros, Yon tan blo gros, and Grags pa ye šes, who went to Yar klun, which is the centre of the land of gYon ru. The eldest resided in gYu srid smon mk'ar, near K'ra ābrug in gYon ru. (94 a) The second son was the master of gNam lde 'od sruñ³⁴⁷⁾ and founded mK'ar t'og; the youngest dwelt in a temple in the region, ruled by his (wife) Lha sman Jo mo;³⁴⁸⁾ some say that it was the temple of Byes. Yon tan blo gros had two sons: rDo rje gsal ba and rDo rje rin c'en; in their time their clients, descended from the great clans of rGya, Šar ga bya, rNog k'u and dBus dgar, increased; the son of the eldest was Ye šes rdo rje, who married K'u mo skyid of Nam mk'a' ri, in gYo ru and having had but one daughter of her, he gave mK'ar t'og and gCag gnas to rGya; hence the palace took the name of rGya mk'ar t'og. Rin c'en rdo rje was called by king dPal ak'or btsan, who said to him that³⁴⁹⁾ P'u luñ had not been conquered even by exorcists as famous as "the seven of gTsañ,, nor by Nan lam rgya mts'o,³⁵⁰⁾ and offered him a golden staff,³⁵¹⁾ two cubits long. A ceremony in the master's honour³⁵²⁾ having been performed, the gods and demons of P'u luñ were conquered and he founded there the monastery of sTegs k'a mo; he married mC'il mo and had two sons: rDo rje grags and rDo rje ābar. The father and both sons went to Hor pa sar³⁵³⁾ and founded a palace called sGañ k'a spel; according to the Indian custom he allotted K'añ p'yi ma³⁵⁴⁾ to his eldest son; hence this son was known by the name of K'añ pa p'yi ma; to rDo rje ābar he allotted Klu sdiñs; hence this son was known as lCañ ldur; the two brothers, after having learnt geomancy from Kun dga' ba of gYu srid, went away (each to his own see). The name conferred on their father after he had taken complete vows was rDo rje rgyal po. rDo rje ābar's son was Hor Da dar, who was a great lord of the power of secret yoga. The king of the Mongols Se c'en, having heard him spoken about, sent ambassadors to him and invited him to court; nevertheless he (94 b) by skilful means converted him but did not go (to him). Of his two sons, namely Hor bKra šis ābum dar and the great scholar Ts'ul dar ba, the latter learned the rules of *pratimokṣa* from the *spyān śha*, the precious *bcu gñis pa* of the lineage of the glorious rLañs; he heard from him many deep doctrines of the precious bKa' brgyud pa school, he became a lama and was called the diadem of the *spyān śha* Grags pa šes rab and of the Tai si tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an. Hor bKra šis ābum had two sons: gŽon nu bzañ po and bKra šis bsam grub, who met the Goñ ma Si tu;



the eldest especially occupied many offices, from tea-pourer³⁵⁵ to councillor. When the Si tu was taken prisoner by the dPon c'en rGyal bzañ pa, although he was under the menace of the besieging (enemy)³⁵⁶ he strenuously resisted in sNeu gdoñ rtse; then, when the dPon c'en dBañ brtson led the army gathered from the thirteen myriarchies against Yar kluñs, but was overthrown like a butterfly plunging into the cosmic fire, by humiliating³⁵⁷ the dPon c'en of Sa skya, who had gone mad from presuming on his own power, he was almost the root from which the prestige of the sDe srid P'ag mo gru pa took shape. On that occasion the Si tu said that gŽon nu was the heart and all the others were as the limbs. Moreover if the country from Sa skya in the extreme limits of gTsañ, up to lower aJañ,³⁵⁸ together with Lho mon³⁵⁹ were conquered, this was through gŽon nu bzañ po's merit.

The sons of his younger brother bKra bsam grub were: gŽon nu rgyal mts'an, Kun dga' dpal bzañ, Nam mk'a' rin c'en, dBañ p'yug rin c'en, who met the precious *spyān śāa* and the Goñ ma, the Si tu, and according to the aims (95 a) of the Goñ ma, acted as ministers of the kingdom. Kun dga' dpal bzañ had four sons: dPal abyor bzañ po, bSod nams dpal ldan, Sañs rgyas skyabs, dKon cog rin cen; dPal abyor bzañ po met the C'os bži gсар ma and received the office of rdsoñ dpon of bSam agrub rtse in lower Nañ; later he was made a general...³⁶⁰ He had relations with the all-knowing dGe adun grub, being joined to him by the links of patron to master,³⁶¹ and he had faith in the teachings of that second Buddha who was Tsoñ k'a pa... His three younger brothers met the protector of the earth Grags pa rgyal mts'an; particularly Nañ so dKon mc'og rin cen was the *nañ blon* who caused endless civil and religious affairs to prosper... and he founded bTsan rdsoñ of sTag rtse, which is pleasant as a heavenly city descended upon earth. In that time, his progeny being in danger,³⁶² he invited the Lord of the Law Legs pa rgyal mts'an of Ža lu from the great see of rNam par rgyal bai gliñ in dGa' ldan. Having accomplished the ceremony of the multiplication of the race according to gSed dmar's³⁶³ propitiatory method, Hor rDo rje ts'e brtan was born...

(95 b) Hor rDo rje ts'e brtan having met dBañ Grags pa abyun gnas and his brother he became minister of Justice; then on the flanks of the mountain of sTag rtse, resembling an elephant, he built the temple of Ri bo bde can and placed there all the images, with the necessary objects for worship. Having invited bSod nams rnam par rgyal ba of Byam pa gliñ, most learned in the five sciences,³⁶⁴ a descendant of T'on mi sam bho ṭa and Mi p'am dga' ba's spiritual preceptor, he had him perform the consecration... The sons of these brothers³⁶⁵ were: Ts'e dbañ rnam rgyal and Rin c'en rgyal mc'og; the eldest became learned in the 18 sciences and in the 64 arts.³⁶⁶ As to Rin c'en rgyal... he became the first of the ministers most dear to the great Goñ ma. In the diploma with the seal³⁶⁷ of the great Goñ ma,³⁶⁸ it was said: "You have been sent to

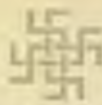
examine the state of things concerning the pacification of dBus and gTsañ, and now for everything that is to be done there, great or small, there is nothing better than asking you: deal with every important decision... In this manner the king elected him³⁶⁹ Prime Minister.

(96 a) In the feud of Sroñ btsan he invited Žva dmar C'os kyi grags and applied to the government³⁷⁰ for the necessary contributions for the Yañs pa cen monastery such as the abbatial feuds assigned for regular religious services.³⁷¹ Having acted as a peacemaker³⁷² between dBus and gTsañ, he received as a reward³⁷³ Gram pa šar and rMad in sTod luñ...

His sons were: bSod nams mgon po, Ts'e dbañ bkra šis, Rin cen ts'e brtan; the eldest, being in the Goñ ma's good graces, was appointed general; he gave dPal abyor lhun po in sKyid šod to T'ab skyoñ as a gift. The second brother was a prince of the fearless heroes and being expert in the art of war as king Rā ma ṇa he became chief of a fourfold (army): the third brother was like the image of the antelope of science in the moon of discernment. All these brothers had as their wife Don yod sgrol ma, the daughter of bKra šis dar rgyas of Bya, who bore two sons: Hor bSod nams dar rgyas³⁷⁴ and Don grub rdo rje. The eldest perfected the study of the common sciences with the lotsāva of dPal k'añ³⁷⁵ and invited the all-knowing bSod nams rgya mts'o...

(96 b) The second married Ts'e dbañ rgyal mo, the sister of bKra šis rab brtan, prince of dGa' ldan, who bore three sons: bSod nams stobs kyi rgyal po, Ts'e dbañ bsod nams bstan adsin and Kar ma Nağ dbañ Grags pa, the eldest of whom... submitted the rdsoñ of T'ob rgyal lha rtse, together with its dependencies, and trusting to the advice of Šes rab 'od zer ti šri, the discoverer of hidden books, an incarnation of the ācārya Vairocana's spirit,³⁷⁶ who belonged to the mystical tradition of mTs'o skyes rdo rje, the all-knowing of the three times, he founded on mount dPal gyi ri the T'eg mc'og sgrub pai adus sde; he had the *Prajñāpāramitā* in three hundred stanzas, the *Šel brag gi t'añ yig*³⁷⁷ and the *Sems ŋid ŋal gso*,³⁷⁸ printed and did much honour to the all-knowing, the incarnated, Nağ dbañ Nor bu the aBrug pa...³⁷⁹ Having invited the Lord of the Law Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an Šar pa³⁸⁰ of the great see of Ri bo dga' ldan, who knew the five sciences so that nothing remained obscure to him, he restored pure conduct in the monastery of Ri bo bde c'en, in which the monks could no longer be distinguished from those sects whose members are in the habit of marrying.³⁸¹ The second showed a marvellous devotion generally towards religion and specially towards the king of the Law Tsoñ k'a pa: the third was an open eye of learning in the science of astrology.

(97 a) These brothers took to wife Don grub, daughter of prince Byams pa rab brtan, of the divine lineage of 'Od gsal and they had two sons: Nağ gi dbañ po bSod nams grags pa ajig rten dga' bai rgyan and Lhai dbañ p'yug, besides a daughter.



(97 b) As regards the most honourable Grags pa bzan po, the Tai si tu's minister, he was descended from the lineage of Tin adsin bzan po of Nān, prince of ascetics, a disciple of the Abbot and of the Master in the saintly king K'ri sron ldeu btsan's times. In the Eastern part of bTsan t'añ Nān grags pa bzan po was born; he took service with the Goñ ma Tai si tu who appointed him rdson dpon of the rdson of sTag rtse in 'Ol k'a; his sons were bTsan t'añ sGom grags and sGom še, who took to wife bKra šis skyid mo,³⁸³⁾ the daughter of mGo nag of Yar kluñs, from whom they had three sons, the most honourable Šes rab bkra šis, Kun grags pa and Kun dbaṅ pa; the second of them was the prefect of the rdson of sTag rtse in 'Ol k'a; the youngest studied in rTses t'añ, Šes rab bkra šis took service with the Goñ ma. As the lama of Sa skya, Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, the Ts'al pa and he of gYa' bzan and others accused him (the Goñ ma) falsely to the king of the Mongols, Šes rab bkra šis,³⁸⁴⁾ to prove the purity of his intentions, taking no thought for his own life, went to T'o gan T'i mur's court, and having been able in justifying the former's conduct, obtained the imperial diploma, useful for the present and in the future; judging that it would have served the *sde srid*, (the Emperor) gave him a diploma in which it was said: "I invest you, Šes rab bkra šis (98 a) and all the descendants of your family, with the feud of Brag dkar... He had two sons: the honourable Rin cen dpal and another who became a monk; the eldest was invested by the saintly king, the Goñ ma, with the office of rdson dpon and was one of the main patrons of the gallant bTson k'a pa, and at various times gave offerings for the construction of Ri bo dga' ldan. He married Sañs rgyas ma, of the family of aP'yon rgyas; she bore him Rin cen lhun po, Lhun grub pa, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, dÑos grub, Kun dga' adsom pa. The eldest was invested by the Goñ ma with the office of rdson dpon, and was one of the main munificent donors of Ri bo dga' ldan. The second received the office of *gsol dpon* of the Goñ ma. The third was ordained as a monk, and became proficient in the sacred scriptures; he lived in his see, the T'eg c'en gliñ in Se ra. The fourth received the office of *gsol dpon* with the C'e sa Sañs rgyas rgyal mts'an and the fifth was invested by the Goñ ma Kun dga' legs pa with the office of rdson dpon. All these brothers took to wife Lha mo c'os skyoñ, daughter of the feudal vassal of Rin spuñs, from whom they had two sons: the Nān so dKon mc'og pa and Sri c'od rgyal po. The eldest was ordained as a monk; the youngest was invested by the C'os gñis rin po c'e with the office of rdson dpon and he learned the holy law with Kun dga' bde legs of gNas rñiñ and with the Lord of the Law sMon lam dpal.³⁸⁵⁾ The latter married Bu k'rid, the daughter of the prince of rGya ma, who bore six children: the Nān so aJam dpal ts'e riñ; bDud adul rgyal po, Ma žig pa, bSod nams rgyal po and two daughters; aJam dpal married Ts'e riñ dpal ajom of

the Yar rgyab family, from whom he had a son, (98 b), Ts'e brtan rdo rje, who was invested with the office of rdson dpon and held the government (of his land).

SNEL

As regards the feud of sNel pa, the C'en po Rin cen bzan took service with the Goñ ma Si tu, and when war was waged against Sa skya, as the soldiers of the P'ag gru myriarchy said: the C'en po³⁸⁶⁾ must be honoured, the Si tu appointed him vice-dpon. At that time he had great successes,³⁸⁷⁾ like the capture of the dPon c'en etc. and brought into dBus the extraordinary riches of all kinds (given by the Emperor) when the Sa skya lamas and the Hor kings were bound by the relations between chaplain and patron; he, for the space of thirteen days, tried in court the rebels,³⁸⁸⁾ headed by the dpon c'en and about five hundred persons, placed on the criminal lists,³⁸⁹⁾ groaned and trembled because of the violent manner of applying the law.

In sGam po groñ he held the office of commander of the feud's stronghold and founded sGer gru in Bya sa; he had three wives, bDe skyid, the daughter of the Yon bdag Blo bde, K'ams mo and dPon mo dpal ldan abum. The first bore rGyal ba rin c'en and the honourable Nam mk'a' bzan po; the second dPon šag pa; the third dPal ldan c'os skyoñ and bSod nams bzan po. dPal ldan c'os skyoñ was for some time rdson dpon of bSam agrub rtse in Nān smad; the most venerable dPon Grags pa met the Goñ ma: the *spyān śīa* Grags pa byañ c'ub³⁹⁰⁾ and rGyal mts'an bzan po of rDson p'yi, taking counsel with their generals and ministers, conferred upon him the office of rdson dpon of sNeu rdson. When the army led by the abbot of Pa sde and by the devout layman of rTse t'añ, the saintly king's younger brother who had rebelled against Goñ dkar, reached mTs'o sna gdoñ, the dPon Grags pa, having assumed command, defeated them in battle and threw upon the road of death nearly sixty men, beginning from the abbot of Pa sde.

(99 a) He then led the army against sToñ pa aJam dpal and in gÑa' gnan he founded the feud of sMon mk'ar;...³⁹¹⁾ the most honourable Nam mk'a' bzan po, by the Goñ ma's order, was made rdson dpon of sNeu and had Tson k'a pa and his disciples as his principal masters... He married lCam Rin cen sgrol ma, who bore Nam mk'a' dpal abyor, invested by the Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an with the office of rdson dpon...

(99 b) The dPon Grags pa married a princess of Ts'al and his son was the most honourable Grags pa dpal bzan, who took service with the Goñ ma Grags abyun, and was successively the administrator of the garrison³⁹²⁾ of sTag sna, judge and *gsol dpon*; he married sKal bzan ma of rGyal mk'ar rtse; nevertheless on account of some difficulties he was ordained as a monk; then having turned into Hor a the Emperor of China gave him the office of *du dben śi*,³⁹³⁾

and conferred upon him the office of dpon of aT'en ts'ad in Byañ sgra t'ag; having inflicted a severe defeat³⁹⁴ on him of Rin spuñs in mDso ri, he obtained great fame as a hero. His son was the most honourable dPal abyor rgyal po, who received from dBañ Grags abyun gnas and his brother³⁹⁵ the office of rdson dpon... As his power increased greatly, it his said that he issued passports for the territory beginning below rDo t'am of aBri guñ, as far as the region above rDo bug pa can in K'a rag up to K'ra abrug in Yar klun. His sons were Nağ dbañ dSod nams rgyal po, Nağ dbañ bSod nam lhun po and Nağ dbañ bSod nams rnam rgyal; the first of them died young. In the times of the other two, owing to Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs' army, their power vanished.

RGYAL MK'AR RTSE

As regards the clan of rGyal mk'ar rtse, it was descended from dGra rgod ldan btsan, in upper K'ams. He wore a coat made out of a hundred tiger-skins, he took away the red bear's claws and he was the son-in-law of Ge sar, king of K'rom.

(100 a) The son of the Yon bdag aBum ñeg was the ācārya Nam mk'a' byañ c'ub, who obtained the mystical realizations according to the adamantine Vehicle of the esoteric doctrines; his son was the ācārya Nam mk'a' lhun grub; the latter's son the ācārya Nam mk'a' bzañ po, who had three sons: brTson agrus rdo rje, Grags pa brtson agrus and gŽon nu ap'ags pa; the eldest was consecrated as a monk in sNar t'añ; the youngest was Ti śri Grags 'od pa's secretary. The son of the second, rGyal mts'an, was very proficient in writing and drawing. He copied (lit. composed) some sections of the sacred scriptures.³⁹⁶ Between him and the Lord of the Law Kar ma pa³⁹⁷ relations were friendly... He married Lha gcig Lha sman, who bore three sons: dPal ldan bzañ po, dPal ldan rin cen, Ma zañs dar po. On the road to sNon mo luñ riñs in Lhan yul,³⁹⁸ a district West of aDul c'un³⁹⁹ river in Nāñ stod, they met ap'ags pa rgyal, of the lCags pa⁴⁰⁰ clan, and they asked him to give them a name. He baptized the two elder ones, respectively by the names of ap'ags pa dpal bzañ po and ap'ags pa rin c'en;⁴⁰¹ ap'ags pa dpal bzañ occupied a post with the glorious Sa skya pa, consisting in composing, writing and reckoning. From Sa skya he received the insignia⁴⁰² and the diploma⁴⁰³ of rgan po⁴⁰⁴ to subdue Sar duñ and Lho duñ and of valiant archer; then he assumed the office of assistant to the bŽi t'og. Having sent the *ba ši da ra k'a c'e*⁴⁰⁵ to the Emperor in the East, the latter gave him a diploma, conferring upon him⁴⁰⁶ the territories from aBri mts'ams up to Gañs dkar po;⁴⁰⁷ while he was going to the Goñ ma Si tu, the ācārya rNam rgyal, Ses rab bzañ, Ba šis dKon mc'og, who encamped⁴⁰⁸ in Rin spuñs, (100 b) led him to Grva Ts'oñ adus; but he managed to escape and returned; then the Hor Emperor gave him the diploma of a Nañ c'en. He founded the rdson of rTse c'en and

P'ag ri rnam rgyal and laid the foundations of the rGyal rtse and sNa bo rdson palaces in the same day. He also founded the fortress of K'yuñ, and others besides.⁴⁰⁹ He also built the rTse c'en temple. Although the dDag c'en ap'ags dpal had many sons, among others, he had, from his wife Ma gcig dPal mo, the Nañ c'en Kun dga' ap'ags pa, who had several sons and daughters, like the dPon mo mgon po etc. Among these was the bDag c'en Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa, who went to the Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an in the palace of sNeu gdon. The Goñ ma having said to the bdag c'en Rab brtan to take the one of the sacred objects of the three kinds,⁴¹⁰ to be found in sNeu gdon and in dGa' ldan, which he liked best, he asked for the small image of the Lord of ascetics, seated in vajrāsana, which became famous under the name of "great spirit",⁴¹¹ and is to be found to this day in the Li ma k'añ in rGyal rtse. Having gone back to gTsañ, in Grog po rgya rtsa, he put to flight the army of Nam mk'a' rgyal po of Rin spuñs, thus acquiring much prestige. Being linked with mK'as grub rje⁴¹² by the relations uniting a donor to a master, he founded the great monastery of dPal ak'or c'os bde c'en with the monks' residence.⁴¹³

(101 a) His son was Rab brtan bkra šis ap'ags.⁴¹⁴ Beginning from the latter's son Don grub ap'ags pa, up to the bDag po P'un sum (ts'ogs) pa (the family's) power lasted; but in the meantime some calamities befell, due to the vicissitudes of the times, and when they were elected rgyab gñer⁴¹⁵ by the Goñ ma the sDe srid they committed several errors.

'OL K'A⁴¹⁶

As regards the sde pa of 'Ol k'a, the most honourable bKra šis rgyal mts'an received from the sde srid Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an the office of rdson dpon; he then became the main donor for the construction of the temple of Ņi ma gliñ, undertaken by the Lord of the Law bZañ skyoñ.

During the first part of his life he ruled according to the Law and had the sacred scriptures of the teachings of the Tathāgata copied, which had already been translated in Tibet,⁴¹⁷ causing them to be written with a precious liquid; then with the son of the noble lineage,⁴¹⁸ who had grown in years, and with the Lord of the Law, the rGyal ts'ab, he learnt the base of all the doctrines, which is the *pratimokṣa*, and was called by all the virtuous 'Ol k'a. After him came Nor bzañ pa and rGya mts'o, two brothers who governed when the Goñ ma c'en po conferred upon the sde pa rGya mts'o the office of a general; it is said that he possessed a valiant capacity for putting down revolts.⁴¹⁹ Then Don yod rnam rgyal rdo rje...⁴²⁰

(101 b) Then, when his son P'un ts'ogs rab brtan died, the lineage of these princes did not last long and became identified with that of the princes whose progeny was descended from 'Od gsal lha.



As regards the family of Yar rgyab, it is well known that there was a minister of the saintly king Sroñ btsan sgam po, who was called T'on mi sam bho ta,⁴²¹⁾ who was an incarnation of aJam dbyaṅs. As, before him, the use of letters was unknown in Tibet, he was like a great chariot who arranged the fifty letters of India in the thirty letters of the Tibetan alphabet; that family was derived from him. Some say that "bhoṭa" is not correct, and prefer *sambhadra*; but *sambhoṭa* is to be found in the *Za ma tog*, a book on grammar, written by C'os skyoñ bzañ⁴²²⁾ po of Ža lu, the lotsāva and corrector who has no rival in the knowledge of the divine language, rightly used in this land of snows. (In that book) it is said "the supreme master of Tibet, the most famous Sambhoṭa ... The son of this great minister was Mahāsattva, and his son was Ye nag; his son was Ņi ma kloñ gsal, his son was Ber nag can, his son was Mon mo, his son was gTso bo lha sras; these occupied about one hundred years. The son of the last one was bSod nams rgyal po, his son was rGyal po dga', his son rTa mgrin rgyal mts'an; his son rDor rje bkra šis. The latter, in glorious Sa skya, met the Ti śri Kun blo⁴²³⁾ and was sent by him (102 a) to the Hor Emperor who conferred upon him the weighty office of *du dben ša*. His son was the dPon bži ṁdsom, who was invested by the Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an with the office of rdsoñ dpon of the feud of Goñ dkar. His son was rGyal ba šes rab, his son was the dpon c'en Gral lña, to whom, in the first part of his life, the Goñ ma Grags pa ṁbyuñ gnas conferred the office of dpon c'en of Yar rgyab and of rdsoñ dpon of Goñ dkar; nevertheless, being an incarnation of extraordinary quality, in the second part of his life was ordained as a monk and founded the great monastery of the esoteric doctrines in Goñ dkar, known as Goñ dkar rdo rje gdan. His post of dpon was taken by his son and the family's power was much increased, up to the *sde pa* rNam rgyal and his brother.

BYA BA⁴²⁴⁾

As regards the myriarch of Bya ba (it is related) that on one side of the territory of Ma yul, in the lower part of Yar klun, many brothers having been born from the descendant of the king of birds gŠog bzañ and from aDab bzañ, they were called Bya...⁴²⁵⁾

In that place the youngest of the two brothers, Bya C'os kyi ka ba and T'od pa gyui smin ma can had two sons: the abbot Yon tan mc'og and Bya Ša ka. The eldest of the two was ordained as a monk with aBrin sde; from E he took Klogs; from Byar, Šar mda'; from Dvags po, Grom mda'; from gŅal, Srin mo mig.

Bya Ša ka's sons were: rDo rje legs and rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug, who having gone in the gŅal region, founded there the castle of rGya mts'o groñ. The youngest brother's son was the lama Bya Nag c'en

po Rin cen 'od, who having met the Kashmiri paṇḍita, asked him (to be initiated into) the twelve maṇḍalas of the Tantras of the *caryātantra*⁴²⁶⁾ class and then (102 b) frequenting many lamas like rGyal ba T'og rdugs pa,⁴²⁷⁾ sKyo 'od ṁbyuñ, aJad rTa mig pa, etc., he profited as to learning, reflection and meditation.

As he was extremely experienced in meditation on the C'os skyoñ and on his own protecting deity, which was sPu gri⁴²⁸⁾ with his two accolytes, the temple of Yañ rtse also shared his fame. When he founded this temple, the miracle of the three gigantic animals took place: a tiger, an ape and a weasel⁴²⁹⁾ The tiger's and the weasel's stuffed carcasses are said to be among the "spyān gzigs",⁴³⁰⁾ in the mGon k'añ of Yañ rtse. If it had been possible to kill the ape, the cause of those evils which tormented dBus and gTsañ in general, and the Southern region in particular, would have been pacified. But by virtue of the karma of created beings, that ape fled and later became very powerful.

He had four sons in the religious sense:⁴³¹⁾ in lower Byar, Ts'al sgom c'os la dga'; in Lo ro, Rab dga' ba c'en po; in Dvags po, Rab ts'o ras pa and in gTsañ, 'U yug pa c'en po; he had four monasteries: C'os grva groñ mk'ar in gŅal, Se po in E, Nags mo 'od in Dvags po, rGya mts'o blug gañ in Bya. His son according to the flesh was Bya Jo sras; the latter's son was mŅa' bdag, his sons were dGe loñ pa, Bya Rin c'en and C'os rgyal dpal bzañ. The former's sons were Rin cen dpal, dBaṅ p'yug rin cen, Rin cen bzañ po and Dvags po pa, who founded several feuds in Dvags po, gŅal and Lo ro. Bya Rin cen, having levied troops⁴³²⁾ in E, gŅal, Byaṅ, Dvags po, Lo ro and beaten back the Hor's army, was invested by all with the office of dpon.⁴³³⁾ His son Kun dga' rin c'en met the dPon c'en of Sa skya Kun dga' bzañ po. Bya C'os rgyal dpal bzañ po went to the Protector of the World, aP'ags pa and having chosen as his master the Šar pa, Kun bsod, he perfected himself in the study of three Tantras, together with their esoteric formulas...

(103 a) His sons were Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, mK'an c'en sPyil bu pa, mŅa' bdag C'os señ 'od and Bya T'ub dpal. The first of them went to the dPon c'en 'Od zer señ ge and asked him to be sent to aDam; in his time it also came to pass that (the family) obtained the administration of Gya in rTeu ra. As mŅa' bdag C'os señ ge 'od was aBri guñ pa's nephew, aBri guñ appointed him dpon of Byar and Dvags. His son, the great abbot Ts'ul k'rims bzañ po, was abbot of Zaṅs mo c'en; then he returned to the dignity of myriarch of Yañ rtse. His son was dKon mc'og bzañ po; the latter's son bKra šis dpal bzañ, went as a disciple to rTse t'añ and was named a professor (*bšad ston*); later the Goñ ma, *de srid* Grags pa rgyal mts'an invested him with the office of myriarch. His sons were rGyal mts'an bkra šis, Ša kya dpal mgon and T'ub pa rgyal mts'an; the first went to sNeu gdoñ, belonged to the Goñ ma de srid's retinue and was invested with the office of myriarch of Bya. His sons were Bya bKra šis dar rgyas, Pad ma rta mc'og rgyal po, Bya Ts'e dbaṅ rgyal po, sKal

bzañ c'os kyi rgya mts'o, Bya Nor bu rgya mts'o and Ša kya dpal mgon. The youngest, having been ordained a monk with the great abbot Yon tan dbaṅ p'yug, reached great excellence in learning, reflection and meditation and became abbot of Zaṅs mo c'e; sKal bzañ c'os kyi rgya mts'o composed many books like the *mDsaḍ pa ak'ruḷ med* (103 b) and was celebrated as extremely learned in the sacred scriptures. Bya bKra šis dar rgyas was appointed myriarch of rTse t'añ in the country of Lho by rDo rje rin cen dbaṅ gyi rgyal po, dPon of rTse t'añ.⁴³⁴ Then the Goṅ ma Naḡ gi dbaṅ p'yug, from sNeu gdoñ, offered him rich gifts to celebrate his investiture.⁴³⁵ He was the most famous of the princes of Bya who received the office of myriarch. He felt great devotion for the Lord of the Law Kar ma pa, honourable lord C'os grags rgya mts'o. He married rDo rje dgos dkar mo, who bore two sons: Bya Nor bu bkra šis and Grags pa rgyal mts'an. He is the same concerning whom, according to some, it was foretold in rDo rje gliṅ pa's Prophecies:

"gNal luṅ pa will be conquered by a king, and an incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs will descend there as king ..."

Of the two brothers, aJam dbyaṅs c'os grags, who was an incarnation of aBrug pa, in the first part of his life acted as governor of the State, with his parents' consent.

His sons were bsTan aḍsin nor bu and mTs'o skyes rdo rje. The latter's sons were Goṅ ma c'en po Mi p'am Ts'e dbaṅ and the general sTag rdo rje whose sons were Kar ma Ts'e dbaṅ grags pa and Gaṅs dkar rnam rgyal.

DGA' LDAN

As regards the general of dGa' ldan, bSod nams rGyal po, he was descended from Mi c'uñ Don rgyal, residing in Yar p'yogs gliṅ, in sKyid šod, who was in the service of Tre hos dGa' bde bzañ po, the one who was myriarch of Ts'al pa and a descendent of mGar clan, king Sroñ btsan sgam po's minister. Later, as the times changed,⁴³⁶ he became officer for sNel pa, a feud depending from the rdsoñ dpon of P'ag mo gru pa; and having been invested with the office of mi dpon of Nañ bran dGa' ldan, he took the name of dGa' ldan pa.

(104 a) He had three sons, bSod nams rgyal po, dBaṅ dar and rNam sras; the eldest was very dear to dPal abyor rgyal po of sNel and therefore having become known by the name of dByi nag bsod rgyal, he obtained (from him) the diploma investing him with the territories beyond sNa gdoñ in Lo sgrel, beginning with Klan ka and P'ud rjes, belonging to (the chief) of Byaṅ P'yi c'os luṅ and to the Nañ so of Yañ dgon. His second brother was the bDag po of Bon gron in sNams. When the younger was in the rdsoñ of aBroñ ri sñon, owing to the fact that the catapults⁴³⁷ were out of order, surrendered the fortress when the Rin spuñs armies besieged it.

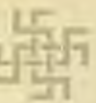
Then he resided in Ts'al where he had built a castle. The son of dByi nag bsod rgyal and of his brothers⁴³⁸ was the Nañ so Nam mk'a' rgyal po, who in the meantime took Luṅ po rtse of C'u šol.⁴³⁹ Nevertheless, when internal disturbances⁴⁴⁰ troubled sNel pa and the Rin spuñs troops reached sNe t'añ, C'u šol held out.

Nam mk'a' rgyal po's sons were: Ts'e brtan rgyal po and bSod nams; the eldest was ordained as a monk. As to his younger brother, since he was not in good terms with the lord of sNel and his brother, when Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs brought his troops to sKyid šod, he joined⁴⁴¹ the troops siding with Rin spuñs so that sNeu and Po ta fell into the hands of Rin spuñs; as a reward he was given diploma investing him with the lands beyond rÑiñ k'uñ, as far as C'u so k'a of sÑe mda'.⁴⁴²

After a short time, when the troops of the sDe srid Goṅ ma c'en po reached gŽuñ po ra, Rin cen bkra šis of Yar rgyab having come to an agreement, he of dGa' and he of Šag offered the Goṅ ma their services; the latter then gave him of Šag the office of *ru dpon* of sKyor mo luṅ and of gYas ru in sKyid šod; to him of dGa' ldan he gave the office of rdsoñ dpon of the territories North and South of the river, included in bDe c'en, and to him of Yar rgyab the office of rdsoñ dpon of sNeu gdoñ. Having passed into the Goṅ ma's service, (104 b) he was elected minister of Justice in the sKyid šod luṅ territory, having at its head that *vajrāsana* of Tibet which is the temple of aP'ruḷ snañ; the decree of his appointment was made valid by applying the rock-crystal seal.

The latter's son was Ra nu lha bsrūñ; while the Goṅ ma was in C'u šol, the Rin spuñs troops, which were about to attack the palace, were put to flight, particularly thanks to him; therefore the prince⁴⁴³ gave him the title of general bSod nams rgyal po.

When the descendance of Byi ri stag rtse came to an end, the dGa' ldan pa and altogether six children, male and female were born; two of them died young. Ts'e dbaṅ rgyal mo became the wife of Hor bSod pa or aPyoñ rgyas and Duñ dkar became the wife of the sDe srid; the fourth was the Nañ so Don grub rgyal po, who was invested by the Goṅ ma with the office of rdsoñ dpon. After a short time, when internal strife arose in the sDe srid's family,⁴⁴⁴ he marched with the dGa' ldan troops against rDsoñ dmar in sKyor mo luṅ and conquered many a rdsoñ in sTod luṅ and in aP'an yul. Having become the mainstay⁴⁴⁵ of the army, which blamed (the adverse party's conduct, beginning with) the sovereign and up to the abbot of C'u šol, he came to C'u šol and paid homage to the Žabs druñ of Goṅ dkar Naḡ dbaṅ grags pa, who had gone to sit on the throne of his palace. The sixth was the sDe pa bkra šis rab brtan; when Yar rgyab lost favour with the prince, he sent the sKyid šod troops against Lho k'a, passed into the sDe srid's service and thus became rdsoñ dpon of the feud of Brag dkar. When in the castle sGrub mc'od gliṅ of rNam rgyal sgañ, in Lower sKyid, the Southern armies i. e. those of sNe gdoñ, Yar rgyab etc. met this



sDe pa, bKra šis, being elected chief, fell upon therm and (105 a) succeeded in beating back, after having annihilated them, the troops of rGyal bzan in Lho brag, Dvags po and Koñ po; through the fame of heroism displayed against his enemies, he humbled the king of the ogres Daśagrīva of Lañkā. Then he made, in the dNul gduñ rin po c'e of dGa' ldan the ornaments on the doors and the golden pinnacle in the temple of aP'rul snañ; he also founded the school for the explanation of the sacred scriptures according to the system of Rig pai dbaṅ p'yug C'os kyi grags pa in Rin cen sgañ. Through the moonlight these good works, the lotus garden of his good karma greatly prospered; he put himself into the hands of Lhai btsun pa bSod nams dpal bzan po, lofty through the many virtues of his family, and the prince of the learned, the Šar pa Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an and other such like Ti šri and he honoured them greatly. His son was the sDe pa gYul rgyal nor bu, who was most excellent in religious and civil affairs; his sons were bSod nams rnam rgyal, Yid bžin nor bu and the Lord of the Law; the two eldest ones, from their wife who was the sister of the Goñ ma of rTse (t'añ) had three sons: mGon po rab brtan, rDo rje rnam rgyal and the Lord of the Law mTs'o skyes rdo rje...

LHA RGYA RI

(105 b) As regards the prince of Lha rgya ri, he was lord upon the earth, without awaiting decrees and diplomas from the sovereign. His lineage is derived from the six gTsañ ts'a brothers, 'Od skyid a-bar's sons; the latter was descended from 'Ol lde, one of the three sons of K'ri bKra šis brtegs, offspring of the mNa' bdag dPal ak'or btsan, son of the immaculate gNam lde 'od sruñ.⁴⁴⁶⁾ Under the residence of T'el, in the times of the glorious P'ag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po, lived an officer⁴⁴⁷⁾ named C'ad po Ts'a ba roñ pa. Later the Nañ so of mDa' smad, at C'u ts'an k'a žabs, in Upper E, on a pass where grass grew abundantly, founded a feud called rGya ri; here, in progress of time, there was a succession of princes from Lha c'os kyi bšes gñen, until Lha dgra las rnam rgyal settled in rGya ri rdsoñ; he was in the relation of a patron to dGe aḍun rgya mts'o and established the custom of the great offering at the beginning of the year in rGya ri lcog mk'ar. Lha dgra las, having arrived in E c'en ri sgo, (106 a) saw in that place many signs of good omen; the men of the region offered him each a measure of barley; he became the lord of the land and bKra šis c'os rdsoñ of Ri sgo was the centre of his palace. After Lha ajig rten dbaṅ p'yug ascended the throne, the two brothers Lha byams pa rab brtan and Lha yul ak'or dbaṅ p'yug were born; in their time, according to the incarnate of bDe c'en glin's words:

"Within E a lake of blood will boil thrice, and a king will be born, who will be called Byams pa and the teachings of this king will spread,,

the family's power grew. Particularly Lha yul ak'or conquered, with all its dependencies, bTsan rdsoñ, and sTag rtse of 'Ol k'a which was like the city of Lañkā, descended upon earth from the celestial regions. Then, of Lha bsod nams rab brtan and of the other two brothers, bSod nams rab brtan ascended the throne.

In the neighbourhood of C'ad dkar rdsoñ the latter founded a monastery and managed religious and temporal affairs equally. Then, Lha dga' ldan dpal a-bar having ascended the throne, the latter was extremely respectful of Buddhist teachings in general, and particularly of the doctrine of the king of the Law, the great Tsoñ k'a pa. Having vanquished in Rog pa rtsa, in such a manner that only their name remained, certain indomitable people only intent on putting into practice the advice which might lead to their ruin, he put on the heroic helmet of the victorious, with a courage which feared no taint from cutting off the gory heads, hands and (limbs of his enemies). After him the throne was occupied by the saintly king Blo bzan mt'u stobs; moved by great compassion, he caused revolt to subside. Nevertheless there were some rebellions, abutting into wars, because coventousness had reached the necks of some persons, descended from apes,⁴⁴⁸⁾ overcome by the violent waves of their own wicked deeds; (106 b) but bSod nams rab brtan, who had assumed the function of a dispenser of justice, and others too, in different manners, now peaceful and now violent, suppressed them. This great lord showed extreme moral energy in all good deeds, and he profited particularly in the deep practice of esoteric doctrines. After him Lha Naḡ dbaṅ p'yug dGa' ldan rab tu brtan pa mi aḡyur rnam par rgyal ba ascended the throne; the splendour of his perfect power prospered without hindrance...

CONCLUSION

This Tibet, country of snows,⁴⁴⁹⁾ and the great Tibet, all of it, by the order of aJam dbyams Goñ ma Se c'en gan, the great king invested from heaven,⁴⁵⁰⁾ was offered to the glorious Sa skya pa, and they (the Mongol Emperors and the Sa skya pa) like the sun and the moon in the sky, jointly, were known the former as patrons and the latter as chaplains; then as the seventieth year since this had happened approached, that Brahmā on earth who was the Tai si tu Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an whose army's merits had since long eliminated every possibility of being vanquished by anybody, took possession of Tibet in all its vast extension, and for a long time only the white umbrella of the law of the glorious sDe srid P'ag mo gru spread over his subjects, precisely in the manner related above.

(107 a) Nevertheless, after the žabs druñ Goñ ma passed away,⁴⁵¹⁾ the name of P'ag gru did not run at the same pace as the reality of things, and this was the precise moment of the appearance of a king who sprang up suddenly (Glo bur rgyal po), as it is found in the prophecy of T'ugs rje c'en po pad ma dbaṅ

p'yug (brought to light) by the discoverer of secret texts of aP'reñ mgo Ses rab 'od zer...⁴⁵²⁾

(107b) When Ziñ (gšags),⁴⁵³⁾ Rin spuñs's Minister, was rdson dpon of bSam agrub rtse, having become allied to those of sNar t'añ, of Nor k'yuñ, of brGya ts'o, etc. and other dPon of the North and South, he revolted against the sDe pa of Roñ;⁴⁵⁴⁾ hence anarchy was multiplied and spread.

But the supreme glory of power which had gradually brought dBus and gTsañ into subjection to the king of Upper gTsañ (vanished) like the orb of the sun, devoured by Sindhikā's son.⁴⁵⁵⁾

He who accomplished the complete conquest of all, princes and subjects, was the saintly King, depositary of the teachings, bsTan adsin c'os kyi rgyal po,⁴⁵⁶⁾ he who was universal monarch in the time of discord ... He was, as it had been prophesied, Guhyapati P'yag rdo rje, dancing in the world of human existence. Due to the noble compassion proper to the Bodhisattvas and through the power of a vow previously made, to accomplish the good of created beings, he, according to his purpose, was born in the guise of a king of men, and diffused throughout the ten points of space the sunlight of his benefits, and safely scattered far away the darkness of those delusions followed to their own ruin by the created beings belonging to the lowest species.

To the North of the Hor Sog's territory, among numberless great provinces, there is one, that of the Orod, divided into four clans; here Ha nai, chief of the Ho šod, had five sons from his wife A hai ha t'un; the third of them was the king we are speaking of,⁴⁵⁷⁾ who was born in the year water-horse⁴⁵⁸⁾ and was (108a) called T'o rol pai hur. At the age of thirteen he attacked at the head of his troops several tens of thousands of mGo dkar,⁴⁵⁹⁾ and became famous because in one single moment he caused the entire army of the enemy to taste the spectacle of the next world; he was a second competitor of the ten-headed king of the ogres, king of Lañkā, descended into the world of men...⁴⁶⁰⁾

At the age of twenty-five, in the year fire-horse,⁴⁶¹⁾ his mother having died, he distributed to all created beings, nobles and humble men, all sorts of desirable things...

At that time (108b) owing to the conflict which was being prepared, with great waves of war, between K'ar k'a and Orod, he was overcome by a supreme compassion, (*nirupalambha-kāruṇā*)⁴⁶²⁾ as regards those who placed their efforts in works which (due to the violent action of sin caused by taking the lives of others) become transformed into the thickly wooded valley of interminable evil existences. But when no possibility of an agreement was left between K'ar k'a and Orod, he, donning the heroic armour of courage which unhesitatingly puts itself in another's place,⁴⁶³⁾ marched against the territory of K'ar k'a and it happened as when out of great difficulties one gets to the shore of happiness. The C'os rje of sTon ak'or⁴⁶⁴⁾ and the king and Ministers of K'ar k'a were glad and they gave him the title of Dai gu sri.⁴⁶⁵⁾ Then he returned to his country...⁴⁶⁶⁾

In the time of the disturbances which happened when the unity which formerly had ruled among the six tribes⁴⁶⁷⁾ of the Sog po, was broken by the king of C'a dkar,⁴⁶⁸⁾ some fugitives arrived in the city of K'ar k'a. As the chiefs were contending with one another, the K'ar k'a C'og t'u was expelled from the city and came to mTs'o k'a⁴⁶⁹⁾ and it came to pass, as in the tale, that a rain of gems fell in the country of sinners.⁴⁷⁰⁾

Meanwhile the latter's power increased, but as his mind was now possessed by the black⁴⁷¹⁾ fiend, he plotted offences against the holy Law in general, and particularly against the teachings of the victorious Tson k'a pa; (109a) this king, who had only the holy Law in his heart, marched with a complete army from his country and in the first month of the year of the fire and of the ox⁴⁷²⁾ he arrived in mTs'o k'a. As when the powerful Rāmaṇa⁴⁷³⁾ sent the king of Lañkā into the next world, thus only the name of the C'og tu and of his forty-thousand soldiers survived. He brought the earth under his rule up to the Eastern sea, and happily protected the princes and subjects who had submitted to him, according to the rules of religious and political life.

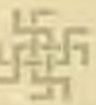
The sun⁴⁷⁴⁾ progressively came into the territory of dBus and produced a festival which greatly favoured the development of the merits (of the created beings dwelling there).

In the temple of aP'rul snañ,⁴⁷⁵⁾ vajrāsana of Tibet, the name and deeds of this great king were exalted, as he rested from the fatigue of placing his feet⁴⁷⁶⁾ on the diadems of all the kings (he had subdued).

On his way back, having come into the rNam par rgyal gliñ of dGa' ldan, although it was the twenty-seventh night of the month, nevertheless in the twilight the darkness became so clear that pebbles could be seen; thus good omens were had concerning the clear and delicate manner in which the teachings and matters of State would be treated.⁴⁷⁷⁾ At that time there were good omens that Tibet and Great Tibet would pass under his rule. During the winter of the year of the ox⁴⁷⁸⁾ he came back to mTs'o k'a. In the meantime Be ri Don yod, in the Middle K'ams, caused great damage to the followers of the All-knowing of the race of Ikṣva-ku,⁴⁷⁹⁾ letting only the Bon's teachings prosper; for this reason, in the fifth month, according to the Mongol calendar, of the year earth-hare,⁴⁸⁰⁾ he led his armies against Be ri and conquered almost all his kingdom.

(109b) In the eleventh month of the year iron-dragon,⁴⁸¹⁾ the dpon of Be ri and the others fled to a prince of the frontier; nevertheless, by virtue of the sharp hook of their actions,⁴⁸²⁾ in the same manner as the iron filings are drawn to the magnet, they were (caught and) put in prison.⁴⁸³⁾ All those who had been the major cause of the calamities were expelled from the country, but the Sa skya, the dGe lugs pa, the Karma pa, the sTag luñ pa and other chief blamas, who had been imprisoned, were set free and sent back to their places. All creatures, beginning from the king of aJañ, offered tributes and began to venerate him.

As regards his decision to get armies ready against dBus and gTsañ...⁴⁸⁴⁾ he prepared for war several



hundreds of myriads of soldiers and conquered the land up to the extreme limits of the kingdom of gŠin rje, which is in the South.

On the twenty-fifth day of the second month of the year water-horse,⁴⁸⁵⁾ also the king and ministers of Tibet⁴⁸⁶⁾ bent their haughty heads and inclined to the practice of constant devotion and deference. During the day of the full moon in the month Caitra⁴⁸⁷⁾ (110 a) he became king of the three C'ol k'a of Tibet and the white umbrella of his justice overshadowed (litt. turned round) as far as the top of the world.

Notwithstanding his great devotion, respectful and deferent towards the various religious systems, provided they were not sectarian, as the Kar ma pa and the (De) srid did not know how to behave, he proceeded with the force of his armies as far as the Eastern Koñ po territory. The discoverer of secret books aJa' ts'on pa, admits in his book that he was an incarnation of the great ācārya. King Ra k'o šin of India and the king of Yam bu⁴⁸⁸⁾ in Nepal and all the kings of the frontiers like the king of mNa' ris and others, each according to the custom of his country, sent him gifts...

FROM THE DAM PAI C'OS KYI ABYUN TS'UL

(166 a) The saintly King aP'ags pa was a lama of the king of the Mongols Se c'en Go be lai: the latter offered him the three c'ol k'a of Tibet; 25 dpon c'en having been successively appointed, the lamas managed religious matters and governed the world according to the Law. The dpon c'en managed civil matters. When aP'ags pa was twenty years old, Tibet was offered to him, and he ruled over it for forty-six years. From the year iron-dragon (1280), during seventy-two years, up to the year earth-ox (1349) the Sa skya pas held the see and governed thirteen K'ri skor in the following way: the ācārya Dharma-pāla⁴⁸⁹⁾ for seven years, the Šar pa aJam dbyaṅs gŽi t'og pa for eighteen years, the lama bDag ŋid c'en po⁴⁹⁰⁾ for nineteen years, then a three years' interval, the great mK'as btsun⁴⁹¹⁾ for nineteen years, the saintly lama⁴⁹²⁾ for three years. Then, in the year fire-boar (1346), Ta dben⁴⁹³⁾ Blo gros rgyal mts'an came into the see. After three years, in the year earth-ox (1349) the Tai Si tu Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an took possession of dBus and gTsañ.⁴⁹⁴⁾ Then six years after the year wood-horse (1354) the Si tu Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an took possession of most of the land of gTsañ. From the year earth-ox (1349) for eighty-seven years, up to the year wood-hare (1435) most of the more important regions of dBus and gTsañ were ruled by the P'ag mo gru pa. Byaṅ, rGyal mk'ar rtse and other countries were particularly governed by their own dpon. In the year wood-hare (1435) Nor bzañ

of Rin spuṅs took bSam agrub rtse; beginning from that time the greatest part of the government of gTsañ was held by those of Rin spuṅs. The sde pa Don yod rdo rje of sGar took the government of dBus.

A hundred and five years after the year wood-hare, in the year wood-ox (1565)⁴⁹⁵⁾ bSam agrub rtse was taken by the gTsañ pa Žiñ gšag Ts'e brtan rdo rje, the father, and by his son, who took possession of the greatest part of the government of gTsañ. Forty-five years after the year wood-dragon (1604) Kar ma pa bstan sruṅ marched with his army against aP'an yul; then for six years, up to the year iron-dog, (1610) Kar ma pa P'un ts'og rnam rgyal held the government of Yar rgyab. From the year water-mouse (1612) he took possession of Byaṅ and rGyal mk'ar rtse and of other places of gTsañ. From the year earth-horse (1618), having taken possession of all of dBus and having repeatedly beaten back the other troops from his frontiers, he conquered all of Tibet. His son was Kar ma bsTan skyoṅ dbaṅ po. Then the King of the Sog po of the North, the king of the four clans of the Orod, known under another name as bsTan aḍsin C'os kyi rgyal po, took possession of the whole of Tibet. He offered the chaplain's office to rGyal dbaṅ t'ams cad mk'yen pa ŋag dbaṅ Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, the incarnation of the noble lord P'yag na pad ma, who took possession of the palace of dGe ldan from the year water-horse, (1642) and governed the world according to the Law.

FROM DPAG BSAM LJON BZAN

(p. 158) (Beginning from) the year earth-boar (1179), that is 337 years after the year water-dog (842), when the government of the kings of Tibet ended, the Sa skya and the Ts'al pa separately established relations of vassalage⁴⁹⁶⁾ with Se c'en, the aBri guṅ pa⁴⁹⁷⁾ with Mun k'e, and the P'ag gru pa with Hu lu hu,⁴⁹⁸⁾ and those Hor (princes) became their particular patrons.

Among them, through the grace of the Sa skya paṇḍita, and of aP'ags pa uncle and nephew,⁴⁹⁹⁾ the Sa skya pa, keepers of the doctrine which teaches the way and the fruit,⁵⁰⁰⁾ spread; trusting to the grace of the Žaṅ rin po c'e, the lama keeper of the doctrine of Tantric realizations, the Ts'al pa Dar ma grags became myriarch by virtue of the works of the "protector of



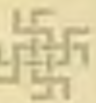
the world,, P'ag mo gru pa, the main master of the bKa' brgyud pa and a disciple of Dvags po; sGyur⁵⁰¹ Rin cen dpal enlarged (the fortunes of the) aBri guñ (pa); by the grace of the *spyān śāa rin po c'e* rGyal ba Grags brtson, beginning from P'ag gru rdo rje rgyal, who had become dPon c'en, the foundations of the P'ag gru pa's power were laid.⁵⁰²

As regards the manner in which the Sa skya pa received the dPon's office from the Emperor, (it is said that) in the year iron-mouse (1240) in the times of king Gun tan, who was a nephew of C'in gis, the dPon Don rta⁵⁰³ nag and rGyal sman, marched with an army against Tibet, and near Sog c'u,⁵⁰⁴ in the lower part of upper mDo, they slew many Tibetans and conquered the territory to the East, as far as Koñ, that to the West as far as Bal po and that to the South as far as the Mon; in Rva bsgreñ they killed five hundred monks and they destroyed⁵⁰⁵ rGyal lha k'añ; then five hundred persons, between monks and laymen, met their death together with the So ston.⁵⁰⁶ Then the two (Mongol chiefs) sent messengers⁵⁰⁷ to the royal palace to ask which of the lamas of Tibet it was advisable to take to the Emperor. As, regarding religious communities, the greatest was that of the bKa' gdams pa, while as to prestige the Lord of the Law of sTag luñ was the most learned, and as to splendour the *spyān śāa* of aBri guñ⁵⁰⁸ loomed large, but the most learned in the Law was the Sa skya pañḍita, the Emperor said that the latter should be taken to him, and thus it was done. On his death (the Emperor) gave the nephew⁵⁰⁹ (of the Pañḍita) aP'ags pa the diploma of Gu śri and the seal and the three *col k'a*:⁵¹⁰ that of the Law, that of men and that of horses, and the thirteen myriarchies, as it is said in detail in the chronicles (*Yig ts'ān*): "aBri, P'ag, gYa' bzañ and Ts'al pa, Bya yul and Lho a brog,⁵¹¹ taken together form the myriarchies of dBus; mNa' ris, La stod, Lho byañ, C'u mig, Ža lu, Byañ a brog taken together form the six myriarchies of gTsañ; these (twelve myriarchies) together with that of Yar a brog, which is included neither in dBus nor in gTsañ, form the thirteen myriarchies,,

aP'ags received this land and the Sa skya pas became dPon. Besides the two Bla dpon,⁵¹² the office of dPon was conferred upon the following: Ša kya bzañ po, Kun dga' bzañ po, Žañ btsun, P'yug po sgañ dkar po,⁵¹³ Byañ (c'ub) rin c'en, Kun (dga') gžon (nu), gžon (nu) dbañ, Byañ (c'ub) rdo (rje), Añ len,⁵¹⁴ again gžon dbañ, Legs dpal, Señ ge dpal, 'Od zer señ ge, Kun dga' rin c'en, Don yod dpal, Yon btsun, again 'Od zer señ ge, rGyal bzañ po, dBañ p'yug dpal, bSod nams dpal, again rGyal bzañ, dBañ brtson, Nam mk'a' bstan pa, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, dPal abum, Blo c'en, Grags dbañ. Tibet was given to aP'ags pa in the year water-ox of the fourth cycle (1253),⁵¹⁵ and he was its master from that year up to the year wood-dog (1274). Then, from the year wood-boar (1275) the three princes⁵¹⁶ of the bŽi t'og, of Šar pa and of K'añ gсар (ruled); then in that twenty-fifth year (beginning from the time in which aP'ags had Tibet) the 22 dpon

became kings of the whole of Tibet, beginning with Ša kya bzañ po up to dBañ brtson. Nevertheless Kun bzañ was killed by the Hor and Byañ rin by a servant, and in the times of gžon dbañ, Byañ rdor⁵¹⁷ and Añ len, during the wars against the aBri guñ pa,⁵¹⁸ great harm ensued for them, for others, for the teaching and for all creatures. In the times of the dPon rGyal bzañ of Šañ and of dBañ brtson, the armies of the 13 myriarchies were led against Yar klun and fought against the myriarchies of P'ag gru ma. P'ag gru won and the Sa skya pas' power over the three C'ol k'a vanished. Concerning the Lamas of Ts'al pa, brTson grags of Žañ built the temple of Guñ t'añ and the four lower steps of the aBum po c'e;⁵¹⁹ at the point of death he appointed Dar ma grags⁵²⁰ chief of the territory (*sde*) and of the temple, and thus he performed an extremely profitable act. After him the dPon Byuñ gnas brtson agram, who was his nephew, and the latter's nephew Ye abyuñ, were successively invested with the office of dPon. Later the son of mGar rGyal ba abyuñ gnas, called Sañs rgyas dños grub, took the office of dPon and planted the good roots of the Ts'al pa. His son was the dPon Rin rgyal, and the latter's eldest son was Ni ma šes rab, who obtained the diploma from Se c'en.⁵²¹ In the time when the office of dPon was held by the second son, dGa' bde, the domes in Chinese style etc. were built by Ts'al, and the schools for the explanation of the sacred scriptures and the school for esoteric doctrines were founded. In the times of the son sMon lam rdo rje, the middle veranda of circumambulation was built in Lhasa, and the golden pinnacle was made for the upper chapel of the temples destined to Jo bo and to the great merciful. His son was the Druñ c'en Kun dga' rdo rje, who founded the Ri bo dge ap'el; then he conferred the office of myriarch on his younger brother Grags (pa) šes (rab), and took monastic vows, assuming the name of Si tu dge sloñ.⁵²² His son was dGe legs bzañ po; the latter's son was Tres Hor dPal abyor bzañ po.⁵²³ Although (the Ts'al lasted) up to the times of the latter's son dGa' bde bzañ po, in the times of sMon lam pa most of their subjects had already escaped from their hands and Kun rdor joined rGyal bzañ dpon of the Sa skya pa. Then, having quarrelled with P'ag gru, he was greatly harmed; this entire family held the office dPon for about 140 years.

The aBri guñ pa laid their foundations since the sKyabs pa aJig rten mgon po took possession of aBri guñ mt'il,⁵²⁴ but for four generations of lamas they did not receive the office of dPon. Then the son of dKon rin, the sKyabs pa's uncle, namely A mes grags rgyal, had a son named rDo rje grags (an incarnation of Til li pā); the latter received from king Mun k'e a myriarch's diploma; the sGom pa, who held the office of dPon one after the other were: rDo rje señ ge, Ša kya rin c'en, Byañ c'ub,⁵²⁵ sPañ ras, C'os señ, Rin (c'en) señ (ge), sGom pa dpon po, Ša kya dar, Rin (c'en) grags, Ye (šes) dpal, Rin (c'en) rdo (rje), Kun (dga') rin (c'en), rDsoñ⁵²⁶ ji pa bsod



(*nams*) rin (*c'en*), sKu žaṅ Ts'ul (*k'rim*s) rgyal (*mts'an*). After him the saintly King dPal bzaṅ⁵²⁷ took office, assuming the title of bla dpon; his son, the bCo lña rin po' c'e, later took his place. In the times of his son, the Lord of the Law Kun dga' rin pa, the deep connections heretofore existing between aBri guṅ and dGe ldan were broken, and various revolts took place, like the one due to the fact that they did not wish to change the colour of the dGe ldan's protector's cap. After him the dPon Rin c'en p'un ts'ogs jointly assumed the office of Bla dpon, and later aBri guṅ was taken by the P'ag gru. Nevertheless in those times aBri guṅ was in peace.

sNa skar rtse took his investiture from the king of the Hor and became zur dpon; Añ len, who had relations with the Sa skya, was prince of that locality; then the sde pa⁵²⁸ brTan aḍsin founded bTsan rdson and greatly honoured Bo doṅ.

Furthermore Nar seṅ⁵²⁹ of Byaṅ in gTsaṅ, of the lineage of rGod of Mi ñag and his son rDo rje dpaḷ had relations with the Sa skya pa; the latter's son was dKon mc'og; his son was aBum sde; his son was the prince of Byaṅ, the dPon Grags dar who received from Se c'en the investiture and the seal. In his times the monastery of Nam rin⁵³⁰ in Bya was founded. His son was rDo rje mgon po, who was dPon c'en of Sa skya; his son Nam mk'a' brtan pa received the title of *Gui guṅ*, with seal, and that of *Ta dben gu śri*, from the Hor Emperor. His son was Rin c'en rgyal mts'an.⁵³¹ The latter's son was C'os grags dpaḷ bzaṅ, who received the office of *Si tu c'aṅ gu*; the latter's son was rNam rgyal grags bzaṅ, a scholar and writer of many works. He received the office of Tai si tu,⁵³² and his younger brother dKon mc'og legs pa the office of śrii zii Tri sa hos⁵³³ etc. and he also became zur dpon.

As to the P'ag gru, at first they dwelt in T'el, which was the abode chosen by rDo rje rgyal po,⁵³⁴ and later in the seat of the dPon,⁵³⁵ which was the dwelling of various sde srid. The sons of the Yon c'en rGyal ba skyabs, namely the spyan śña Saṅs rgyas skyabs and the rGyal ba rin po c'e t'og rdugs⁵³⁶ successively prospered. When T'og rdugs⁵³⁷ assumed the dPon's office, as sGom brtson of lDan ma, who had been invested with that office by the Hor, did not rule according to good conduct, he elected as myriarch rDo rje dpaḷ, the dPon of rKaṅ bži, and founded twelve feuds, and his power spread greatly. After the latter, his younger brother gŽon (nu) rgyal mts'an and Byaṅ (c'ub) gŽon (nu) of Yar a brog and gŽon nu yon tan (were myriarchs).

Then his younger brother⁵³⁸ Grags rin pa assumed the title of bla dpon and ransomed the religious communities⁵³⁹ and the feuds which had passed to the Sa skya pa. After him the office was conferred on the son of his younger brother Rin (c'en) skyabs, whose name was rGyal bzaṅ⁵⁴⁰ then to rGyal mts'an skyabs, then to the Tai Si tu Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an. Then, though he had been defeated several times by him of gYa'⁵⁴¹ bzaṅ in battle and in court, later, waging war against the Sa skya pa dBaṅ brtson, through the good services of his Minister⁵⁴² Hor gŽon

bzaṅ, P'ag gru was victorious; then fighting against the troops of the dPon of aBri guṅ, of the Ts'al pa Nam grags, of gYa' bzaṅ and of gÑal, P'ag gru was once again victorious and conquered dBus of Tibet. The Si tu, having gone to gTsaṅ beginning from the year wood-horse of the sixth cycle (1354) conquered the greatest part of gTsaṅ; by giving the investiture to him of Rin spuṅs, the Si tu founded thirteen fortresses, and while residing⁵⁴³ in sNeu gdoṅ rtse he established the penal law in fifteen articles, and his power was greatly increased. After him aJam dbyaṅs gu śri Sa ka rgyal mts'an and C'os bži Grags byaṅ (c'ub), Ts'oṅ ka pa's master, and bSod grags and then Sa ka rin (c'en) and the saintly king dBaṅ grags rgyal mts'an, father and son together, with the help of T'e mur of the Hor and of Yuṅ lo of China, ruled over the monastery and the religious community. But at that time, the Sar k'a of Ñaṅ stod Rab brtan of rGyal rtse, although he was the gzims dpon of (P'ag gru), revolted and became lord of rGyal mk'ar rtse. After him came the C'os lña grags abyuṅ, his son rDo rje ñag gi dbaṅ po⁵⁴⁴ bKra śis grags pa. To their times belong the Minister Nam (mk'a') rgyal mts'an of Rin spuṅs, Hor gŽon (nu) bzaṅ and dPon Grags of the feud of sNel, and Nam abyor of rGyal mk'ar rtse, and the sDe pa of 'Ol k'a bKra (śis) rgyal mts'an and bŽi aḍsom⁵⁴⁵ of Yar rgyab, the myriarch of Bya bKra (śis) bzaṅ and bSod (nams) rgyal (mts'an) general of dGa' ldan and others. At that time Lha rgya ri pa etc., having obtained the diploma from P'ag gru and others, became lords of several small territories. In their times Nor bzaṅ pa, mTs'o skyes rdo rje, Don yod rdo rje, Ñag dbaṅ rnam rgyal etc. of Rin spuṅs, successively quarrelled with the P'ag mo gru pa, and revolts took place in dBus and gTsaṅ. Thus when the Sa skya pa government was over after five years of strife, beginning with the year wood-horse (1354), in which P'ag gru assumed power, and for 82 years up to the year wood-hare (1435), the (P'ag gru) increased their prestige in dBus and gTsaṅ. At that time, in the year water-ox (1433) the council of Yar kluṅs took place.

In brief, in the year earth-boar of the fourth cycle (1239), the Sa (skya pa), the aBri (guṅ pa), the P'ag gru pa, the Ts'al pa, each became the vassal of different Hor kings. In the following year⁵⁴⁶ (1240), (the invasion of) Hor rDo rta took place; after the destruction of Ra sgrinṅs and rGyal lha k'aṅ in the year wood-dragon (1244) the Sa skya paṇḍita went to the Hor; in the year following his death, which took place in the year iron-boar (1251), the army which the king Go tan of the Hor had sent into Tibet in the same year iron-boar (1251) overthrew the mGon po gdoṅ of Mon mk'ar and killed many men; then rGyal C'o Jo aḅar was murdered; in the year wood-hare (1255) Kar ma pa kṣi⁵⁴⁷ came to the Hor and became king Muṅ k'e's lama, and in the year wood-mouse (1264) he returned to Tibet. In the year fire-hare (1267) of the fourth cycle the Hor armies killed the chief of aDan ma ri; in the year iron-ox (1277) that of Zaṅs c'en; in the year iron-snake (1281) following the year of the aP'ags pa's death, they killed

the dPon Sa skya pa Kun dga' bzañ po and destroyed Bya rog rdson. Then, after five years, in the year wood-bird (1285) the aBri guñ pa army burnt the monastery of Bya yul and the gTsañ stoñ was killed; then again the aBri guñ pa led a Hor army against Sa skya. Nevertheless T'i mur, Se c'en's son, with the armies of Lho k'a and of gTsañ (led) by An len, who was dPon Sa skya, took aBri guñ; then the armies of the myriarchies were pushed as far as sGam po in Western Dvags and in the year iron-tiger (1290) the temple of aBri guñ was set on fire; when aBri guñ was destroyed, about 10.000 men were killed. Byar, Dvags, Kon, E, gNa', Lho, Brag, Ya and Mon were conquered by the force of arms and dBus and gTsañ became like the owl and the raven.⁵⁴⁸⁾

The Tai si tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an of P'ag gru, from the year earth-ox (1349) of the sixth cycle, conquered the greatest part of dBus and then in the year wood-horse (1354) also gTsañ. After more than 80 years had gone by, the Minister of Rin spuñs in gTsañ revolted; beginning from the year wood-hare (1435) of the seventh cycle, one of the sons of Nor bzañ of Rin spuñs, called Kun bzañ took the feud of Rin spuñs and the other Don grub rdo rje took⁵⁴⁹⁾ bSam agrub rtse, and both took possession of gTsañ. In the year earth-tiger of the eighth cycle (1458) a conflict took place between Southern and Northern⁵⁵⁰⁾ dBus, and those of sNeu gdoñ took possession of the P'ag mo gru see. Then Kun bzañ's son Don yod rdo rje of sGar, sDe pa of Rin spuñs, was solicited by Žva dmar, Kar ma C'os grags rgya mts'o, and beginning from the year earth-ox, (1481) he led about 10.000 soldiers against dBus; having driven out the dGa' ldan's patron, who was in charge of the fort of sNeu, although he had conquered dBus, nevertheless he was twice beaten back by K'ri sMon lam pa, by means of great liturgical offerings.⁵⁵¹⁾

Then, to the East of Lha sa, with the purpose of oppressing Se (ra) and aBras (spuñs), the Kar ma pa⁵⁵²⁾ founded two monastery, the black and the red,⁵⁵³⁾ and desired to destroy by his strength those two convents; with this aim he took command of the Kar ma pa and aBrug pa army; some small monasteries of dGe lugs changed (sect) and he took possession of some feuds, assigned for the upkeep of religious services in the Se ra and aBras spuñs monasteries, so that relations between the Kar ma and the dGe lugs were like those passing between the bat and sunlight. Beginning from the year earth-horse (1498) up to the year earth-tiger (1518) of the ninth cycle, although the monks of the Se ra and aBras spuñs monasteries could not take part in the festivities of the yearly vow⁵⁵⁴⁾ in Lhasa, nevertheless from the year fire-dog (1526) the sNeu gdoñ pa, lord of dBus, had a certain power.

Then in the year fire-bird (1537), while the Lord dGe adun rgya mts'o was in rGyal me t'og t'añ, he of aBri guñ took command of the Koñ army, with the purpose of destroying him of dGe' ldan. While they undertook the destruction rDsiñ p'yi⁵⁵⁵⁾ in 'Ol k'a rdson, Don yod, nañ so of Gro mda', pitted his troops against them; so they were not able to destroy

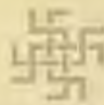
it; nevertheless the aBri guñ pa took 18 temples and convents of the dGe ldan, like Kluñ šod, 'Od sna, etc., and the latter changed their caps, dress and system. In the year water-ox (1553) the Nañ so of dGa' ldan led the army against sKyor luñ; in lesser Tibet, in dBus and gTsañ, beginning from Glan dar ma, the rules of religious and civil life little by little decayed, and a factious spirit spread violently in every direction...

Then, in the year wood-ox (1565) Ts'e brtan rdo rje of Rin spuñs in gTsañ roñ and his son Pad ma dkar po, took bSam agrub rtse, and having become lords of upper gTsañ, were known as the kings of upper gTsañ. Then, in the year iron-horse, of the tenth cycle (1570) aBri guñ and sTag (luñ) fought one another. In the year water-ape (1572), in sKyid šod, a revolt broke out against P'ag gru, and although a reconciliation was attempted by bSod nams rgya mts'o,⁵⁵⁶⁾ once more, in the year wood-boar (1575) the armies of him of Rin spuñs came to sKyid šod and, having caused some damage, turned back; then in the year iron-snake (1581) there was an internal revolt in aBri guñ. When the Lord Yon tan rgya mts'o came from the country of the Sog po in Tibet, having misunderstood the meaning of an epistle in verse which Žva dmar nañ dbañ c'os grags had presented to him in homage, the Rab abyams pa of gŽu⁵⁵⁷⁾ k'ar dGe legs lhun grub, with others, answered the epistle with insults; for this motive the ancient (clash of) cymbals between the Kar (ma pa) and the dGe legs pa was revived. Kar ma Žiñ [gšags], who had formerly been Minister to the king of gTsañ, then dPon of the feud of bSam agrub rtse, allying himself with some lesser dPon of Lho and Byañ, caused a revolt of Na ba roñ pa, and became lord of the greatest part of gTsañ; in the year wood-snake (1605), P'ag mo gru pa and Žo dkar nag⁵⁵⁸⁾ levied troops and dispersed the sDe pa of sKyid šod's⁵⁵⁹⁾ camp and killed many officials. Then the disease of the preceding insult was revived and the Žva dmar, in the city of Lhasa, wrote (the following) new insults⁵⁶⁰⁾ on the (statue's) votive scarf,⁵⁶¹⁾ and offered the scarf to the Jo bo of Lhasa.

"In the cities of Brag ti and Žag (or in the city of Brag ti⁵⁶²⁾ from three vapours?) there are inside black (animals) with pointed horns (yak); with the noble lions of the plane of the absolute the (animals) having sharp horns (now) blunt contend in every manner. That this may not happen, only you, o Lord, can know...⁵⁶³⁾

Then in the times of bSod nams rnam rgyal, sde pa of sKyid šod, the Sog pos, as an answer, carried off⁵⁶⁴⁾ the horses and mules of the sGar pa.

In the year iron-dog (1610) Kar ma pa P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal⁵⁶⁵⁾ and his son Kar ma bstan skyoñ dbañ po led the gTsañ army against dBus, but being frightened by the Sog po army, they turned back.⁵⁶⁶⁾ After having taken⁵⁶⁷⁾ Yar rgyab, in the year water-mouse (1612), they conquered all of gTsañ, with Byañ and rGyal mk'ar rtse, and were known as kings of gTsañ. Having once more come with an army to



dBus, they took sNeu rdson and the feud of Sa ca' rdson was punished.⁵⁶⁸⁾

In the year earth-horse (1618) the fruit of evil deeds ripened. That king (of gTsañ) and his son, their mind infatuated by Māra, through their devotion to the Kar ma pa, unable to tolerate that sun of the good law which is the school of the Yellow caps, lofty everywhere as it represents the essence of the Buddhist teaching, has no rival and is not contaminated by the least stain of sin, wished to destroy them; in the seventh month according to the Hor calendar they sacked Se ra and aBras spuñs and the community was obliged to take refuge in sTag luñ. But although many thousands of men were killed in the mountains between Lhasa and aBras spuñs, by virtue of the power of prayer and of a vow to gSin rje, lord of the Law, their desire was not realized...⁵⁶⁹⁾

Then, not long after, in the year iron-bird (1621) (the troops of the king of gTsañ) were defeated in brGyad t'añ sgañ in gTsañ by the Mongol troops. Then, when the latter were besieged in the lCags po ri, the precious Pañ c'en and others saved the lives of nearly one thousand soldiers. The monasteries⁵⁷⁰⁾ and religious communities of gSañ sñags etc. and of other places belonging to the dGe lugs pas which had been taken from them, unable as they were to resist fear when confronted with the ascetic's power and the military force of the Mongols, his patrons, were given back and obliged to do reverence and homage to them once more. And courage, which had formerly been repressed, as if shut up into an empty box, was now restored.

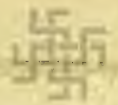
Nevertheless, as the root of sin had grown⁵⁷¹⁾ in his wicked mind, the king of gTsañ meditated evil designs, and the peace (once) prevailing between the six great Sog po clans having been troubled by Legs ldan king of C'a kar, various internal struggles broke out. Then many fugitives repaired to the Hal ha; as a consequence of mutual disagreement between the chiefs, C'og t'u was expelled from Hal ha; he came to the banks of lake K'rig gšog rgyal mo and took possession of Ho šo t'se of the Tu' med, with its dependencies, and dwelt there. He listened to the Rab abyams pa of the Red Cap sect, and wished to overcome the schools of the dGe legs; in the year wood-boar (1635)⁵⁷²⁾ he sent against dBus and gTsañ his own son Ar sa liñ, with more than ten thousand soldiers. But as the latter did no damage to the dGe ldan, the Rab byams of the Red Caps again sent a letter to his father,⁵⁷³⁾ who was near the Blue Lake and as in the answer to this letter it was written that he⁵⁷⁴⁾ should be killed, the Rab byams murdered him as directed; after this the Sog po army was beaten back like a rainbow.

King Legs ldan Ku t'ug tu of the Jiñ ger family, had also wished formerly to become allied to the king of gTsañ, but while going to C'a kar he died on the way, at a distance of five days from T'a la, to the East of the Blue Lake.⁵⁷⁵⁾ Then in the interval king Don yod rdo rje of Be ri, of Middle K'ams, together with his subjects, having efficiently overcome all the Buddhist

schools, Sa skya pa, dGe legs, Kar ma pa, aBrug pa, wished to spread the Bon po doctrine. While he was about to open hostilities against dGe ldan, as among the many clans of Hor, the king of the Ou lod, in many former births, had taken the vow that, wherever he were reborn, he would accept the Buddha's teachings and repel any harm (which might threaten it), the third among the five sons of Ha nai, prince of Ho šod, one of the four clans of the Orod, emanation of gSin rje C'os rgyal, was in fact called Tso ral pē hu,⁵⁷⁶⁾ in Tibetan bsTan aḍsin C'os rgyal and by the Sog po Gu šri han or Ge ken han; at the age of thirteen he vanquished the mGo dkar, at twenty-five he reconciled the Ou lod and the Hal ha who were quarelling; then at thirty-five,⁵⁷⁷⁾ by virtue of the action of the dPon sDe srid bSod nams c'os ap'el and others, he recognized that the time had come when it was necessary to protect the teaching in this country (of the Tibetans), and therefore with a great army, in the year fire-ox (1637) in the first month according to the Mongol calendar, he came to mTs'o k'ar and with scarcely one thousand soldiers,⁵⁷⁸⁾ in U lan ho šo, in one day he annihilated about forty thousand soldiers of Hal ha C'og tu and killed their general.

Then, having come to Tibet, on the way back to dGa' ldan, in the evening twilight, as all space was lit up by a white light, this was considered as a good omen for the bsTan aḍsin.⁵⁷⁹⁾

In that winter he returned to mTs'o k'ar, and having pacified the kingdom, in the year of the hare (1639) he almost entirely conquered Be ri in the K'ams territory, and on the 25 day of the eleventh month of the following year he took that same (king of) Be ri and imprisoned him; and the lamas of the Sa skya school, Dge lugs pa, dKar brgyud pa, aBrug pa, sTag luñ pa, who had been imprisoned, were set free by him; he then brought into subjection all the princes, up to the land of the king who rules over the country of aJañ. Then, through Tibet and dBus, with a great army, he came to gTsañ and in the year water-horse (1642) in the eighth day of the first month he took thirteen fortresses, like dSam agrub rtse, and on the twenty-fifth day, when the moon was in the constellation of dBo,⁵⁸⁰⁾ he took as a prisoner the king of gTsañ himself, and although at first he did not intend⁵⁸¹⁾ to kill him, having heard that he had founded a Kar ma pa monastery on the slopes of the hill of bKra ši lhun po, and that, having built at the back a high tower on the wall enclosing it, he had named it bKra ši zil gnon,⁵⁸²⁾ he became angry and had him put into a leather sack (and thrown into the river). Then began the foundation of the thirteen famous theological schools, and then, beginning from the day of the full moon of Caitra, at the beginning of the year according to the Kālacakra system, he became the supreme lord of the three C'ol k'a of Tibet. As the Kar ma pa religious communities on the frontiers of Tibet were hostile towards the dGe lugs of K'oñ po, he took possession of them with an army, and was invested on the throne with the office of a king governing according to the Law; hence the princes of India, Nepal and



mNa' ris and others too, sent him many gifts, and the Tibetans greeted him as an incarnation of the ācārya Padmasambhava.

Thus this king who governed according to the Law and who had no rivals in his manner of protecting the Law and of regulating civil conduct, seemed almost to renew in this country the agreeable, perfect spectacle thanks to which men of religion and laymen, under his rule, were enabled to enjoy a glorious bliss.

(Some prophecies follow).

Then, after the death of this king who ruled according to the Law, his son Da yan Han for fourteen years ruled over Tibet; he was succeeded on his death by his son Da lai Han, also called Rat na rgyal po, who was succeeded for a short time by his eldest son bsTan ḁsin dbaṅ rgyal. In their times, to begin with the year iron-dragon (1640), the following *sde srid* succeeded one another: the dpon bSod nams c'os ap'el for seventeen years; ḁP'rin las rgya mts'o for ten years and Blo bzaṅ m'tu stobs for nine years, and Blo bzaṅ sbyin pa for three; then the layman Saṅs rgyas rgya mts'o held the office of *sde srid* for twenty-five years, beginning from the year earth-sheep (1679), and founded the red palace of Potala, which had nine stories. In the year fire-tiger (1686), the Hal ha and the Ou lod having started a quarrel, the K'ri pa Blo gros rgya m'tso acted as peacemaker. Then Rat na's youngest son, called Lha bzaṅ, succeeded to the throne after having poisoned bsTan ḁsin rnam rgyal. He used violence against the bla ma of dGa' ldan and his benefactor the king of the Hor. Lha bzaṅ started from Nag c'uṅ,⁵⁸³⁾ and after having collected about five hundred Sog po soldiers, he came to gYon (ru) and, like a vulture with a flock of small birds, he dispersed a great army of the thirteen *kri skor* of K'oṅ po etc. and killed the great *sde srid* in the year šin bya, 1705, and reigned again for thirteen years.

In these circumstances the king dGa' ldan huṅ t'ai ji, who did not patronize any special system, these events having come to his knowledge and due to some incidents which moved him to faith, led an army into Tibet and in the year fire-bird (1717) he defeated Lha bzaṅ and the pacified Law shone forth.

Then from the Blue Lake⁵⁸⁴⁾ the Chinese generals and soldiers led from the sKu ḁbum into Tibet in the year iron-mouse (1720) rGyal dbaṅ sKal bzaṅ rgya mts'o, and China again conquered Tibet. Žaṅ k'aṅ c'en po was elected *sde srid*, and for seven years dBus and gTsaṅ again enjoyed happiness. Then the Tibetan Minister Lon pa, of a fiendish race, and others, rebelled and killed the *sde srid*. In the year fire-goat (1727) P'o lha t'ai ji of gTsaṅ, having gathered soldiers of gTsaṅ and mNa' ris, defeated the six *kri skor* of dBus and of Koṅ po in separate battles and took possession of those mainly responsible for the murder of Žaṅ k'aṅ pa; Chinese soldiers having joined him, they were killed. Hence, beginning from the year earth-ape (1728) P'o lha assumed the office of *sde srid*. Meanwhile the lofty lama sKal bzaṅ rgya m'tso who had been led to the monastery of K'ams ka t'og, after eight years, on an order of the Chinese Emperor Yōn tiṅ, in the year wood-hare (1735) was led back to Tibet by Ye šes bstan pai sgron me, the precious incarnate of lCaṅ skya and by Nag dbaṅ C'os kyig grags pa of K'ams. Tibet was again at peace, P'o lha governed Tibet for twenty-one years, and endless *smon lam* festivals were celebrated, which vied with those held in Tsoṅ k'a pa's times. In dGa' ldan and in sKu ḁbum of Tsoṅ k'a pa, the gSer t'og and the gSer rgyag were made, and in ḁBra spuṅs the great assembly-hall of the Sam bloi rgyud k'aṅ, which due to their antiquity had fallen into ruin. In the year earth-dragon of the thirteen cycle (1748)⁵⁸⁵⁾ P'o lha dsun vaṅ died and his son Ta lai ba dur ruled dBus and gTsaṅ with great severity.

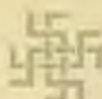
FROM THE GENEALOGIES OF ŽA LU

(5 b) The lords of the great monastery, the glorious gSer k'aṅ of Ža lu, are descended from the noble family of lCe. From lCe, like thunder on the thirteen steps of the sky, and from his wife like muddy earth,⁵⁸⁶⁾ a son was born called Lha gen rtse;⁵⁸⁷⁾ the race which was descended from him was named lCe. The son of Lha gen rtse and his wife, (she was a klu mo of the klu clan), was the miraculous king lCe ṅi zer.

(6 a) He had seven sons; the six eldest ones, together with their father, protected the top of the sky; the youngest descended from a rock-crystal ladder⁵⁸⁸⁾ and with a great retinue he went into the country of the sTag gzigs and became their king, taking possession of every desirable thing.

(6 b) He was named C'e bai p'reṅ king of the sTag gzigs. He had three sons, Bar lo, Naṅ lo, Dar

gan.⁵⁸⁹⁾ Bar lo, together with his Minister, went into the Hor country and obtained (the office of) great *za gon*⁵⁹⁰⁾ of the Hor, and also had great authority. Naṅ lo went to China; he conquered the Chinese kingdom and became famous under the name of lCe me lo, king of China. The youngest, king lCe (Dar) rgan (7 a) pitched his white tents near the palace of the king of Žaṅ žuṅ,⁵⁹¹⁾ and the latter dreamt that the king of the sTag gzigs had come and would wrest his power from him. Getting up in the morning preoccupied, he looked and (saw) that the mountain pastures and the steppes were covered with white tents. Then the king of the sTag gzigs went to the king of the Žaṅ žuṅ, and contended with him in majesty, strength and counsel (7 b) and the king of Žaṅ žuṅ was defeated, and offered homage to lCe.



The latter married two daughters of the king of Žaṅ žuṅ: gYu sa lug rdsi ma and Ne mar lug rdsi ma;⁵⁹²⁾ he conquered mK'ar c'uṅ luṅ and dNul dkar rtse;⁵⁹³⁾ he obtained the turquoise letters⁵⁹⁴⁾ and became king of Žaṅ žuṅ. He came riding into Tibet: Bran bu, Li and Hor⁵⁹⁵⁾ sent him...⁵⁹⁶⁾ hundred boars and two pieces of steel.⁵⁹⁷⁾

He successively arrived in Yar klunṣ (8 a) and founded there the palace called: mNa' t'aṅ yaṅ rgyas mc'ed pa, which measured 66 *qdom* on each side; a veranda ran round it, below.

This lCe king was called lCe baṅ c'en; he became Naṅ blon of king Sroṅ btsan sgam po. He had five sons: the eldest was Nag la c'aṅ gyu k'ri; the second sMon te ri nu mda',⁵⁹⁸⁾ the third Grags pa, the fourth, as he owned the salt lakes and the salt mines, was called Ts'a ba; now (these mines) are in La stod.

(8 b) The youngest was the Lotsāva of lCe K'yi abrug; he was Naṅ blon of the kings K'ri sroṅ lde btsan and Sad na legs. He was the lotsāva who translated the Prajñāpāramitā⁵⁹⁹⁾ and composed treatises like the sGraṅ gnas brgyad etc. They had five sons each and were called the five lCe p'a (lCe fathers).

lCe sMon te re nu mda' was known later as the lotsāva of the lCe Jñānasiddhi. He was king K'ri sroṅ lde btsan's Minister. In this king's times, wicked ministers having opposed those who practised religion, (9 a) he obtained the king's confidence and was sent to invite the abbot Bodhisattva⁶⁰⁰⁾ and the ācārya Pad ma aḅyūṅ gnas to Tibet. As he had brought back the ācārya, the king was delighted and elected him Naṅ blon; he also obtained the golden credentials.⁶⁰¹⁾ He was a lotsāva who translated many books of the Law.

(9 b) lCe sMon te ri nu pa married K'uṅ bzaṅ Ṇad steṅ, who bore him two sons: lCe sTo re na⁶⁰²⁾ ta nu and lCe bZaṅ sto re nu ṅe. The former led an army to China and conquered the kingdom of China. And he obtained the king's esteem and many gifts.⁶⁰³⁾ bZaṅ⁶⁰⁴⁾ sto re nu conquered the four Southern regions. Both were Naṅ blon of king (Sad) Na legs⁶⁰⁵⁾ and obtained many official documents and credentials.

bZaṅ sTo re nu married Dus ma of the mNa' nam clan, who bore him (10 a) lCe K'ri bzaṅ lha sbyin, to whom the king gave C'u spubs su luṅ pa, rKyen rigs in Ṇaṅ ro, Ha 'u gaṅs bzaṅ⁶⁰⁶⁾ up to the junction between Yug pa and Yu ba gdoṅ pa, and he obtained credentials. The king ordered him to found 108 temples: when these 108 temples had been built, to draw up a reckoning of those he had built, he constructed the temple of rTsis gNas rñiṅ;⁶⁰⁷⁾ Biṅ dmar⁶⁰⁸⁾ of rTsis gnas rñiṅ, who wears shield and cuirass was the C'os skyoṅ of the lCe.

(10 b) lCe K'ri bzaṅ lha sbyin was Naṅ blon of king K'ri ral pa can. He married Śes za mo, who bore him six sons; the eldest was the great Žaṅ ston (11 a)⁶⁰⁹⁾ aP'aṅ to re; then lCe K'ri snaṅ, lCe rGyal k'ri bzūṅ, lCe Maṅ ts'aṅ stobs bzaṅ, lCe K'ri skyes, Maṅ po rje k'ri. They occupied various offices, which served to increase their power: they were generals of the king,

they built temples, they were counsellors⁶¹⁰⁾ of the king of Žaṅ žuṅ and ministers of mDo sMad in K'ams.

Žaṅ ston c'en po's son was lCe gTsug pa dpal, his son was lCe bZaṅ k'ri bzaṅ; his son was lCe sTag bžer brtan k'ri; (11 b) his son was K'rom bžer brtan k'ri; the latter had two sons, lCe stag gi rgyal mts'aṅ and sKyes ts'ul ač'o k'ri. sTag gi rgyal mts'aṅ had four sons: the eldest had no issue, the second was gYu t'og sgra gser bzaṅ, the third dPal sgra, the fourth rDo rje k'ri btsan po. lCe sTag gi rgyal mts'aṅ and lCe sKyes ts'ul ač'o k'ri had three sons,⁶¹¹⁾ namely Bya k'ri rdo rje dbaṅ,⁶¹²⁾ (12 a) dGaṅ ra gTsug tor rin c'en and lCe gYū aḅum; gYū aḅum had two sons, the eldest was lCe bTsun śes rab aḅyūṅ gnas, the youngest Śes rab ye śes. In this time, rebellions⁶¹³⁾ of their subjects against the lCe family having occurred, the lCe were nearly all killed. lCe bTsun took refuge, to embrace a religious life,⁶¹⁴⁾ with the Lo ston, rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug; having been ordained by him as a monk, he became his disciple.⁶¹⁵⁾

In the year fire-bird,⁶¹⁶⁾ initial year of the second diffusion of the Law, he was the principal assistant in the foundation of the temple of rGyan goṅ,⁶¹⁷⁾ in the environs of rGyan goṅ, (12 b) and he received his complete ordination about the age of thirty. In the year of the hare⁶¹⁸⁾ he proposed to found Žva lu.

(13 b) Then lCe bTsun was the author of the Žva lu temple, of the chapels on the South and North of the Western dBu rtse, of the other two chapels, the one above in the Eastern dBu rtse,⁶¹⁹⁾ dedicated to the Yum c'en mo,⁶²⁰⁾ the one below, which is now the mGon k'aṅ, but in those times, there being no mGon k'aṅ, was an open circumambulation.⁶²¹⁾ He also made, with precious substances, an image of sPyan ras gzigs.

(14 a) The lCe bTsun went to Bodhgayā in India, and from the great ācārya of Bodhgayā,⁶²²⁾ Abhayākaragupta, he learnt the rules of discipline and many other doctrines and brought into Tibet an image of sPyan ras gzigs Ka sar pa ṅi.

(15 b) Then Ye śes dbaṅ po, who had been mk'aṅ po when lCe btsun śes rab aḅyūṅ gnas had taken vows, founded (16 a) the monastery of mK'aṅ luṅ in Śaṅ and then Kḷaṅ ra in Ge re, and Ro sṅam of Śaṅ in Eastern gYas ru. Then Ts'ul aḅags of Žaṅ, a disciple (mk'aṅ bu) of lCe bTsun, took possession of Bya kyus. His other disciple T'ar rin c'en had (in his turn) four disciples: aP'ags grags the master of gZugs took sGrei lCe mts'aṅs and rGya mk'ar stag luṅ. His brother was gZugs c'e. lCe dkar po took possession of Aṅ yig, P'yug ston of Dsa kā ris spa gor and he founded Śab lha mk'ar in Śab rtse. All these were called those of Koṅ.

(16 b) lCe bTsun's principal disciple, Ye śes gyūṅ druṅ, took possession of the temple of rTsis,⁶²³⁾ the other disciple Yon tan aḅyūṅ grags founded sKur bu, from which were propagated aDul c'uṅ⁶²⁴⁾ and the other monasteries to the East of Žva lu. From sPag ts'al pa, (a disciple of) lCe bTsun, were propagated those of Yag. In those times the lord of Žva lu had four motives of greatness: because his authority extended

to the four pillars,⁶²⁵ because his patrons were rulers,⁶²⁶ because his monastic rules were derived from India, because his family was the lCe family.

(17 a) Beginning from K'ro gzer gdon k'ri (the family) was divided into two branches, the black and the white one. One of them was that of lCe bTsun, lama of Sriu c'uñ. As to the branch descended from lCe gYu abum, a rebellion of his subjects having occurred, they came to La ra in K'yim mk'ar; hence La ra and rGyan k'yim belonged to the lCe. In course of time, a child who wept, crying a' a', appeared by the side of a lame woman; the lCe bTsun took care of him, and he became famous by the name of king 'A žva.⁶²⁷ Then, after the lCe bTsun had founded the temple (of Žva lu), gYu t'og sgra gser bzañ, son of sTag gi rgyal mts'an and gYu abum's elder brother, met lCe bTsun and asked to become his disciple in order to embrace a religious life. The see of Žva lu, which had passed to (lCe bTsun's) younger brother Šes rab abyuñ gnas, was taken by gYu t'og sgra gser bzañ who, acting against his teachings, passed on to temporal power and handed over the abbatial see to K'yuñ po Grags pa sen ge. He became dpon and he exercised power He waged war against rGyan goñ; K'yuñ po, thinking that this monastery was like the mother of the others, tried to detain him; but gYu t'og sgra gser bzañ did not listen to him and waged war, and he carried all the sacred objects of that convent to Žva lu (gloss: the sacred objects of rGyan goñ are those now to be seen in the ancient bTsan k'añ). As he had fought against K'yuñ, he went to Lhasa.

(20 b) In those times, as there was great turmoil due to quarrels between C'u (mig)⁶²⁸ and Žva (lu),⁶²⁹ those of C'u mig stole and carried off the Jo bo's image (which was in Ri spugs),⁶³⁰ but a nun of Ri spugs bound the thieves (with magic formulas) and they were unable to go any further.

In those times Indians, Nepalese and those of dBus and gTsañ made many gifts, and in a special manner (21 a) the Nepalese were munificent. The Nepalese, making a confusion between rGyan ri and Žal ri, built under the mountain of Žva lu a mc'od rten which is known to this day by the name of mc'od rten of the Nepalese. Then those of Ri p'ug and those of Žva lu held counsel and saying that from Jo bo's (image) greater benefits would have accrued to created beings if it had been placed in Žva lu, they took it to Žva lu, where it became the main object of cult in the chapel to the South of the two which are on the Western side of the dBu rtse.

gYu t'og sgra gser bzañ's son was lCe aBum pa; his sons were lCe aBum mi and lCe aBum ađar. In those times Žva lu had not yet a myriarchy's name, but its power was equal to a myriarchy's. When the law of the kings of Tibet was over, (22 a) the country having adapted itself to the Mongol law, the four pillars of Žva lu and its eight beams, which were nine with the lion having a mane, to the North, and the 70 rafters, each detaining its own power, became famous.⁶³¹

The four pillars were: dGa' ba gdon, pillar of the holy Law, sKu ri bya skyus k'a rag, pillar of the clan, gYus sgyu ma pillar of riches, Ni gsor pillar of strenght. The eight beams: to the East Gru ža and Byar ts'añ, to the South 'Ar lug and aBri mts'ams, to the West sDog and Za skañ po, to the North mÑam rdsis abañs (22 b) and Cog ro span na. As to the lion having a mane of brGya p'ug to the North, it is the valley of Gos sñon, home of 'U yug.

The son of l'Ce aBum me was A mes dGe ađun bzañ po; the sons of lCe A mes aBum dar were: A mes aBum bstan and his brother. A mes aBum bstan married mÑam mo grol c'añ, who bore A mes c'en po Sañs rgyas ye šes and Ša kya blo gros.

(23 a) After A mes c'en po Sañs rgyas ye šes, under rTag dmar rñam, there were lands reserved (as pastures) for the horses and fields for collecting the dung of animals destined to nomads and residents in the villages. As an agreement was not reached upon one (of the sections) destined to the collection of dung, a conflict broke out between those of C'u (mig) and those of Žva lu; as they had fought more than once and it had to be decided who was about to win or lose, this (image of) rTa mgrin which is in the bTsan k'añ, neighed thrice and those of C'u mig were defeated. Then, the boundaries having been defined, strife (between them) came to an end but 'A žva rebelled and carried off a large part of the Žva lu pa's power.

(23 b) At that time the king 'A žva was famous.

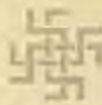
A mes c'en po Sañs rgyas ye šes (escaping from the domination of) him of C'u mig, the (lord of) Žva lu took possession of C'u mig,⁶³² and the revolt of his subjects was put down. After having beaten back the army of the 'A žva, against which he had marched, he established the Hor law; without any longer fighting the rebels, he distributed them in the myriarchies and chiliarchies.

(24 a) A mes c'en po Sañs rgyas married Ts'a ts'a btsun, who bore him the sku žañ rNa sgra, the sku žañ mGo po dpal and the sku žañ Kun dga' aBum and three daughters mK'a' agro aBum, Jo bo stag aBum, Jo bo šes aBum, six children altogether. Ma gcig mK'a' agro aBum (25 a) became the wife of P'yag rdor of the glorious Sa skya pa,⁶³³ and as her price the latter presented to A mes c'en po sixty horses, and the A mes c'en po gave him of C'u mig thirty horses. The latter also gave to the A mes c'en po the rGya skor⁶³⁴ of Šab dge ldiñ.⁶³⁵

All this was given as a dowry⁶³⁶ for the ma gcig mKa' agro aBum. From ma gcig mK'a' agro aBum Dhar ma pā la rak šita was born;

(25 b) by order of the king,⁶³⁷ Dharma pā [la] was invited to China. He desired to continue his lineage,⁶³⁸ but as the land did not suit him, no son was born to him. By order of the king, Jo bo sTag gi aBum of Žva lu was invited (to China) in order to become Dharmapāla(rakṣita's) wife; she married him and bore Ratnapālarakṣita, who died young.

25 b) The bDag ñid c'en po, elected lama by the Emperor of China, had brought from the country



of sMan rtse many riches; when he came to Tibet (the Emperor) ordered him to propagate his lineage and to take seven wives, and invested him with power by a diploma.

If that lineage was propagated up to our days and if those royal lamas (of the Sa skya clan) are lords of the earth, this is the Žva lu women's merit.

(26 a) Later Ma gcig mK'a' agro ḅum was called Ma gcig c'en mo, (26 a) Byaṅ sems, Byaṅ sems c'en mo; A mes was called A mes c'en po, the sku žaṅ, or the sku žaṅ c'en po; this means that they both obtained the epithet of c'en po, due to their connection with the aGro mgon P'yag na. To A mes c'en po, in the last period of his life, king Se c'en gave the chiliarchy of sMon agro. As the sku žaṅ was the root of all the family, he gave Bri mts'ams to the sku žaṅ rNa sgra, and to the sku žaṅ mGon po dpal (26 b) the decree and the diploma conferring upon him lordship over the Žva lu myriarchies, with their religious communities. After the sku žaṅ rNa sgra, the sku žaṅ mGon po dpal, who built the Northern wing of the temple (called) of "the three doors",⁶³⁹ was dPon of Žva lu. Inside the "Three Doors", in the chapel dedicated to his father A mes c'en po Saṅs rgyas ye šes, he built a statue of the great ascetic (the Buddha), with its throne and halo.

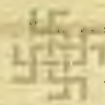
(27 a) As regards the genealogies of the abbots, K'yuṅ po sgra seṅ ge conferred the see to the abbot mNṅon pa pa (sNṅon pa pa).⁶⁴⁰ By him the abbatial see was conferred upon Žva lu bžon pa pa; then Va c'os byaṅ pa (became abbot). At the time of A mes c'en po Saṅs rgyas, the great scholar Bu ston seṅ ge 'od was (abbot); at the time of the C'u mig council there sat the four great scholars: Bu ston Seṅ ge 'od, the Lord of the Law, aJam gсар pa, the all-knowing one of Šar, the learned bSod rgyal, who were (27 b) all called the "precious Lords of the Law".

The son of the sku žaṅ sNa sgra was the sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an; the children of the sku žaṅ mGon po dpal were the sku žaṅ rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug, ma gcig gŽon nu ḅum, ma gcig Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, Jo bo rDo rje ḅum, Jo bo bTsun mo ma, five brothers and sisters. Ma gcig gŽon nu ḅum became the wife of the Lama bDag ṅid c'en po: her sons were Ta dben Gu šri Kun dga' (28 a) ṅi ma, aJam dbyaṅs don yod rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po, the Lord of the Law bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po, namely the three great Lords of the Law and great princes.⁶⁴¹ Ma gcig Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an became the wife of the Šar pa, her children were the lama Rin c'en rgyal mts'an and his two sisters. Jo bo rDo rje ḅum became the wife of the Ts'al pa sMon lam⁶⁴² and of the *du dben ša* Bod rgyal 'od. Her sons were Svi tu Kun dga' rdo rje and the *du dben ša* mGon po ap'el.

(28 b) After the sku žaṅ mGon po dpal, the sku žaṅ rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug was dPon for three years; the king of the Law gave him, as he had given his father, the decree and the diploma of investiture over the Žva lu myriarchy. After the sku žaṅ rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug, the sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an

became dPon of Žva lu. He married the daughter of the Ts'al pa dPa' mo ḅsum ḅum dpal šis. In the series of the abbots were then recorded the abbot aDul ḅsin dpal and the abbot Grags pa gžon pa.

The children of the sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an were the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub, (29 a) the dPon po Rin c'en rgyal mts'an, the sku žaṅ Ye šes kun dga', the dPon mo Jo bo K'yed ḅdren dpal, the dPon mo mGon, the dPon mo dPal ldan ḅum,⁶⁴³ seven children between brothers and sisters. The sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an went to China; king Ol ja du,⁶⁴⁴ having filled with *c'aṅ* a crystal cup⁶⁴⁵ decorated with peacocks,⁶⁴⁶ gave it to him, saying: "As you are the uncle of all the clans, you are also my uncle", and he appointed him Hu šri⁶⁴⁷ (29 b), *du dben ša* of dBus, gTsaṅ and mNa' ris skor gsum, judge with (the badge of the) second gem with a tiger's head, and he issued a decree, the equivalent of a diploma, (conferring upon him the authority of a judge) over the three C'ol ka of Tibet up to Šiṅ kun. The king of China gave him an edict and a diploma which made him Lord of the lay and religious communities of the Žva lu myriarchy up to this side of the T'on la, on the frontiers between the land of Ts'al and that of the dPon mo Buddha-šriheru[ha]. At that time the lands below gNam lha lo t'og, on this side of the Gam pa pass up to Yul la spaṅ c'e, the lay and religious communities, the monasteries,⁶⁴⁸ and the households beginning with those of Kun dga' ra ba, (30 a) gNas gži C'or bu skor, together with Ru c'a, sMon gro, rTa mc'og k'ab byed gliṅ, Ra srog and rGya mts'o; to the North many (places), beginning with Dar rgan ru ba, sTag blon ru ba, dBus p'u ru ba, K'aṅ gсар of Rin c'en sgaṅ, Bya sgaṅ, rGyal 'og of dGe sdiṅs, gSer lag, the feud of lCaṅ ḅdral, etc.⁶⁴⁹ After this he conferred upon him the charge of *t'oṅ ji du dben ša*⁶⁵⁰ and he gave him the diploma with a tiger's head, which invested him with power over the myriarchy of Žva lu, (30 b) and appointed him *dBaṅ hu*⁶⁵¹ bSod rgyal, Nam mk'a' dmar po, dBaṅ hui k'rims la dbaṅ and myriarch. This myriarch, who delighted in administering justice, and had received from the Emperor of China a judge's office, did not boast of his office. Later he made the leather door on the Southern wing, the temple of intermediate circumambulation, the mGon k'aṅ in the entrance temple to the East, the four great ways of access to the entrance temple on the present Northern side, the paintings within projecting arches,⁶⁵² the frames of turquoise enamel,⁶⁵³ the tiles⁶⁵⁴ decorated with a golden *gaṅjira*, on the gSer k'aṅ, the three-storied domes of Chinese style,⁶⁵⁵ the two-storied ones of the other temples; inside he placed numberless images of the Tathāgatas, variously decorated with a hundred and one kinds of colours, and (31 b) particularly on the leather door 108 Buddhas of the three times. With the purpose of spreading the communities of monks, he established (the division between) married monks⁶⁵⁶ and regular monks;⁶⁵⁷ he established for the former religious rules (to be observed) continually; he assigned to the monks three of small coins⁶⁵⁸ each, taken from the taxes (paid) by the lay communities;



he also promised to give the monks the clothes they needed, and established feuds for the great religious ceremonies, to be performed in the first four months of the four seasons.

(34 a) In the year iron-ape⁶⁵⁹ the lord of the Law Bu ston rin po c'e, who was then 31 years old, came to Žva lu.

(35 a) In that year that same lord of the Law (Bu ston) built a temple with dwellings for the monks, centering it round a hermitage which was in Ri p'ug of Žva lu, blessed because a mc'od rten stood there, in which some ts'a ts'a were placed, with the image of the protecting deity of Jo bo rje Lha gcig (Atiśa) who had resided there.

(35 b) Then, the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub having furnished the necessary means, the Lord of the Law (Bu ston) traced the outlines, together with the explicative inscriptions, of the paintings on four sides of the temple of Žva lu; i. e. to the West the global maṇḍala of rDo rje dbyiṅs, to the South the global maṇḍala of dPal mc'og rigs, to the North the global maṇḍala of the Kun rig, to the East the maṇḍala of the mystical families, globally expressed, of aJam dpal,⁶⁶⁰ lord of the verbal plane of the absolute, and dedicated in the temple of the bsTan agyur all the śāstra already translated in Tibet.⁶⁶¹ He translated those which had not yet been translated, completed⁶⁶² those which were not complete and also put there his own works.

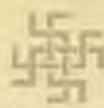
(38 a) After the Lord of men, incarnation of rNam t'os sras, the sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an, his son, the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub, became dPon of Žva lu. (The Emperor) gave him the diploma of t'on ji du dben śa and made him judge of the three c'ol k'a of Tibet: he took the diploma with the tiger-headed seal, investing him with the Žva lu myriarchy. The Emperor successively gave him all the dignities and offices his father had had; indeed he became more powerful than his father. He had paintings made on the (38 b) pavillion, above, on the four corners (of the upper story), the temple of Ts'e dpag med, the temple of the bsTan agyur; the walls⁶⁶³ of the temple of the sixteen Arhats, together with the temple Naṅ poi bDe ldan.⁶⁶⁴ His sons were dKon mc'og rgyal mts'an and the great ācārya dNos grub rgyal mts'an (39 a) who died young; his daughters: Jo mo pad ma, Jo bo dar ra, Jo bo rdo ra etc. Then, before going to (the Hor country), the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub left his authority to the son of dPon mo dkar abum, namely to the sku žaṅ Ye šes kun dga', to whom he confided the regency of Žva lu; recommending him to rule in a pure manner, he gave him the diploma of his office together with the imperial letters; he also gave him the authenticated⁶⁶⁵ imperial edicts, by which his father had been invested with the offices of T'on ji du dben śa and of mt'un gon.⁶⁶⁶

(40 a) Among the sisters⁶⁶⁷ of the sku žaṅ Ye šes kun dga', Jo bo K'ye adren⁶⁶⁸ dpal married aJam dbyaṅs Don yod dpal bzaṅ po and bore the Lama Kun dga' rgyal mts'an; dPon ma dpal ldan married the si tu Kun dga' rdo rje,⁶⁶⁹ dPon mo dGon⁶⁷⁰ married

rGyal bzaṅ po (40 b) Yin ši ri; dPon mo dPal ldan abum married the Šar pa⁶⁷¹ and had children from him; dPon mo rdo ra (daughter of Kun dga' don grub) married dPon 'Od zer seṅ ge⁶⁷² and also had a son who obtained the myriarchy of Lho. Jo bo pad ma married Si tu aP'ags pa dpal; dPon mo... [dar re]⁶⁷³ married ṅag dbaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an.⁶⁷⁴ Ye šes kun dga's sons were the sku žaṅ Legs pa don grub, and rNam rgyal dpal bzaṅ po.

(41 a) After him the sku žaṅ Legs pa don grub became dPon of Žva lu. The Emperor of China gave him the diploma investing him with an office equivalent to that of Go t'o ji du dben śa⁶⁷⁵ and with the miliarchy of Žva lu. He ruled well. Also the second (son) du dben śa rNam rgyal dpal bzaṅ po took the office of (du) dben śa and governed. rNam rgyal dpal bzaṅ po had no son, but a daughter bDag mo bsTan adsin rgyal mo, whom he gave in marriage to the Si tu of rTse c'en⁶⁷⁶ (41 b) and a son was born: the bDag po, P'o rgod k'yuṅ rgyal. The sku žaṅ Legs pa don grub had five children, between those he had from the first and second wife. Of those he had before, the eldest was the monk, abbot of rTsoḍ, the second was the sku žaṅ rGyal la ba and the youngest the monk who resided in mT'on sman of Žva lu. From the sku žaṅ rGyal la ba to the sku žaṅ rNam rgyal dpal bzaṅ there were one or two dPon of Žva lu. The sku žaṅ rDo rje dpal bzaṅ and (42 a) rDo rje rgyal mts'an [text corrupt]; these two brothers had three sons: the sku žaṅ dPal abyor ba, the Lord of the Law C'os rgyal ba and the sku žaṅ Rig pa pa. These also had no male issue. By the king of rGyal mk'ar rtse, the lineage of the sku žaṅ rTse gñis pa was interrupted. As to Legs pa don grub's second issue, born from sÑe mo t'on pa's daughter, the eldest was the sku žaṅ Don rgyal, the second was the sku žaṅ incarnation of Rigs ldan, the precious Lord of the Law bKra šis (42 b) rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po. The youngest was the ṅag dbaṅ po. The sku žaṅ Don rgyal ba had three sons; the eldest was the sku žaṅ Saṅs rgyas pa, the second the Lord of the Law Rin c'en aJam dbyaṅs, the youngest sku žaṅ rGyal c'en pa. Saṅs rgyas's sons were the sku žaṅ Rin c'en bzaṅ po pa, the Lord of the Law Dus ak'or ba, Saṅs rgyas dpal abyor ba, the sku žaṅ Legs pa pa, the Lord of the Law Kun dga' sñiṅ po pa and the sku žaṅ lNa aJam pa. The son of the sku žaṅ Rin c'en bzaṅ po (43 a) was the sku žaṅ Rin c'en pa.

The sons of rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug⁶⁷⁷ were the sku žaṅ sLob dpon Rin c'en and Nam mk'a' mc'og grub dpal bzaṅ po. The latter, before becoming a monk, had had relations⁶⁷⁸ with the daughter of mTs'al pa dPon ka ra, who bore him a daughter and two sons, Slob dpon Blo gsal pa and the ācārya P'yog las rnam par rgyal ba. He gave his daughter in marriage to aBrag ram, and she bore him the gÑer c'en A mo gha pa. (43 b) This sku žaṅ Lord of the Law, when he was still young was firm in the thought of the Law, and although his father's elder brother,⁶⁷⁹ the sku žaṅ Ye šes kun dga', invited him to help him to rule, he refused. On that occasion he asked the Lord of



the Law Bu ston rin po c'e to bestow upon him the vows of devoted layman, and from him he heard the dPal dus kyi ak'or lo and other instructions. (44 b) He met the glorious Lama dam pa and many other noble beings. (45 b) As to the sku žaṅ Blo gsal pa, at the age of seven he took monastic vows with the all-knowing Bu ston, and up to 15 years of age he was comprised among the four (masters) of Žva lu.

(46 a) The sku žaṅ P'yogs las rnam par rgyal ba married dPon mo Lha lcam from aBroṅ rtse, and she bore him the sku žaṅ dPal abyor, who married dPon Saṅs rgyas adsom, the daughter of the Sa skya pa mGon po, and they had five sons; the sku žaṅ precious Lord of the Law and supreme scholar mC'og sgrub dPal bzaṅ po, (46 b) the Lord of the Law P'un ts'ogs pa, the sku žaṅ rGyal ba rnam sras, the sku žaṅ Legs pa bkra šis.⁶⁸⁰ The sku žaṅ rGyal ba rnam sras married the mK'ar k'a pa's daughter, who bore him the sku žaṅ, the precious Lord of the Law bSod nams mc'og sgrub dPal bzaṅ po.

This clan of the lCe had lCe Blo ldan sgom pa and lCe mDo sde seṅ ge and other keepers of ascetic methods and many lotsāvas like the lotsāva of lCe dGa' bai dPal, the lotsāva lCe bKra šis rtsegs, the lotsāva lCe Klu mes, ect.

(47 b) If now one wishes to know which were the Bla dpon of Žva lu, we can answer that three were known as such: (48 a) lCe bTsun Šes rab abyun gnas, his younger brother Šes rab ye šes and P'o po gYu t'og sgra gser bzaṅ. gYu t'og sgra, having left the religious rules, became dPon (48 b) and left the see to K'yuṅ po grags seṅ ge. The latter entrusted it to the abbot mNōn pa pa.⁶⁸¹ In the latter's times lived lCe aBum. In the times of lCe aBum and of aBum dar, gŽon nu brtson pa of Žva lu was abbot;⁶⁸² in the second part of aBum dar's life and at the time of aBum brtan, Va c'os byaṅ pa; (48 b) at the time of A mes c'en po Saṅs rgyas, Bu ston seṅ ge 'od. At the time of Ša skya blo gros and of the sku žaṅ rNā sgra, the abbot aDul adsin.⁶⁸³ At the time of the sku žaṅ mGon po dPal, and for three years of the sku žaṅ rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug, the abbot Grag gžon pa. In the second part of the life of the sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an, Kun dga' don grub and in the first of Ye šes kun dga' the all-knowing Buston. In the second part of Ye šes kun dga's life and in the first part of Legs pa don grub's life (49 a) (Buston's) spiritual disciple, rNam rgyal.⁶⁸⁴ In the second part of the sku žaṅ Legs pa don grub's life and in the first of rNam rgyal dPal bzaṅ, aJam dbyaṅs grags pa rgyal mts'an.⁶⁸⁵ In the second part of the sku žaṅ rNam rgyal dPal bzaṅ's life and in the first of the rGyal la ba, mK'as grub Saṅs rgyas rin c'en pa.⁶⁸⁶ In the second part of the sku žaṅ rGyal la ba's life the precious aK'ul žig Ts'ul k'rims rgyal mts'an. Nevertheless all the abbots began to be dated when the all-knowing Bu ston took possession of the see; as to these dates and to the dates of his death, Bu ston the all-knowing was born in the year of the tiger⁶⁸⁷ and arrived in the see at the age of 31, in the year iron-ape⁶⁸⁸ and for 37 years he ruled the see. When this

all-knowing was 67 years old, his spiritual son, the Lord of the Law, who was born in the year of the horse⁶⁸⁹ and was 39 years of age, in the year of the ape⁶⁹⁰ (50 a) in the fourth day of the first winter month came to the see and ruled it for 33 years. The all-knowing (Buston) at the age of 75, in the year wood-dragon⁶⁹¹ in the month of the constellation C'u stod,⁶⁹² in the twenty-first day passed away.

(50 b) The Lord of the Law, his spiritual son, at the age of 71, in the year of the dragon,⁶⁹³ in the tenth month according to the Mongol calendar, the second day, at sunset, passed away.

(51 a) The Lord of the Law Grags pa rgyal mts'an, who was born in the year of the serpent,⁶⁹⁴ in this same year⁶⁹⁵ came to the see and ruled it for 16 years. In the interval the see was entrusted to the mK'as grub Saṅs rgyas dPal rin pa.⁶⁹⁶

(51 b) The latter ruled the see for eight years, then he went to La stod. He died in his year, the year of the dragon (52 a); then again the see was ruled by the Lord of the Law, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, for 36 years, which summed up with the former years are 52 years (1451).

After him the see was entrusted to the great lama, the aK'ul žig, the venerable Lord, the mK'yen rtse mNā' bdag, aJam dbyaṅs grags pa rgyal mts'an dPal bzaṅ po,⁶⁹⁷ who at the age of 84, in the year of the dragon,⁶⁹⁸ in the tenth month of the Mongol calendar, in the month of sMig drug,⁶⁹⁹ in the fifteenth day, passed away.

(52 b) aK'ul žig Ts'ul k'rims rgyal mts'an dPal bzaṅ po, who was born (lit.: had as the year of his birth) the year of the hare,⁷⁰⁰ at the age of 42, in the year of the ape,⁷⁰¹ in the month rGyal,⁷⁰² came to the see and ruled it for 27 years; (53 a) at the age of 75, in the year of the snake,⁷⁰³ in the tenth month according to the Mongol calendar, on the twenty-seventh day, he passed away.

(53 b) The all-knowing mC'og grub bzaṅ po,⁷⁰⁴ born in the year of the horse,⁷⁰⁵ at the age of 53, in the year of the dog,⁷⁰⁶ in the month rGyal, on the tenth day, came to the see and ruled it for seventeen years. At the age of 69, in the year of the tiger,⁷⁰⁷ on the first day of the month of T'a skar,⁷⁰⁸ at sun-down, he passed away.

(54 a) aJam dbyaṅs bšes bsñen bzaṅ po rgyal mts'an, born in the year of the horse,⁷⁰⁹ at the age of 69, in the year of the hare,⁷¹⁰ in the month rGyal, on the fifteenth day came to the see and ruled it for eleven years, and at the age of eighty, in the year of the ox,⁷¹¹ in the month C'u stod, on the tenth day, he passed away.

The peerless Lord of the Law Rin c'en rigs adsin⁷¹² rgyal po, born in the year of the snake,⁷¹³ at the age of 59, in the year of the tiger,⁷¹⁴ in the month Sa ga,⁷¹⁵ on the eighteenth day, came to the see and ruled it for twelve years.⁷¹⁶

dKon mc'og ts'ul k'rims, born in the year of the ox,⁷¹⁷ in the year fire-hare,⁷¹⁸ in the eleventh month according to the Mongol calendar, came to the see and ruled it for eight years.⁷¹⁹ The Lord of the Law

bSod nams rgyal mts'an pa, born in the year of the ox,⁷²⁰⁾ at the age of 31, in the year water-sheep,⁷²¹⁾ in the month C'u stod, on the seventeenth day came to the see and ruled it for eleven years.⁷²²⁾ After him Lhai btsun po blo bzañ bstan pa, born in the year fire-hare⁷²³⁾ (55 a) at the age of 67, in the year fire-bird,⁷²⁴⁾ in the month sNron,⁷²⁵⁾ on the seventeenth day ascended the see.

All these things⁷²⁶⁾ according as they are in the guide of the most holy T'ugs rje c'en po,⁷²⁷⁾ taking as a base the list of its abbots, the old people's narratives, Don grub rgyal mgon's philological works, written according to the method of the all-knowing master⁷²⁸⁾ of Kaliyuga, and above all extracting

information from the biographies whose consultation is useful, like those of the two most ancient sku žaṅ and of the Lord of the Law, the sku žaṅ Rin c'en mk'yen rab mc'og grub dpal bzañ po,⁷²⁹⁾ and that vajra of corrupted times, who were dGe ap'el of sNe mo, etc., he who is called Maṅgala-amogha-siddhi, i. e. (in Tibetan) bKra šis don grub, rightly disposed (all these things) in writings (which preserve those memories), in an indestructible manner; this he did for the good of all future beings and for the advantage of the great progeny of the sku žaṅ, the lamas lords of that Bodhgayā of Tibet which is the glorious gSer k'aṅ of Žva lu. May good increase.

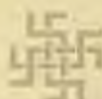
FROM THE CHRONICLES OF GYANTSE

(1 a) The *yon bdag* aBum ñeg was descended from Gra rgod aḍoñ btsan⁷³⁰⁾ of upper mDo k'ams; he wore an armour made of a hundred tiger skins, he seized brown bears by the paws and he was the son-in-law of king Ge sar of K'rom. Trusting to the Sa skya pa's glorious teachings he settled in the gTsañ region and got to sNar rñam, and followed the sect of the ancient school of esoteric formulas. His son was the ācārya Nam mk'a' byaṅ c'ub, the latter's son was the master Nam mk'a' lhun grub; the latter's son was the ācārya Nam mk'a' bzañ po. He had three sons: the eldest was the dPon brTson agrus rdo rje; the second the ācārya Grags brtson, the youngest gŽon nu ap'ags. The eldest was one of the four masters (magicians) (of his time), like Nam mk'a' grags of the mC'ims clan of sNar t'aṅ. The youngest was the secretary of the Ti śrī Grags 'od of the Bla brañ k'aṅ gsar.⁷³¹⁾ The second went into the upper country, depending on the great (Sa skya) residence etc. While he was in the great feud⁷³²⁾ of sTag t'og, he had from Šes rab ma a son who was named dPon rGyal mts'an bzañ po. As he was of good birth and fine appearance and proficient in writing, the Žva lu pa⁷³³⁾ elected him mi dpon of Eastern Ra dsa. He married Lha mo dpal⁷³⁴⁾ and had three sons; in the year po ña,⁷³⁵⁾ according to the Indian calendar, Dpal ldan bzañ po saw the light.⁷³⁶⁾

The latter was lofty through the glory of his merits, he had an unbreakable faith in the teachings of the Victorious, was excellent among all the scholars of the world, the diadem of all those who overthrow the opposers of religion and he had several heavenly virtues; with his wisdom he enlightened the darkness of the world, pervading it with a great glow. In the year iron-ape (1320) his younger brother dPal ldan rin c'en pa was born; the roots of faith were extremely firm in him and the branches of his munificence spread over the ten points of space; (2 a) he possessed the splendour of the king of the Yakša.⁷³⁷⁾ In the year fire-tiger (1326) the honourable sTag dar po was born.⁷³⁸⁾

The eldest, when he was thirteen or fourteen, went to sTe po in lDan yul,⁷³⁹⁾ to learn the scriptures according to the lDan system. As the place pleased him,⁷⁴⁰⁾ he built a dwelling there and had the vision of lDan ma dbaṅ rgyal, his family's protecting deity.⁷⁴¹⁾ At the age of sixteen, in the year water-bird (1332), he went to Sa skya, the great see. By virtue of the karmic connection derived from a vow he had made in a preceding life, and thanks to his deeds, which had determined relations of lord and protégé between the Sa skya pa and himself, he met the master of K'aṅ gsar and became his officer.⁷⁴²⁾ Soon he asked him to be appointed⁷⁴³⁾ in the bŽi t'og. In that same year he went back (to his lands). Then at the age of seventeen, in the year wood-dog (1334), he went back to the (Sa skya pa's) residence; he was employed by the K'aṅ gsar pa as an official in the bŽi t'og's palace. Being very capable in writing, he became first secretary. Then he invited from Rol skam to lDan yul the great master of dPyal ap'ags rgyal ba,⁷⁴⁴⁾ who consecrated his dwelling. His mother with her two elder sons asked to take the eight vows of lay devotees; he added to his first name the name of his master, being called from that time ap'ags pa dpal bzañ po; the younger brother assumed the name of ap'ags pa rin c'en; their mother, in the same way, that of Ma cig Lha mo sman. At this time ap'ags pa rin c'en had a vision of Ts'ogs kyi bdag po (Gaṇapati) gNod sbyin dbaṅ po. At the age of eighteen, in the year of the boar (1335), he went back once again to the residence (Sa skya). In the Lha k'aṅ bla brañ he met the master C'os kyi rgyal mts'an pa.

Having become his intimate⁷⁴⁵⁾ and having attended to the most important affairs, he urged that dGe bšes dGe aḍun rgyal mts'an of Roñ po might accept him in his retinue in the expedition against the Lho duñ,⁷⁴⁶⁾ (which he was preparing). At the age of twenty-three, in the year iron-dragon (1340), he went as a lay companion⁷⁴⁷⁾ (in the retinue) of dGe bšes, and in Lho duñ the enemies⁷⁴⁸⁾ were destroyed. In the seventh month of the year water-horse (1342)



he went back to the see to present propitiatory offerings for the deceased ⁷⁴⁹ dGe bšes. Then, while the bDag c'en Don yod rgyal mts'an was residing in the gŽi t'og, he gave propitiatory gifts to all, beginning with those honourable (lords). When he asked to occupy the place of the dGe bšes, the bDag c'en said to him: "Although you are worthy of being a *nañ c'en*, it is necessary that you go to conquer the Lho duñ ⁷⁵⁰ (4 a) and therefore he gave him the badges, ⁷⁵¹ diplomas and letters appointing him to replace the dGe bšes. At the age of twenty-five, in the year water-horse (1342), he went to bZaṅ yul. Among the four offices ⁷⁵² corresponding to the (four) sections in which Sa skya was divided, the dGe bšes dGe ḍun rgyal mts'an had that of Šar k'a; as he was appointed in his place he was exalted as the glorious Šar k'a pa. ⁷⁵³ Having conquered the Duñ reñ, ⁷⁵⁴ as the clergy and laymen were pacified, the Sa skya pa hierarch too had a high opinion of him; ⁷⁵⁵ in the year water-sheep (1343), when he was twenty-six, he founded the monastery of Šol bla tsam, where the excellent scholar, the mK'an c'en Rin c'en bsod nams bzaṅ po resided. Next he provided for a summer retreat for C'os luṅ ts'ogs pa. ⁷⁵⁶

At the age of thirty, in the year fire-boar (1347) (the Sa skya pa lama) of bŽi t'og gave him the investiture with the annexed letters-patent as administrator of Western Lho brag.

At he age of thirty-one, in the year of the mouse (1348) (4 b) he obtained from the chief of dBus and from the Šar k'a pa that they should have sincere intentions ⁷⁵⁷ towards each other. At thirty-three, in the year iron-tiger (1350), he married the dPon mo Pad ma, daughter of the sku žaṅ of Ža lu Kun dga' don grub, descended from the Hor; she was sixteen, having been born in the year wood-boar (1335), and the sku žaṅ gave him as his daughter's dowry the feud of lCaṅ ra, with its temple and sacred objects. And he named his younger brother ḍP'ags pa rin c'en administrator. ⁷⁵⁸ Then he provided for the C'os luṅ ts'ogs pa, which was the monastery chosen as the chief see by the great scholar Rin c'en gžon nu. In the year of the mouse (1360) he founded the temple of Lha rgyal dkar po in P'ag ri. In some writings we find that in the year of the dragon he founded Lhun grub rdsoṅ in Gam pa. ⁷⁵⁹ As the various traditions differ, the question is difficult to solve for those whose intelligence is scanty, but the wise, by comparing the indications of time and examining the dates (identify) those two (incomplete) references with the years iron-mouse and water-dragon (1352). If the eldest (of the two brothers) ḍP'ags pa, at the age of thirty-four and fifty-two really built (those two temples) it is befitting that the discernment of intelligent people should later investigate. (5 a) In the year water-dragon (1352) when he was thirty-five, he put his trust, as if they had been his chaplains, in the so-called four sections (of the Law), i. e. in the glorious lama of C'os luṅ ts'ogs, in that of Ts'ogs c'en, in that of dGe ḍun sgaṅ and in that of Bye rdsi ts'ogs, who preserved unaltered the tradition of the Kashmiri paṇḍita's ⁷⁶⁰ teaching. He presented them, as a sign of homage, with many

offerings. In that year he destroyed the Lho duñ in Rin c'en sgaṅ and in the environs of P'ag ri.

In the following year the Šar duñ ⁷⁶¹ led by Don grub dar, having vanquished the Gur minister of Grum pa and having asked to make an act of submission, it is said that he let them remain in his retinue. In the year wood-horse (1354) his younger brother ḍP'ags pa rin c'en pa went to Lho brag and conquered the Lho duñ and hence deserved well of dBus. In the year wood-goat (1355) he asked the lama of the Lha k'aṅ bla braṅ to appoint him administrator of mDol byuṅ, ⁷⁶² and he did so. When the eldest brother was forty, in the year fire-bird (1357), called according to the Indian system *gser ḍp'yaṅ*, ⁷⁶³ the lord of men Kun dga' ḍP'ags pa was born to him of Ma gcig pad ma, then twenty-three years of age, in lCaṅ ra.

(5 b) bDe yaṅs sbyaṅs's consecration was made in lCaṅ ra, in an ample manner, by masters at whose head was the all-knowing Buston rin po c'e; he asked for initiation and offered a maṇḍala in which had been employed nine *sras* of gold in all. In the year earth-dog (1358), to obtain permission to found a temple on the mountain of Šam bu rtse dgu, he sent (to the Chinese court) the dPa' si Mig pa Kun dga' dpal ba, ⁷⁶⁴ father and son, from lCaṅ ra, both retinue of Kar ma pa Raṅ ḍbyuṅ rdo rje, who was then going to the Chinese Emperor, ⁷⁶⁵ and with him C'os 'od. ⁷⁶⁶ In the year earth-boar (1359) Ma gcig Pad ma pa who had reached her twenty-fifth year, giving birth to a son, her karmic causes having matured, passed from this life. Hence he dedicated a statue of rJe btsun sgrol ma, made of silver according to the Indian style, its proportions having as their unity of measure the (dead woman's) thumb, decorated with all sorts of gems. When the elder brother reached the age of forty-three, that is in the year iron-mouse (1360) the T'ai dben (6 a) Blo gros rgyal mts'an conferred an office upon him and appointed him Nañ c'en of the bŽi t'og palace; hence he was called the Nañ c'en ḍP'ags pa dpal bzaṅ po. He took upon himself the offices of greater trust ⁷⁶⁷ in the bŽi t'og, in Lha c'en and in Lha rtse and great spiritual and material peace accrued to all men. In the year iron-elephant (1361), when the Nañ c'en was forty-four, he married the daughter of the dPon c'en dBaṅ p'yug dpal, named dPal ldan bSod nams ḍbum, celebrated under her other name of dPon mo c'en mo, from whom in the year of the hare (1363) was born the honourable Grags pa. ⁷⁶⁸ In the first month of the year wood-dragon (1364) the Tai dben Blo gros rgyal mts'an passed from this life and bDag po Kun dga' rin c'en of the bŽi t'og charged him to bring presents to sNeu gdon ⁷⁶⁹ saying that the *bśvi tu* Byaṅ (c'ub) rgyal (mts'an) and the Nañ c'en ḍP'ags pa were on good terms due to preceding relations; hence in the fourth month he set off. But the ācārya of gŽis k'ab rNam rgyal and C'en po Šes rab bzaṅ and the dPa' ši of Zad, dKon mc'og ⁷⁷⁰ plotted evil plans, and they told him that the *bśvi tu* Byaṅ rgyal ⁷⁷¹ was ill. ⁷⁷² The Nañ c'en ḍP'ags pa together with his followers was surrounded in Rin spuṅs, then led to ḍGrva p'yi ts'oṅ

adus, and his saintly behaviour which had been profitable to dBus and gTsañ was slandered.⁷⁷³⁾

Although some people devoid of any religious or civil decorum (tried to do him harm), through the grace of the Sa skya clan, beginning from the C'os rje, the glorious bla ma lofty bSod nams rgyal mts'an, through the mercy bestowed upon him by the three precious gems, through the merits of (his wife) the princess⁷⁷⁴⁾ and the regard he had shown for the ācārya of C'os lun ts'ogs and for the lama of Sa dbyuñ, due also to the unerring truth of the connection between cause and effect, to the cuirass of moral energy of his elder brother aP'ags pa rin c'en and of his other relatives residing in their fiefs and to the attachment⁷⁷⁵⁾ of his soldiers⁷⁷⁶⁾ for their chief (like the devoted layman of Yar klun, etc.) and to the performance of his duty, in which he had shown a perseverance beyond all imagination, through the combination of all these causes and good omens, on the fifteenth day of the ninth month, without receiving any damage, like a lotus flower issuing from the mud untouched by any sin, as if drawn by a silken rope,⁷⁷⁷⁾ he arrived through Roñ po, rDsa rgyab, P'o ma and rGyañ ro, etc.

In that same year, in the ascending fortnight, the dPa'ñi C'os 'od⁷⁷⁸⁾ arrived in sNa rims, bearing from the Mongol emperor T'o gan t'i mur, together with gifts, the diploma of Nañ c'en and the permission to build the temple on the Šam bu rtse dgu mountain. When the Nañ c'en reached the age of forty-eight, in the year, according to the Indian calendar, sNa ts'og dbyig,⁷⁷⁹⁾ that is in the year wood-snake (1365), he in accordance with good astrological conjunctions founded rTse c'en, mK'ar k'a, Lhun grub rtse in Pa snam, and particularly he laid the foundations of the great palace called rGyal mk'ar⁷⁸⁰⁾ rtse, which in ancient times was (the royal palace) of the mNa' bdag c'en po.⁷⁸¹⁾

(8 a) In this same year, from his marriage with the dPon mo c'en mo, was born he who is celebrated by the name of: great ascetic Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po, at the same time the son of the Nañ c'en aP'ags pa and of his brother. In the year fire-horse (1366) the Nañ c'en aP'ags pa dpal, who had reached his forty-first year, laid the foundations of the temple of rTse c'en and repaired the enclosure and the turret.⁷⁸²⁾

When the Nañ c'en aP'ags pa was fifty, in the year fire-goat (1367) he met in brGya groñ the daughter of the chiliarch of sMon agro dGe sñen pa and of bSam grub adsom, whose name was Byañ sems bzañ mo dpal, and as she was an uncommon being, as a sign that a bodhisattva would be born as her son, in that year the dpa'ñi dGon c'en arrived from the (imperial) Court, bearing from the Mongol king T'o gan t'i mur the title of *gyuñ lo ta bo t'ai svi tu*,⁷⁸³⁾ greater than that of *svi tu*, a crystal seal and the third gem with a golden tiger's head, the round golden patent,⁷⁸⁴⁾ gifts of foodstuffs and flasks,⁷⁸⁵⁾ the royal diploma investing him with the office of *t'u gon*,⁷⁸⁶⁾ from sKu ril t'og upwards and from Gañs ba bzañ po downwards, and on this side of aBri mts'ams⁷⁸⁷⁾ Gañs dkar po as his apanage,⁷⁸⁸⁾ soap⁷⁸⁹⁾ for the queen

and *shel ka*⁷⁹⁰⁾ for the prince and *zam dkon*⁷⁹¹⁾ for the minister, and the diploma of *du dben śa* of mNa' ris⁷⁹²⁾ for the younger brother aP'ags pa rin c'en.

When the C'os rje, the glorious, lofty blama bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal,⁷⁹³⁾ went to dBus, he begged him to perform the consecration of lCañ ra, and having invited those of the monastery of gNas rñiñ, the announcement of the diploma he had received was given. In that same year Hor bSod nams dpal was born.⁷⁹⁴⁾

(9 a) In the year earth-monkey (1368) Kun dga' dpal da ra k'a c'e⁷⁹⁵⁾ arrived; he had been invited by the Emperor, who had given him the diploma of "strengtheners,"⁷⁹⁶⁾ of the teaching, buttons⁷⁹⁷⁾ and cloth for his clothes, together with good presents of foodstuffs. In that same year he completed the temple of rTse c'en, the veranda with thirty-six pillars and the chapel with eight pillars. This bDag c'en t'ai bsvi tu died in his fifty-third year, in the year iron-dog (1370) on the fifth day of the first month, in his private room K'ra mo in rTse c'en.

After him his younger brother, aP'ags pa rin c'en *du dben śa*, with the purpose of accomplishing his elder brother's pure wishes as regards religion, offered many gifts to the monks of the monasteries of the upper and lower part of the gTsañ region, beginning with those of the great see (Sa skya).

(9 b) In the fifth month he founded the palace and the assembly-hall in the rTse c'en temple. In his fifty-second year, in the year iron-boar (1371) in the eighth month, he invited to the great monastery of rTse c'en the incomparable ña dpon Kun dga' dpal,⁷⁹⁸⁾ master and disciples, about six hundred persons in all; he begged him to become its abbot and he founded the school for the explanation of the Law, collecting there almost all the spiritual preceptors (*kalyāṇamitra*) of dBus, gTsañ and K'ams.⁷⁹⁹⁾ aP'ags pa *du dben śa*, at the age of fifty-three, in the year earth-mouse (1372) together with the dPon Kun dga' ap'ags pa, went on a visit⁸⁰⁰⁾ to the master's great residence, the glorious Sa skya, where he did perfect honour to all the family, beginning with Kun dga' rin c'en of the bŽi t'og and the four classes of dignitaries of the various palaces.⁸⁰¹⁾

(10 a) The dPa'ñi C'os 'od returned once more to the Chinese court; the king of the Mongols had (meanwhile) conferred upon him (viz. aP'ags pa) the office of *bsvi tu*, with the seal belonging to it.⁸⁰²⁾ He notified the diploma appointing him aP'ags pa rin c'en; hence his name was changed into that of aP'ags rin c'en *du dben śai druñ tai bsvi tu*. Having given to the honourable Kun dga' ap'ags pa (his nephew) the office of Nañ c'en and the diploma of *t'u gon*, he went back. In the year wood-hare (1375) in brGya groñ, Byañ sems bzañ mo dpal⁸⁰³⁾ bore aP'ags pa rin c'en's son; he had no rivals as a warrior and was the right honourable dBañ rgyal ap'ags pa.

(10 b) The *bsvi tu* aP'ags pa rin c'en, in the year fire-dragon (1376) at the age of fifty-seven, in the seventh month, passed away.

(11 a) The bDag c'en (Kun dga' ap'ags pa) at the age of twenty-three, in the year earth-sheep (1379) founded

the sPel mo c'e in mDol byuñ and appointed as administrator gNas brtan ap'el ba. At the age of twenty-eight in the year wood-mouse (1384) he made a census⁸⁰⁴ of the laymen and men of religion, of the families,⁸⁰⁵ of the Tibetans and of the aBrog pa, which was called "P'yi rabs p'an pai deb gter nag leb tu sñad pa grub,"⁸⁰⁶

At twenty-nine, in the year wood-elephant (1385) in the third month, the fiend of madness entered the brain of some men, but although there were insults and slander against the bDag c'en, nevertheless as the rays of the sun of his merits hurt the eyes⁸⁰⁷ of the evil birds living in the gloomy spaces, he blinded them. In the year fire-ox (1397) when he was forty-one, through the right honourable Hen du c'en po of Yar aBrog, (those who had injured him) asked for his grace and through his great compassion (10 b) they obtained it. This great lord of men, who caused the lotus garden of the created beings which are upon earth to prosper, completed the lofty temple of rGyal mk'ar rtse, called bSam ap'el rin po c'e.

(12 a) Having now to speak of the great saintly king's birth, we will say that he was conceived by his mother in the year earth-dragon (1388), and was born in the sixth month of the year earth-serpent (1389).

(13 b) From the master of dPyal Kun dga' rgya mts'o he obtained the name of Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa.

(14 b) At twenty, in the year earth-mouse (1408) called according to the Ind an system Kun aḍsin,⁸⁰⁸ on an order from his father, the saintly Nañ c'en Kun dga' ap'ags pa, he performed the ceremony prescribed by the religious calendar, to satisfy the wish of the bDag c'en and of his brother, and on this occasion, having assembled a great number of monks and laymen, honoured them by distributing (gifts) to each of them.

(16 a) In the year iron-hare (1421) in the ninth month, on the fifteenth day there was a great earthquake and Rin spuñs was destroyed; of many other towns and villages not even the name was left. In the year water-dragon (1412) when the bDag c'en (i. e. his father) was fifty-six, (16 b) in the second month he came to sBad gcod to give a feast⁸⁰⁹ for the arrival of the ambassadors who had come to invite the king of the Law of the great Vehicle on the king of China's part,⁸¹⁰ headed by Ta bžin; having offered great gifts to the Ta bžin and to his retinue of about five hundred persons, he went back. In the fifth month the saintly king of the Great Vehicle moved from his seat; he then went to meet the right honourable bSod nams dam pa and his nephew and offered great gifts, as it was fitting, and also said that his opinion concerning the teaching of the glorious Sa skya was (unchanged) as before, and advised him to take the Lha k'añ c'en mo.⁸¹¹ In this same year the bdag po c'en po (17 a), who was considered an incarnation of Gañs bzañ gnod sbyin, began to sicken, and although he received the grace of the blessing of the sku žañ the Lord of the Law⁸¹² and other masters, on the fifth day of the ninth month he passed from life in rGyal rtse in the Eastern hall.

After him, in the year water-dragon (1412) in the first month, in a well-omened astrological conjunction of planets and stars, the saintly lord of men, liberal towards the Buddhas' holy teaching, whose name was Kun tu bzañ, ascended his father's throne. (17 b) At the age of twenty-five, in this same year called rNam rgyal⁸¹³ according to the Indian calendar, he founded the feud of lCañ ra whose revenue were assigned to temples;⁸¹⁴ on this occasion he invited from Byañ his former lama, the Lord of the highest scholars, the Lord of the Law, the c'os rje dGe legs dpal, considered an incarnation of the ancient master, the great scholar and ascetic, Lhai dbañ po;⁸¹⁵ he was the chief of four hundred scholars, who had a thorough knowledge of the revelation and the sciences. Therefore he begged him to preside the religious ceremonies.⁸¹⁶

(18 a) Above all in this year (water-snake, 1413) in the fifth month, eighth day, five Ta bžin, departed from the great royal palace,⁸¹⁷ with a retinue of about five hundred persons, having at their head the Ha ho ta bžin⁸¹⁸ and the gSun ta bžin sent by the king of China, king Ye wañ, to invite the Lord of the Law the pañḍita Śrīśāriputra;⁸¹⁹ they were also directed to proclaim the (imperial) orders to many dignitaries of dBus and gTsañ, that is to give presents to the Lord of the Law T'eg c'en⁸²⁰ and to the Kar ma pa,⁸²¹ to erect (in the monastery of) mTs'ur pu⁸²² the golden pinnacle, to confer upon the bDag po of the bŽi t'og⁸²³ the title of Tai śrī, to the bDag po dBañ pa the diploma of dBañ,⁸²⁴ to his younger brother that of *gu śrī*, to the great abbot of sNar t'añ and to the great abbot of gNas rñin the brief appointing them *gu śrī*, to bSod nams dpal and to Grags pa dpal of Lho the diploma of *bsvi tu*, and what was necessary to whitewash the mc'od rten ap'ags pa šin k'un⁸²⁵ and the diploma authorizing him of dBus to reside in the great temple.⁸²⁶ At this time, in the twelfth month, they arrived.

(18 b) The saintly king with his brother, to receive the imperial edict, went into the palace,⁸²⁷ and he had the Ta bžin escorted from Ts'oñ aḍus. On the fifteenth day the diploma was notified to him and he assumed the name of *gYun lo ho ta bsvi tu*⁸²⁸ Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa. They gave him many gifts, beginning from the seal, made of a great silver *bre*,⁸²⁹ the use of red stamps⁸³⁰ began in this year.

The younger brother Rab abyor bzañ po had the seal investing him with the office of *nañ c'en*. After having distributed other gifts also, the Ta bžin went to invite the lord of the Law, the pañḍita residing in Byañ.⁸³¹ Although in some documents it is said that the edict quoted above was proclaimed in the year of the horse (1414), in the second month, these (data) of ours seem exact.

At the age of twenty-six, in the year wood-horse (1414) the saintly king built on the great river Nañ c'u an extraordinary bridge, having in the centre six arcades⁸³² and mc'od rten of the type called of the Bodhisattva, through whose middle the road passed.

(19 a) To meet the pañḍita famous under the name of Śākyaśrī Śāriputra mahāsvāmin,⁸³³ who was coming, invited by the Ta bžin, the saintly king

went to aDol c'un; the monks residing in the various monasteries of lower Nān went to meet and honour that master with great ceremonies and processions.⁸³⁴⁾ He then invited him into the temple of lCan ra where, as above, he was greatly honoured by the monks of upper (Nān) beginning with those of gNas rñin.

(20 a) In that year the saintly king of the Great Vehicle came from China and the notable⁸³⁵⁾ uncle and nephew from the upper and lower palace, came⁸³⁶⁾ to the palace (of Gyantse). He invited the C'os rje to rGyan gon⁸³⁷⁾ and honoured him with the greatest homage and veneration, and the latter, extremely satisfied, returned to the great see (of Sa skya).

(24 a) In the year earth-boar (1419) when the saintly king was thirty-one, in the month Caitra, on the day of the great feast established by the fundamental tantra of the Kālacakra, he consecrated a tanka on woven stuff, made of twenty-three bolts of light golden silken material.⁸³⁸⁾

Having been begged by the notable Nān c'en Rab abyor bzañ po to consecrate the most important objects of cult, the bDag po dBaṅ Nam mk'a' legs came to sTag rtse and on that occasion spoke thus to the saintly king: "I want you to become the chief⁸³⁹⁾ of my second see Lha rtse rdson „. Therefore in the third month of the year wood-dragon (1424) he departed⁸⁴⁰⁾ and in the great see (of Sa skya) having informed the Lord of the Law of the Great Vehicle of the matter, he took possession of Lha rtse; the great temple (Lha k'añ c'en po) was also entrusted to him.⁸⁴¹⁾

(26 a) In the year wood-snake (1425) when the saintly king was thirty-seven years old, he consecrated in the centre of this great monastery⁸⁴²⁾ the lama's vast palace, filled with sacred emblems of the verbal spiritual and physical plane; on the upper floor of the convent he built his private cell, called gSer po mk'a' spyod; outside the temple a wall encircling it, which measured two hundred gžu⁸⁴³⁾ on each side, ornamented with sixteen turrets, round which ran the circumambulation with great gates on the North and South, and a couple of gates both on the East and West, namely six gates in all.

(27 a) At the age of thirty-nine, in the year fire-sheep (1427) on the tenth day of the *purvāṣāda* (July), the constellation *rgyal* and the planet *pur bu*⁸⁴⁴⁾ being in a perfect and extraordinary conjunction, in a well-omened day he consecrated the bKra šis sgo mañ.⁸⁴⁵⁾

(28 a) When the saintly king was forty-two, in the year sheep-dog (1430) in the eleventh month, the honourable slob dpon Kun dga' rgyal mts'an pa,⁸⁴⁶⁾ having abandoned the heap of his particular desires, died.

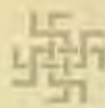
(30 a) In the year of the mouse (1432) in the summer the saintly king consecrated an image of this protecting deity, made of woven material, representing a great figure of the Buddha, which as soon as created beings see it, frees them from the pain of evil destinies. Its back was also made of woven material. (30 b) In the year earth-horse (1438) in the fourth month, on the day of the full moon (in conjunction) with the constellation *sa ga*,⁸⁴⁷⁾ being the thirteenth day of the month, as the great feast came round which commemorates

Śākyamuni's attainment of supreme enlightenment, the ceremony of consecration, in its three moments: preparation, essential liturgy and conclusive liturgy, was performed by the sku žaṅ, the c'os rje Nam mk'a' mc'og grub dpal bzañ po's chief disciple that is by the C'os rje P'yogs las rnam rgyal⁸⁴⁸⁾ and by the great lama Tsan ta pa etc.

In Rin c'en rtse she who was known by the name of Byaṅ sems bzañ ña pa,⁸⁴⁹⁾ in the year wood-hare (1435), in the eleventh month passed from life.

(33 a) The great Lord of the earth, the saintly king Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa,⁸⁵⁰⁾ at the age of fifty-one, in the year earth-sheep (1439), i. e. according to the Indian calendar, in the year called *Don grub*,⁸⁵¹⁾ as the crops had been damaged by the weather, renewed the blocks of the *dhāraṇī* included in the four great Tantras, which had been collected by that second omniscient, Bu ston, in whose essential nature all virtues are united, the greatest among all scholars, corrected them and put them together in the form of books; then of the *dhāraṇīs*, which were not included therein, but were to be found in the original Tantras, he made a new collection, called of the hundred-thousand *dhāraṇī*, and that the gem of the teaching might endure and prosper for a long time, he had them cut in *kalpadruma* wood.

(34 a) This king, extremely generous towards the sacred teaching, at the age of fifty-two, in the year iron-ape (1440) built chapels⁸⁵²⁾ in the centre of the great monastery of dPal ak'or sde; he built the mc'od rten, he erected turrets and encircling walls, he consecrated religious objects, dedicated to the three planes: physical, verbal and spiritual; he further built dwellings for the monks who explain the Law and who give themselves to ascetic practices, nevertheless he did not oppress his subjects. To let them breathe or to comfort them, he published an exemption from any new tax⁸⁵³⁾ for three years, as follows: (34 b) "Be it well. By the king's order⁸⁵⁴⁾ (this) is the word of the *tai svi tu* Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa: to lay officers, to administrators of the interior, to married people, to young and old, to officials, to ecclesiastical communities, to nobles,⁸⁵⁵⁾ to the lay community, to the lower classes it is proclaimed. Since last year the supply of labour⁸⁵⁶⁾ for the construction of the monastery has continued without interruption. Those who have worked on it, as regards good deeds, have obtained an exceedingly great merit. (35 a) Although the compulsory supply of work (as a service) to the State, the requirements of the Government⁸⁵⁷⁾ and its defence are very important, nevertheless it is also true that you have been afflicted for a long time with various sorts of work, and I am grateful to you for it. Then you have suffered greatly from the tax-collectors.⁸⁵⁸⁾ Therefore, beginning from New Year's day, there will be a three years' exemption. As the happiness derived from the propagation of the Buddha's teaching depends upon those who have it in their keeping, the works of spiritual preceptors (*kalyāṇamitra*), the energy displayed in hearing, reflecting, explaining, realizing the doctrine, the fact that zeal



for the study (of that same doctrine) is considered fundamental, all these have a great value.

"This is so by virtue of the safe rules which define the acts that must be performed and those that must be shunned by a person consecrated into the order; such a person must not follow a way of life like that of common people, who only think about eating and drinking. Those who honour the various convents and the holy hermitages, both the summer and the winter ones, and the three Gems in general and those who respect the ten rules or do homage to the monks and those who to temples of their own land, (35 b) to the mc'od rten and to the walls on which the prayer, "om mani padme hūm,, is written⁸⁵⁹⁾ etc., make presents of clothes, give offerings to whitewash them,⁸⁶⁰⁾ lamps⁸⁶¹⁾ and little flags and perform the religious services prescribed by the calendar, let them be diligent. Let hunting be always forbidden in the mountains and valleys; on the three feasts of the first and second fortnight of each month⁸⁶²⁾ and in the first, third, fourth and eighth month according to the Mongol calendar, from the first to the fifteenth day, as the great festivals of the Buddha then take place, be it forbidden to kill animals. Let no fresh meat be introduced into the kitchen, nor shall the aBrog pa, on those dates, come to do business in meat.⁸⁶³⁾ Let poachers catch no antelopes in mountains and valleys and let hunters⁸⁶⁴⁾ not kill any living creature; let no one fish.

"To families, lay and religious communities, taxpayers,⁸⁶⁵⁾ foreigners,⁸⁶⁶⁾ tributes, excepting these new taxes for war and defence, to be paid in the autumn, called "the flesh tax,, and those recorded in the book of government taxes, and the minor tithes⁸⁶⁷⁾ fixed according to the calendar, all other sorts of taxes are condoned.

(36 a) "The yearly contribution called "contribution on tea and condiments,,⁸⁶⁸⁾ due to the palace,⁸⁶⁹⁾ which is a new imposition of my (reign), this year let it be reduced by one third, next year by one half and from the year of the dog (1442) let it be completely abolished and let it not be exacted by the chief treasurer.⁸⁷⁰⁾ Not more than a small bag⁸⁷¹⁾ of butter of the first quality,⁸⁷²⁾ due to the palace,⁸⁷³⁾ or more than a measure of one *ñag*⁸⁷⁴⁾ of butter for each *srañ* of wool shall be exacted. Let there no longer be anyone who takes wool after having taken butter; the books⁸⁷⁵⁾ of the government taxes and also the lists⁸⁷⁶⁾ of the escorts to be supplied from time to time by laymen, let them be passed on to the administrator (*gñer pa*). As there were some who arbitrarily seized the village people and the servants attached to the horses of the great stables,⁸⁷⁷⁾ let the *gñer pa* now set aside two men.⁸⁷⁸⁾ They should not be taken⁸⁷⁹⁾ at random; exactions of oil for the night, bridles, halters, leather saddles⁸⁸⁰⁾ should be ordered by the first or second *gñer pa*, but cannot be exacted directly from private people.

"Officials who travel on their own account,⁸⁸¹⁾ let them not force people (to serve them) on a long journey; let not victuals, supplies of meat, enforced labour on stages or stages over (what is necessary) be taken.⁸⁸²⁾

"Let the collection of taxes⁸⁸³⁾ not be delegated to (one's own) *gñer pa*.⁸⁸⁴⁾ Let herds of yak belonging to

private persons, either Tibetans or aBrog pa, which have already been subjected to enforced labour, not be employed;⁸⁸⁵⁾ if anyone does so, denounce him⁸⁸⁶⁾ and lead him to the palace.

"Let the various officials and *mi dpon* and centurions control what has been given by the lay community to the two *gñer pa*, one of the first and one of the second rank.

"Let officials not accept bribes;⁸⁸⁷⁾ when collecting taxes let them not collect new taxes at their own pleasure, nor let collectors be delegated different (from those officially charged with the collection of taxes).

"Among all the *gñer pa*, those of the first and second rank (excepted those appointed to look after government taxes, and taxes on meat), the various *gñer pa* of the *rdson* and the feuds, the *gñer pa* of remote countries and all the nobles,⁸⁸⁸⁾ are not authorized to make use of the (government) seal.⁸⁸⁹⁾ If they do so, let officials and lay communities pay no attention (to their orders).

"All the loads coming from P'ag ri, Gam pa, Lha rtse, Rin c'en rtse etc., let them be distributed on the various stages, as it is written on the letters accompanying them, stamped by the *gñer pa*. All these loads (37) must not be deposited untidily to the right and left of the open space near the royal palace. Let the man who walks behind the loads see that nothing is wrong. Let the *gñer pa* not send loads at their own pleasure, or to do favours.⁸⁹⁰⁾ Those who have (on their land) sources of warm water, let them not plant (hedges of) thorny plants uphill;⁸⁹¹⁾ let them not take tips.

"Those who go to (gather) green forage and wheat, and all the horsemen who come and go, according to the number of horses stated in the letter issued from this (palace),⁸⁹²⁾ let them not exact more esquires than those thus prescribed, as more than one esquire every two horses is not allowed. Do not let them take corn⁸⁹³⁾ and flour,⁸⁹⁴⁾ let them lead the horses on the highroad and not through pathways.⁸⁹⁵⁾ Let those who accompany the horses not take (pay over what is owed to them) for the (established) stages,⁸⁹⁶⁾ according to what has been written on the letter. Let them not take either supplies in kind or the pay of those who go on foot. All the horses on the up-hill road, going upwards, let them stop for one day in Son nañ⁸⁹⁷⁾ and on the way back, under Glan lun; let them not stop in other places at their pleasure. In K'yal k'yil mo do not send for people to look after horses or to attend to sheep. Beyond that place, let no more than three servants for horses and one for mules be obliged to serve; let nobles and helots not become collectors of taxes one for the other; let the government tax⁸⁹⁸⁾ not be exacted from the houses and fields to which there is an heir, when the master is dead.

"Roving dogs, highwaymen, armed quarrels, be not a motive for offence. If there be a man who seriously breaks the rules of good conduct, let him be taken and led to the Nañ so, and let him be punished⁸⁹⁹⁾ according to the Mongol law. Let rich

laymen and monks, up to this year, not take more than four or five measures.⁹⁰⁰ Know how to ask⁹⁰¹ for loans of more than three years' standing and how to take them. Do not be envious⁹⁰² of those who are above you. Those who have been invested with government offices and have been entrusted with golden letters, let them not be bribed⁹⁰³ with money; let the *mi dpon* not exact from lay communities yaks and asses for transport. Let the offerings of tea for governors, on their arrival and departure, and the use of free compliments⁹⁰⁴ requested by the various officials, like stuff and condiments, be reduced.

(38 a) "On the death of an official, let his heirs⁹⁰⁵ not succeed to the post he occupied; let tolls not be paid to anyone according to old custom, under the pretext that they were formerly paid, and let no contributions of foodstuffs⁹⁰⁶ be paid which are not prescribed by the law (lit.: arbitrary).

"Those who have gone elsewhere in order not to pay tribute,⁹⁰⁷ let them be called back, and let their houses and fields be given back to them; if the house is ruined,⁹⁰⁸ he who remains to live in it must repair it. The fields of lay communities must not be taken by anyone, neither by laymen nor by priests nor by anyone of the free subjects.⁹⁰⁹ To those who have emigrated and have then been called back, let taxes be condoned for one year, and in the following year let one half be condoned to them. This is the rule to be followed; be diligent in various manners in performing the duties proper to those who stay in this country. Let village elders not impose taxes without reason. Let government taxes be impartial as regards men, beasts and land. As it is written in the inscription on the main gate, let asses⁹¹⁰ not be requisitioned for transport for a longer time daily than that laid down before. All the Bande and the exorcists and the Bon, let them be zealous, each in the virtues of his own religion: do not be greedy of flesh and animals' blood. Do not harbour the false opinion that it is not a sin to eat the flesh of slaughtered animals. In the banquets given for being restored to health and on the occasions of deaths do not kill animals. Know how to give and how to receive alms and try to keep to a just measure. If any of the free subjects⁹¹¹ goes against the present ordinance, let them think that they have taken no account of me. Through compassion for the three Gems with which we all take refuge, let every other merit be accomplished according to our wish.

"This order of exemption will meet with success; so that your bodies and spirits may be in perfect condition, be zealous in the two sorts of acts, civil and religious.

"Written in rGyal rtse, on the fifth day of the first month according to the Mongol system, of the year iron-ape (1440). May it be good and well-omened,,"

(40 a) When the saintly king was fifty-three, in the year iron-bird (1551) he obtained the supreme realization of the glory of his merits; in fact, so that the two accumulations of good, moral and intellectual, might be strengthened in the spirit of his father, the noble Nan c'en Kun dga' ap'ags pa, and of his mother bZan mo dpal, and of his younger brother the Nan

c'en Rab abyor bzan po, and to purify the stains and the karmic propensities in the spirit of Byan sems Kun dga' rgyal mo, Byan sems Rin c'en pa and Byan sems bzan pa,⁹¹² so that all of them might finally obtain supreme enlightenment, and with the purpose that all the monks should have uninterrupted honours, he assigned (as a lasting endowment) for the ceremony he had established, the feud of Gar spe in rGyañ ro, with land sufficient for eighty-five measures of seed, and a hundred and fifty sacks of butter of the first quality,⁹¹³ made in the pastures of upper and lower Nañ, the territories belonging to the religious community of 'U brag and the aBrog pa of dGe gsar; he made the census of the crops of the feud of gYe dmar;⁹¹⁴ furthermore he assigned from sGo gsum in P'ag ri a hundred and fifty small bags of molasses,⁹¹⁵ and from Rin c'en rtse and from K'a spe all that was needed for three days; all this was recorded in his registers.⁹¹⁶

(43 a) To cleanse the stains that might have remained on the spirit of his father the Nan c'en Kun dga' ap'ags and of his mother, and in brief with the object that all created beings might complete the double accumulation of merit, he vouchsafed protection and safety (to all) for the time (of his life) and forever in the future (taking the following measures):⁹¹⁷

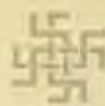
"For subjects, it is generally and severely forbidden to hunt in mountains and valleys; it is particularly forbidden to fish in any manner;⁹¹⁸ the fishes of the Sel mgo source are protected; it is forbidden to build dykes on lake dKar la.⁹¹⁹

"Particularly let the prohibitions existing for K'a stod in aBri mts'ams and the prohibition to hunt in the valleys (of the same place) (be restored), let the dykes of mTs'o mo dri mt'un⁹²⁰ be repaired. Furthermore, let all monks be held in veneration; let fishes be ransomed from fishers.⁹²¹ The single ordinances hereby issued to forbid hunting on the mountains are particularly valid for the present and must be considered valid forever in the future. Let the spiritual advisers, the lamas of the different monasteries, the various responsible dPon, married people, the old and the young, merchants, centurions etc. have faith and be zealous to observe these orders,,"

(45 a) This king, as famous as the sun and the moon, both in China⁹²² and in Tibet, Tai bsvi tu Rab brtan kun bzan ap'ags pa, in the year water-dog, 1442, beginning from the first day of the second month according to the Mongol calendar, showed in what manner one falls ill.⁹²³

(45 b) On the twelfth day of the fourth month, at noon, when there was a conjunction with me bz'i⁹²⁴ (46) he showed in what manner perfect nirvāṇa is entered.

(47 a) The great lord of men, the celebrated Nan c'en Kun dga' ap'ags pa, at the age of thirty-three, in the year of the water and the ape, (1392) married from K'añ gsar's family in Ža lu the venerable rGyal mts'an rdor ba,⁹²⁵ and in the year wood-boar (1395) on the first day of the first month, was born the great protector of the earth, who grew by virtue of infinite well-omened (*bkra šis*) auspices, and was the lord of marvellous and noble (*ap'ags pa*)⁹²⁶ riches; being



possessed of the virtues of heroism, skill and wisdom, he freed his regency from the fear of enemies.

Without transgressing, even for a moment, the orders of his saintly father, who with his elder brother, protected the earth according to the law, at the age of twenty-four, in the year earth-dog (1418) he married Byaṅ sems c'en mo Ṇi ma k'ye dren, who possessed all the prefections proper to one born into a noble family. In the first part of the year fire-sheep (1427) in a perfect conjunction represented by the well-omened meeting of planets and stars, in Nor bu k'yuṅ rtse, which was like a second royal palace, the great lord of men possessing lasting glory (Rab tu brtan pa dpal ldan) was born.⁹²⁷⁾ (48) His father (bKra šis ap'ags pa), at the age of forty, in the year wood-tiger (1434) in the third month, with a great army, went North of gTsaṅ po and passed into the gorge of Bya bzaṅ, guided by aBroḡ dbur. In the fourth month he took the rdson of Gro bdud la, then having crossed the river he arrived in sNa dkar. Then through gNam, Ka pa, brTsigs pa etc. he returned. In the seventh month he led the army in dBus, to help the lord of Goṅ mk'ar, and defeated the lord of rTse t'aṅ. The army of the myriarchy of the prince of sNe gdon arrived close to Lhun grub rtse, in the environs of Dol, and placed two large cannons in sPe dkar. At the moment when that place was to be conquered he, possessing the virtues of heroism and firmness, attacked the camp and set fire to the myriarch's cannons. The camp, since morning, was about to flee:⁹²⁸⁾ beaten on every side, the men were completely destroyed. After this most of the sNel officers⁹²⁹⁾ were sent back. He with his followers went back through Goṅ mk'ar and on the 25th of the eleventh month he returned to rGyal mkar' rtse. Those who resided in his feuds, from aP'ran rin to the palace, went to meet him with many processions, and blessed him, carrying (outside the temple) the great image worked on woven material. Briefly, the great army of him of dBus had formerly come to gTsaṅ to meet him, then it went back, so that if there was anyone who obscured the P'ag gru armies with the majesty of his fourfold army, it was precisely this prince.

(49 a) Also when he was forty-two, in the year fire-dragon (1436) in the second month he founded the temple of K'aṅ gzar in sPeu,⁹³⁰⁾ and in the year earth-horse (1438) when he was forty-two, in the autumn, he took dGuṅ mk'ar.

(50) At the age of fifty, in the year wood-mouse (1444) and at fifty-one, in the year wood-ox (1445), he again made a survey⁹³¹⁾ of the lands belonging to the officers, the families, the nobles, the monasteries, of the territory under his sway, the upper and lower part (of Ṇaṅ). To the feuds belonging to convents he added other lands, to complete those already assigned by the saintly king. Furthermore he separately laid down the partition of those feuds from which requisitions for the war⁹³²⁾ should be drawn. At the age of fifty-three, in the year fire-hare (1447) he placed his son, who was twenty-one, on the throne and invested him with power.

(51 a) The son of this great lord of men was celebrated all over the earth under the name of bKra šis rab brtan bzaṅ po and was like another saintly king (i. e. like Kun bzaṅ ap'ags pa).

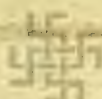
(52) When this great protector of the earth was twenty-six, in the year water-ape, (1452) in the eleventh month according to the Mongol calendar, on the top of the chapel where the great bodhisattva is, he consecrated a large flag called bkra' šis dpal abar.

(55 a) When this representative of the saintly king was forty-four, in the year water-dragon (1437), the wife of this protector of the world⁹³³⁾ touched the immaculate lotus (of the feet) of many supreme blamas, learned, venerable and able, headed by the great ascetic Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po.⁹³⁴⁾ On the top of the chapel of the saintly king, the Eastern chapel, in this great monastery (of Gyantse), he offered a gañjira made of precious substances, in the Indian style, ornamented with three iron chains; according to the saintly king's wish he had painted, with delicate colours, the heavens⁹³⁵⁾ adorning this chapel.

(62 a) ... He who, uniting in his person every sort of well-omened quality (bkra šis), and persevering in them (rab brtan), had the name of dPal abyor bzaṅ po,⁹³⁶⁾ like the miraculous gem which realizes every desire, possesses the capacity of granting the wishes of the beings subject to him. He is the one who firmly places his feet on the glory of my merits and the merits of all his subjects.

(64) So I have collected together all that could be gathered concerning the narrative of the deeds of the saintly king: incalculable deeds, accomplished (for the glory) of the Victorious's teaching and brought to an end according to his precepts. Although it is not easy to relate them, nevertheless, to tell at least a part of them a distinction must be made between a) the introduction on his manner of practising the precepts of the Law, and b) the subject proper, i. e. his biography (so that) the mind may understand it. The latter consists in setting down a summary, after having gathered in their appropriate place the subjects to be treated. Lastly c) the conclusion, consisting in that final ornament of the vow, that the merit thus acquired may benefit other created beings. Having obtained reflections, so wonderful that they go beyond the thought, of some waves of the saintly king's deeds, like the biography entitled "rNam par t'ar pa rin po c'e p'reṅ ba skyes dgu mdsad par byed pai mgul rgyan...", setting out the eighteen perfect main narratives, the eighteen secondary perfect narratives of the enterprises of the prince who governed by force, the great Tai bsvi tu Rab brtan kun bzaṅ ap'ags pa, now the Śa kya monk, aJigs med grags pa, he of great doctrine, known by the title of P'yogs t'ams cad rnam par rgyal ba, has set forth in a new form his deeds and words.

Furthermore, he took as his foundation authoritative documents⁹³⁷⁾ of all times, relating the king's great virtues, and also the works of the reverend, right honourable Nam mk'a' mgon and of others who obtained reflections of intelligence and in the second place (the memory) of various aspects of perfect works,



as his were, aiming at a double purpose, religious and moral, particularly the guide of the great temple and the guide of the mC'od rten dedicated to his protecting deities, the sKu ḅum which liberates those who simply see it.

As to the things which might not be contained in those sources, or might be there with an admixture of error, after having well considered and examined documents deserving⁹³⁷⁾ of belief, he arranged them in such a manner that they might be accepted.

As to the way of relating the series of deeds, everything that has appeared to his mind or that he has reflected upon, is free from exaggeration or

disparagement, and has been put into a proper order with the purpose of serving, some day, to obtain supreme enlightenment. This book *Dad pai lo t'og rgyas byed dños grub kyi c'ar ḅebs*, was begun in the year earth-boar (1479) in Nor bu k'yuñ rtse, which is a second royal palace, and its composition was ended in the year iron-ox (1481) in which no calamities of any kind, like maladies or conflicts, took place; in the eighth month according to the Mongol calendar, when fruit trees ripen and prosper, on the fifteenth day of the full moon, in the month of *bhadra*. The copyists were rDo rje ts'e brtan and bSod nams bkra šis. May it be well.

ŽA LU DOCUMENTS

I

By the King's order,
the words of Ye šes rin c'en Ti šri,⁹³⁸⁾
to the officers and elders⁹³⁹⁾ of village communities formerly subject to mGon po dpal, a command:

As mGon po dpal has been appointed over you, the Emperor having conferred upon him the golden letter and the diploma, you all must obey mGon po dpal.

Without fleeing elsewhere and without subjecting yourselves to others,⁹⁴⁰⁾ but remaining in your countries, you must execute at the fitting time the various injunctions prescribed by the law

mGon po dpal too, due to the fact that he has been invested by me must not do anything against custom and, without thinking whether they are near or far, he must protect the people. Thus having commanded, this official document has been issued.

The letter has been written in the palace of Šaṅ to in the year of the tiger, on the first day of the seventh month.⁹⁴¹⁾

II

By the King's order,
the words of Grags pa 'od zer Ti šri⁹⁴²⁾
to the chiliarchy centuries and decurionates of the lay communities subject to Western Ža lu, namely to the lay communities included in the territories of Ra sa, Ma ṅag, lCegs luñ pa, sMon agro ḅGre ts'al, Ra sog, Bye liñ, lCañ ra, Yan, sGrol,⁹⁴³⁾ a command:

The Emperor of China has given to mGon po dpal both the golden letter and the diploma (*gja' sa*) so that he was invested with power over you. He has also been invested by me with the same office; hence you must execute, at the fitting time, the various injunctions of the royal law, according to mGon po dpal's words.

mGon po dpal too, due to the fact that he has been invested by me, must protect the lay communities,

without thinking whether they be far or near,⁹⁴⁴⁾ without asking the advice of *svon bu si* officials, beginning with Ag len and Ya vas o k'ol⁹⁴⁵⁾ and without doing anything contray to custom.

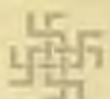
Written in the royal palace of Šaṅ to, in the year of the sheep, on the eighteenth day, in the second part of the fourth month.⁹⁴⁶⁾

III

By the King's order,
the words of Rin c'en rgyal mts'an Ti šri;⁹⁴⁷⁾
to the officials of the *son bu si* class of gTsañ and dBus, to the generals, soldiers, to district-guards, to judges, to tax-collectors, to those who go and come, to the myriarchs, to dignitaries, to those who fatten zoos and horses, to the *gho luñ pa*⁹⁴⁸⁾, to the religious and to the lay communities a command:

According to the previous diplomas do not abuse your authority nor cheat the religious and lay communities included in the territory of rGya mts'o gñis subject to rDor rje dbaṅ p'yug, the families, chiefs (*sde pa*), wings officials (*ru dpon*), wing men,⁹⁴⁹⁾ let no taxes be collected nor any foodstuff and forced labour be exacted which did not formerly exist; let no zoos and horses be fattened at anyone's will. Exercising violence against religious and lay communities, do not seize what you want. All that has been taken before, let it be restored. Let not false charges be brought by force.⁹⁵⁰⁾ According to the Emperor's command let there be no quarrels concerning old taxes, old affairs⁹⁵¹⁾ and old cases. Thus having been commanded this official document was issued.

If any one will act otherwise than it is written in this letter, he will be led to justice; and he (rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug) also, because he has the letter, let him not act against the law. In the year of the dragon on the twenty-third day of the fifth month, in Šaṅ to this letter has been written.⁹⁵²⁾



IV

By the King's order,
the words of Sañs rgyas dpal Ti šri⁹⁵³⁾
to generals, soldiers, judges, to those having golden letters, to district officers, to district guards, to dignitaries, interpreters,⁹⁵⁴⁾ tax collectors and those who go on horseback, to all the lay communities, a command:

From the religious communities subject (to the territory) of Western Ža lu, who officiate to heaven⁹⁵⁵⁾ and persist in (practices) according to custom, by the Emperor's order, let no taxes for military purposes,⁹⁵⁶⁾ foodstuffs, compulsory labour be levied, and let the taxes (paid by) other religious communities not be collected.

Let no contributions in nature nor commercial taxes⁹⁵⁷⁾ be collected. Let temples and houses not be requisitioned as hostels.⁹⁵⁸⁾ Let zoos and horses not be fattened.

Let pack-horses not be taken for compulsory service. Let there be no mass requisition (by exaction of sheep and flocks) of cattle, and let no loans be exacted violently.⁹⁵⁹⁾ Let no agricultural implements and asses be carried off.

From the feuds, which were under its authority⁹⁶⁰⁾ before, let nothing whatever be carried off, neither water, nor earth, nor grass, etc.⁹⁶¹⁾ Let not duties be exacted, let false charges not be brought and let power not be used to excess; let them be at peace.

Thus having commanded, this official document was issued. If, having seen the letters, anyone should act otherwise, I will tell the Emperor and he will be led to justice. He also, let him not act against the law because he has the letters. This letter was written in the great monastery of the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the sheep, on the nineteenth day of the seventh month.

V

By the King's order,
the words of Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan⁹⁶²⁾ po Ti šri,

to officials of the *svon vi se* class of gTsañ, dBus and mNa' ris skor gsum, to the generals, soldiers, holders of golden letters, monks and laymen who go and come⁹⁶³⁾ to tax-collectors, to the dignitaries,⁹⁶⁴⁾ to those having a seal, to the treasurer, to those who fatten zoos and horses, to officials of the territory, to the lay community, I command:

Let subjects perform the ceremonies in the Emperor's honour, offer lamps and pay taxes in an appropriate measure, as they have been fairly fixed by the *svon vi svi* officials with 'Od zer señ ge⁹⁶⁵⁾ at their head and to stay at ease according to custom. Let none of you abuse his power,⁹⁶⁶⁾ let him not collect taxes greater (than the established sum), let him not fatten zoos and pack-horses (*rta ma*), let him not hunt gazelles or catch fishes,⁹⁶⁷⁾ but let him leave them in peace. Thus having commanded, this official document was issued. If, once the letter has been seen, anyone acts otherwise, I will tell the Emperor and you will be led to

justice.⁹⁶⁸⁾ And this man too ('Od zer señ ge) because he has the letter, let him not act against the law.

In the year of the dragon, on the eight day of the fourth month, in the great monastery of the Tai tu royal palace.⁹⁶⁹⁾

VI

By the King's order,
the words of Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po Ti šri:

to the officials of *svon vi svi* rank, to generals, soldiers, administrators of the *nañ so*, to judges, holders of golden letters, chiefs of districts, laymen and monks who collect taxes and go and come, to myriarchs, to dignitaries, a command:

From the religious communities dwelling on this land and from the lay communities, the wing officials and the wing men, existing in the territory formerly subject to Ža lu, namely sMon gro rje mc'od, Gya pa, Ru ats'ams, rGya ts'o gñis, sGrol, Yan, Mon k'an Ts'os lde, sNo ser, Kun dga' ra ba, Tse' ts'a btsad po, Še mts'ur, aT'on bu mda', mTs'ur p'u, aDo' dgon pa, according to the order (contained) in the imperial diplomas, let no taxes be collected, nor any foodstuff and forced labour, which did not formerly exist. Let nothing be stolen by force, let no duties be exacted, let anger not (be given way to) to the point of bringing false charges,⁹⁷⁰⁾ let no violence be done, let herds of cattle not be requisitioned, let zoos and horses not be fattened. Let mills (where roasted barley is ground) not be compelled to work by force.

According to the Emperor's command, let there be no quarrels concerning old taxes, old affairs⁹⁷¹⁾ and old cases. Let religious and lay communities belonging to this (territory of Ža lu) not be carried off by force, into subjection⁹⁷²⁾ and slavery.

Do not take possession (by force) of what you need. All that has been taken before, let it be restored so that the territorial division in centuries and chiliarchies may not be infringed; do not misabuse your authority,⁹⁷³⁾ or cause grievances,⁹⁷⁴⁾ let (all) be in peace. Thus having been commanded, this official document was issued. After having seen this letter, will you not fear to do anything against it? Let him also not do anything against the law.

This letter has been written in the great monastery Me t'og ra ba, in the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the bird, on the twelfth day of the fourth month.⁹⁷⁵⁾

VII

By the King's order,
the words of Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po Ti šri to all the officials of the *svon vi si* class, to the generals, soldiers, chiliarchs, centurions, decurions to the lay community of Ra ts'a ma ñag, Mon k'a Lugs t'an abrog, C'os stañ ma, lCags pan, sGrol, Ra svogs, Ji liñ, lCañ ra, mK'ar p'ug, Kun dga' ra ba, Ru ats'ams, rNams gal lde, Gya ba, aTs'ur p'u, Ts'e ts'a btsad po, subject to Western Ža lu, a command:

The great golden letter and the diploma have been given by the Emperor to rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug; so tha

he has been invested with power over you; accordingly he has also been invested with the same office by me too, hence you must execute, at the fitting time, the various injunctions of the law, according to rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug words.

Furthermore let rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug, due to the fact that he has (thus) been appointed by me not act against the law, but let him well and justly protect the religious and lay communities.

Thus having commanded, this official document was issued.

Shall you not fear, if you act in an opposite manner?

In the year of the ox, on the 10th day of the 30th month. In the royal palace of Tai tu this letter was written.⁹⁷⁵⁾

VIII

By the King's order,
the words of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po Ti šri's⁹⁷⁷⁾

to the officials of *Svon vi si* of gTsaṅ and dBus to the administrators of the *naṅ so*, to the assistants of the various palaces,⁹⁷⁸⁾ to the C'a tao so officials,⁹⁷⁹⁾ to the Da ra k'a c'e,⁹⁸⁰⁾ to the judges,⁹⁸¹⁾ holders of golden letters, monks and laymen who go and come, myriarchs, to the abbot of T'ar pa gliṅ and to his disciples,⁹⁸²⁾ to the chiliarchs, to all those in office, a command:

The religious communities included in the rGya ts'o gñis territory, formerly, according to an edict (*ajasa*) and a written order (received) in Ža lu, performed ceremonies in the Emperor's honour and services in favour of monasteries and temples. This turned to their benefit. Now too, according to the past manner, it is established that none of you shall steal (what belongs to monasteries), nor exact duties nor bring false charges, nor quarrel, but all shall pray to a good purpose. Will you not fear to act against the present command?

This letter was written in the great Me t'og ra ba monastery, in the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the mouse, on the sixteenth day of the fourth month.⁹⁸³⁾

IX

To the power [of long-lived] Heaven.

To the merits (of the King)... by order of...⁹⁸⁴⁾

To the good preceptor Bu ston Rin c'en grub.

I (being) here, have gradually heard that for a long time, with great energy, you have applied yourself to the study (*sbyaṅs*) of the three baskets of books containing the Buddha's revelation, to revealed knowledge, to the instructions concerning the science of the four kinds of Tantras;⁹⁸⁵⁾ hence great benefit has accrued to religious teaching in those parts (where you are, i. e. Tibet); hence, although I sent for you, (that you should come) to this country, you were not pleased (to accept my invitation). Now things being thus, having settled there, do as you like,⁹⁸⁶⁾ explain (the Law), debate, write books, meditate and in the same manner as before be zealous as

regards teaching. And I too, what else do I think of, except the Buddha's teachings?

To the Sa skya counsellors who are there, to the officials charged with different offices, give instructions (inspired) by good thoughts; I from here will help you.

In the year of the sheep, on the eleventh day of the first month, when he resided in Tai tu, it was written.⁹⁸⁷⁾

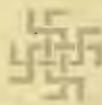
X

To the power of Heaven; to the merit of the king; the words of C'os dpal ciṅ svi'u tsiṅ dbaṅ;⁹⁸⁸⁾ to the officials of the *Svon vi si* class residing in dBus, gTsaṅ and mNa' ris skor gsum, to the generals, soldiers, officials of the C'a 'o tau si class, the Da ra k'a c'e, to tax collectors, to monks and laymen who go and come, the assistants of the various palaces, myriarchs, religious communities, to the officials of the class... of the great dignitaries, to the lay communities, to the wing officers, to the wing men, a command:

The Emperor has given to the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub⁹⁸⁹⁾ the order and the diploma investing him with the power of *Svon vi si*. Accordingly he has also been invested by me with the same power. Therefore you must execute at the fitting time the various injunctions of the law, great, intermediate or small, beginning with those regarding the military stages and the duty to furnish contributions in nature (to patented officials)... None of you should interfere with feuds, religious and lay communities, men of the wings and temples possessed from previous times by the Ža lu pa; thus having commanded, this official document has been issued. The sku žaṅ du dben ša too must be zealous in protecting the religious and lay communities, without thinking whether they are near or far. This letter is written by me in the year of the bird on the eleventh day of the seventh month while residing in [Naṅ] ro.⁹⁹⁰⁾

XI (Tibetan text)

Order of him who is King through the power of his veneration for Heaven: I believe that the Buddha's road, accomplishing the good of others with charity and compassion and setting in the first place spiritual purity and serenity, helps the government above and converts beings benighted by ignorance below; (hence) he who is capable of spreading this teaching (of the Buddha's), is certainly praised by the Emperor. You, rDo rje rin c'en;⁹⁹¹⁾ have been faithful (lett.: have remained in) heretofore to the Buddha's teaching, and you have firmly respected, according to fitness, disciplinary precepts, inserting into the way of good the living beings having converted them by appropriate means; you therefore deserve praise. I now invest you with the office of *P'vuṅ gšen yi kyau goi šri*; in the future also do you practise the instructions of the holy Law and spread its teaching; be always zealous in virtuous works, perform such deeds and make manifest this favour (of mine), which is a proof of my affection for you. Be respectful.



XI (Chinese text)

Having received from Heaven the mission of continuing the imperial destiny, the Emperor says: I believe that the Buddha's road makes charity and compassion its instruments, and peace and nirvāṇa its main doctrine; above it secretly helps the Imperial law, and below it eradicates the error of the masses. Hence the Imperial court has always praised and honoured him who follows that religion. You, To-erh-chih-ling-chan, have always been obedient to the Buddhist

teaching, you have scrupulously followed its disciplines and you have directed people towards what is good; hence you truly have sufficient merit to receive praise. Now I appoint you "*Fu-shan-i-chiao-kuo-shih*," and you must spread abroad the marvellous doctrine and greatly uplift the wind of the Buddhist religion; you must also always devotedly observe the pure principles, and shed lustre on this appointment (conferred upon you) which is (a proof of) my favour towards you. Be welcome!

On the fourth day of the twelfth moon of the fourth year T'ien-shun.⁹²²

BUSTON'S REQUEST TO THE MASTER BYAN C'UB RGYAL MTS'AN⁹⁹³

Your letter with presents was delivered to me by (your) official gZon nu bzan po.⁹⁹⁴ And I have its meaning well in mind. From a general point of view it must be (said first of all) that this sku žaṅ⁹⁹⁵ comes of a good lineage. In the times of the king of bSam yas K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, when wicked Ministers opposed the practice of religion, Jñānasiddhi of lCe, who had entered into the King's favour,⁹⁹⁶ was sent to invite the master Bodhisattva and the master Pad ma ḥbyuṅ gnas, and he (Jñānasiddhi) belonged to this family. As he was the king of Tibet's chief collaborator,⁹⁹⁷ he was invested with lordship over the territory of Naṅ ro. In the intermediate period (between the old and new diffusion of the faith) although there were various ups and downs of fortune and decline, (this clan) did nothing wrong. Then, at the time of the second diffusion of faith, this district⁹⁹⁸ was founded and the temple was built; it was the womb of the 100 chapels having at their head K'yuṅ.⁹⁹⁹ Great sees like those of sNar t'aṅ were branches which spread only out of the teaching of this clan which ruled over this monastery with the succession of its bla mas. In a second period, when the Mongols became patrons of the Sa skya pa doctrines, (its members) collaborated¹⁰⁰⁰ as dpon pos of Sa skya pa and as dpon pos of king Se c'en. Thus the precious family had an abundant series of sku žaṅ. Now you, o peerless c'os rje, you who have no rivals on the face of the earth, you well know that this is the sku žaṅs' (progeny). Now you also know that he is a prince possessing, by imperial command, the second-class gem with a tiger's head; he is of good lineage and has an office. If we commit errors, it is no use glorying that we come of a good family. Nevertheless he of such a family, in the past, committed no acts (against) good behaviour. Lately, when the Sa skya pa and the ḥBri guṅ pa vied for supremacy,¹⁰⁰¹ although the Ža lu pa of the Šar pa branch had sided with the ḥBri guṅ pa, this (sku žaṅ) followed the Sa skya pa's fortunes and although, through various events, difficulties ensued, he kept faith¹⁰⁰² with the Sa skya pa; then, when the (Sa skya pa) bla ma and the

dpon c'en¹⁰⁰³ disagreed, although the C'u mig myriarchy, the Byaṅ myriarchy and the Ža lu pa of the Šar pa branch sided with the dpon c'en Kun bzaṅ, he (the sku žaṅ), with all his influence, used his triple energy in the Bla ma's favour. At that time the Mon-gol king and the chief were in (good) harmony,¹⁰⁰⁴ and as a recognition of his deeds (the King) gave (the prince) sMon agro;¹⁰⁰⁵ later the hostile excitement of the Eastern and Western regions¹⁰⁰⁶ grew greatly, but he (the sku žaṅ) was partial towards none. Last year, great excitement having arisen due to the wars waged by the dpon 'Od zer seṅ ge against the bŽi t'og,¹⁰⁰⁷ the sku žaṅ Grags rgyal fled to ḥDam and was not mixed up in any bad enterprise. Then, when the Tai situ D'ar ma rgyal mts'an¹⁰⁰⁸ arrived, in his letter he said that all the members of the families should be sent into exile, except those addicted to religious life (mk'as btsun). And even when the chiefs were deprived of power, the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub was not mixed up with any bad counsel. Since last year, times have not been quiet; there has been no possibility of access to justice. As his dependants were not straight, there was no one who had less authority than he, (hence) he became the lowliest of the low. Being so unassuming, even if they insulted him, meditating on the virtue of patience he adapted himself to his humble condition. For this reason the religious and lay communities (under him) were taken from him by those whose hands were longest,¹⁰⁰⁹ and he was left with scanty influence. Nevertheless it is clear from official documents that he had no part at all in the plots of K'aṅ gsar¹⁰¹⁰ and the others, and even those who sided with him of K'aṅ gsar did not intend to commit any special iniquity towards him. Sometime back¹⁰¹¹ Ma gcig pa¹⁰¹² etc. fled, but before this, motives for adverse anticipations having arisen, the officers though in secret, quite willingly¹⁰¹³ rendered him service; this they know. In brief, as regards this sku žaṅ, not the least trace of guilt can be found; nevertheless, although he was guiltless, persons actuated by a revengeful spirit caught him, and it was impossible to set him free without his suffering reprisals.

But even if he had been flayed, the sku žaṅ would in no wise have moved even the tip of a hair. Whether he of Rin c'en sgañ¹⁰¹⁴⁾ kept his promise or not, you know. Last year, when bTson of K'ams came to loot, [you] said "collect your servants"; when he had gathered a group of ragged peasants,¹⁰¹⁵⁾ after the Bla ma was caught, and it was said that it was necessary to go for troops to mK'ar rin, then there was no shepherd¹⁰¹⁶⁾ who did not say that the servants ought to be gathered, to meet there bTson. The sku žaṅ said he would go to speak, and he went; after this, being driven out of control by the naṅ pa Rin rgyal and by the dpon po Ne' tso,¹⁰¹⁷⁾ he came to (your) door. Besides the damage resulting to himself, no one else was harmed. This (fact) and the necessity of the troops going to Yar klun were both provoked by a man out of his power. But when a powerful person enjoins something, those less powerful cannot but go. An aide de camp¹⁰¹⁸⁾ appointed

by the Tai Situ came to meet him in Ts'ön adus; he did not refuse to come into his presence and offered him explanations. It was as when there is no choice between drinking poison or swallowing dust. But in all those works of theirs the sku žaṅ did not interfere. I beg you, o peerless, precious lord of the Law, to carefully see that a thorough absolution¹⁰¹⁹⁾ be met from the officers of the palace; the sku žaṅ is like a son of yours, o precious lord of the Law; I ask you, o lord, that, thus considering the state of affairs, you reflect on the circumstances; you heard from me the facts as they are, but you, incomparable lord of the Law, will decide. As the things of the Law are now declining, according to the saying "where I go, it is not fit for you to go", I beg you to consider whether it is not therefore a case for stopping. (I offer) a white kerchief, as a gift accompanying the letter; presented on the eleventh day of the year of the horse.¹⁰²⁰⁾ May it be well-omened.

INSCRIPTIONS

SNAR T'Aṅ

I

On the wall paintings

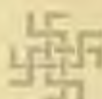
This poem of 108 half-verses (pāda), a good hymn in honour of the master of the world, treasure of every sort of jewels, together with a poem of 75 half-verses, hymn in honour of perfect law of the king of medicine and of all the gods, with the Victorious at their head, who are in the chapels placed on every side of the upper and lower stories of this (mc'od rten); they constitute the guide of the great and wonderful mc'od rten; it was composed by the supreme translator aJam dbyaṅs who carries the burden represented by intelligence. There was the all-knowing of the mC'ims Blo gros bzaṅ po,¹⁰²¹⁾ the scholar with whom none can vie in the three spheres of existence. He, gathering into himself the three planes, physical, verbal and spiritual, of the Buddhas of the three times, accomplished the good of all beings, the gods included, and became most excellent for his meritorious deeds. The essence of his corporal relics was completed by the imposition of miraculous formulas.¹⁰²²⁾ His younger brother mC'ims sNan grags bzaṅ po dpal, blessed by his indestructible faith towards that supreme master of the mC'ims, who had passed into the sphere of the Buddhas, out of moral energy, devotion and virtuous practice, decided to build this mc'od rten bKra šis sgo maṅ, with the object of fulfilling his brother's wishes, so that peace and happiness might accrue to the whole universe, and this temple might reach perfect completeness, like the waxing moon. This guide, called "necklace of wonders", was written in the great

temple of sNar t'aṅ, glorious residence of many scholars and ascetics, who have abandoned any sense of jealousy, by the translator aJam dbyaṅs, poet of the Country of Snows, in such a way as to be easily understood by everyone. The one who wrote was K'o bo zer dpon. May it be well with all beings.

II

Ša kya mu ni be honoured. Honour to the mC'ims pa, the glorious lord, precious treasure from which all draw life; his marvellous deeds are like the heavenly tree, not lacking all sorts of desirable fruits; as a large tree (attracts) wreaths of bees, so he carries upon himself the weight of numberless virtues. He is a great boat which bears men to safety from unstable existence, unscathed as it is from the violent waves of moral infections. This mass of azure, a glorious spectacle for the eyes, is not the (Buddha's) beautiful body, it is a golden mountain on which a wreath of clouds of ascetic isolation plays. This deep (voice), pleasant to listen to, fraught with 60 sounds, is not a word, it is a lotus used as an ornament for the ears of the heavenly maidens of the four regions of space. This (spirit) impartial towards all, deep as the ocean and bright as the sky, is not a spirit, but like a cloud laden with rain gathered from that ocean of ambrosia which are perfect deeds. You are not Suddhodana's son, pervading the ten points of space with the grace of his love, but you are a garden of lotuses sucked by the bees of your deeds since immemorial time.¹⁰²³⁾

The glorious mC'ims, the master of the world, shaking the waves of the ocean of meritorious deeds, arose like the disk of the sun lighting up the points of space by the light of his virtue; like the heavenly tree



dropping a rain of gems, he accomplished for a long time the good of created beings. After having satisfied on this earth the wishes of living beings in a new manner, he went to heaven. His younger brother, who possesses the virtues of devotion, having caused the ocean of ambrosia of the merits to overflow with the twofold river of the two accumulations he had well realized¹⁰²⁴⁾ in preceding lives, as if desiring to vie with the glories of the god protecting riches,¹⁰²⁵⁾ pervading the three worlds in their innermost parts with the rays of that sun which are his pleasant words and having (thus become) the ornament of the ears of others, he increased in a new manner the desire for liberality proper to his family.¹⁰²⁶⁾ As if desiring to ravish the glory of the heavenly tree, resembling a firm mountain, unshakable even by a violent wind like (the one which) at the end of ages (destroys the world and is aroused) by evil actions causing men to turn back (from the way of salvation), or like an ocean of glory, quite still due to the violent force of an unshakable faith in the three (Gems) or finally like a flash of lightning, (exploding) in the white clouds of moral energy tending to the attainment of all sorts of virtues, this is the master of the mC'ims sÑan grags dpal bzañ po; he, blessed by the practice of marvellous virtues, in his great temple of sNar t'añ resembling the city of the gods on the top of Mount Sumeru, amusing himself with the spectacle of those songs and dances which are the fair expounding of the Law, protected like Indra the crowd of persons thus gathered, for days and nights without interruption; causing the rain of the four kinds of gifts¹⁰²⁷⁾ to fall upon them according to the Law. With the object of fulfilling the wish of his elder brother, (Blo gros bzañ po), he founded this mc'od rten, which is the receptacle of the Victorious's three planes; the physical, the verbal and the spiritual planes. This mc'od rten is splendid like the sacred golden tree,¹⁰²⁸⁾ of a smiling effulgence, issued out of the waters of the ocean formed by the twofold plane of the accumulations of the merits attained by men of good family. The eyes, on seeing it, are as if invited to a banquet in which ambrosia is served; an emanation of the power of sMan pai rgyal po and of Sañs rgyas žal gyi gdeñs can bdag po, embellished through the marvellous unfolding (of the paintings contained in this monument), it causes the new ears of corn of good deed to grow, through the rain of the good words of the law dropped out of the white cloud which is this house, possessing a threefold virtue. The precious golden book of the mother of the Buddhas ... like the sun in the cloudless ether; its marvellous splendour spreads over the ten points of space. The power of the Victorious, vouchsafer of the Law ... this cannot be realized.

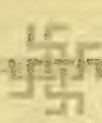
Like one who has manifested himself with the purpose of accomplishing that great good which are the merits of created beings, he founded for his faith this palace of the Victorious, the (mc'od rten) bKra šis sgo mañ. When one has seen this virtuous and blessed work, which not even a Cakravartin can rival, all other good works become indifferent and look

like the stars in the sky when the sun shines. An ocean of precious umbrellas, of fluttering flags, of drums whose handle is wrought with gems, of scented incense, of flowers moved by the wind, of garlands, of lamps ravishing the sun's light, of the sound of cymbals proclaiming the perfect Law, ... of adoring clouds emanating from Kun tu bzañ po, continually do it homage, together with the Buddha's sons. The consecration was performed together with the six well-omened ingredients;¹⁰²⁹⁾ embellished by the glory of joyous spectacles, it reached perfection as regards the gifts and festivities aiming at delighting the crowd of artists (who had been invited to build it). As long as that garden of lotus flowers which is the earth, surrounded by the ocean, is beautified by the stalk of Mount (Sumeru), for all this time may its fame, being, as it were, the ornament of the points of space, firmly set its foot on this monastery, glory of the Buddha's teaching. This eulogy was made by the learned poet, the translator aJam dbyaṅs, who according to his wish has milked the word: he causes the hairs of scholars to stand on end with joy, as the moon, while it rises, causes the sea to ripple. He is like an enjoyment of delight exciting men's minds in spring-time, full of desires and resounding with the pleasant voices of wine-flushed maidens in the depths of a forest of scented sandal. May this art of the venerated master bKra šis bzañ po be seen by the eyes of all, gods and men; the copyist was Blo ldan bkra šis. The good acquired through this work, may it become a boat on which created beings may be ferried over the ocean of discord; and may it be a ladder on which they may ascend to the noble palace of liberation. May it be well with all beings.

III

May it be well with all. We bow before that ambrosia which is the shining name of mC'ims, the glorious master of the world. With the glory of his knowledge of the sphere of the knowable he scorns the deep power of the ocean. His nature, unscathed by any taint, is like a lake in autumn. His experience of the three sciences (*śikṣā*) is incomparable in the three spheres of existence. With the rays of his compassion, aiming at no rewards, he pervades those worlds which are the minds of created beings, the gods included.

May this global glory of the prince of ascetics (the Buddha) bestow upon us his grace; his body, bright like a mass of pure gold, disports itself in a garden, as a show for the eyes of gazelles; with his pleasant voice emitted from the lotus of his neck as fair as the sky, he has the power of conquering in a new guise the arrogant; the streams of rain emitted from that garland of clouds which is his compassion gathered from the ocean of ambrosia of his fair deeds, bow over the regions of space. He is surrounded by twice eight golden cliffs;¹⁰³⁰⁾ this chapel of the Arhats which is the palace of the prince of ascetics, was



founded by the great master sÑan grags bzañ po. The painter was dPon btsun of dBus. These few words are by the translator aJam dbyaṅs.

IV

Hommage to Jina Maitreya.

When the time had been ripened by the efficiency of the good deeds of created beings and gods, he descended on earth to fulfil the hopes of the desirous; he adorned himself with the lofty fruits of hundreds of meritorious deeds; the thick shadow of his compassion gave breath to created beings, tormented by desire, stimulated by the springtime of moral infections. As the heavenly tree of the gods of the mÑon brtsen,¹⁰³¹ may he, Blo gros bzañ po grags pai dpal produce our good. This graceful body of yours, which is like the golden tree of illumination, pleasant to the soul, placed in the midst of precious mountains, ravishing its colour from lapislazuli, is pervaded by the scent of yellow sandal (*haricandana*).¹⁰³² The diadem of your knotted and scented tresses is like a dark¹⁰³³ swarm of bees flying upwards when touched by the sun falling on a garden of golden lotuses, planted in a blue and clear lake. You have arranged the miraculous landscape of good deeds in the garden of the persons capable of being converted. May you place your feet right firmly, o noble Mother, on the garden of our spirit. This temple of the Mother of the Victorious, adorned with pictured life of Nor bzañ, was made by the Slob dpon Rin c'en dpal, possessing the eye of wisdom (expert) in the sacred doctrines and in the theoretical knowledge. The painter was Śes rab dpal. These few words are by the famous translator of this place.

Honour to Śakyamuni. Hail to the master of the mC'ims. He (the Buddha) is like a tree, spreading the tremulous shadow of his compassion, with the purpose of freeing the threefold existence from the affliction of pain; he is a heavenly tree, pouring out the candid scent of moral perfections, beginning with liberality, and is adorned with the flowers amply blossomed out of virtue; its branches, spreading over all the points of space, are bent by the weight of those excellent fruits, the knowledge of how to accomplish the good of others. He offers a shelter to herds of hundreds of persons endowed with a brilliant intellect. May the lord of ascetics protect us; on the slopes of a cliff which is a heap of precious stones thick with graceful heavenly trees, blue and green, resounding with the piping voices of homing birds, his body surrounded by antelopes, he stands near a cascade whose waters resound with an agreeable murmur, while gods, ascetics and holy spirits praise him with extremely graceful hymns; he the ... This chapel of the Lord of ascetics surrounded by the heavens of the Victorious was founded with faith by the great master sÑan grags bzañ po. These four heavens on the right of the Victorious, were painted by rGyal po dar of Grañ bo luñ, according to the method of the

learned dGe ḍun rgyal mts'an, the wise painter, famous throughout the ḍDsam glin; the writer was K'o bo ze dpon.¹⁰³⁴ May happiness be.

V

The same as the above text.

These four heavens, on the right of the lord of ascetics, with the acolytes who are gathered there, pervade space with crowns of sparkling golden mountains; they are variously embellished by the rays of that sun and that moon which are the six ornaments.¹⁰³⁵ They were made by brTson mc'og bdag, in the interior of the mc'od rten having many doors. May it be well.

VI

Honour to Samantabhadra.

Homage to the all-knowing of mC'ims, who is like a tree varied by the scented flowers of good behaviour, bent under the weight of its fruits of every desired virtue, and spreading the lovable shadow of compassion, which is extended to all alike. May incorruptible merit be derived to all from this Kun tu bzañ po here represented together with his four acolytes; his body is seated in a playful posture on a crouching elephant, decorated with pearls; a tinkling necklace of gems is arranged round his waist, he has a bright smiling aspect, with the purpose of ingratiating wise beings. This temple is adorned with thousands of Buddhas... It was founded by the master of the mC'ims sÑan grags bzañ po; by the merit derived from this work, may created beings obtain Buddhahood.

ŽA LU

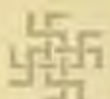
Inscription over the door.

The sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an, the father with his son, with the purpose of spreading the teaching of the Buddha, ordered many roofs of Chinese style to be made, enamelled¹⁰³⁶ and of a blue colour. This door of *khadira*¹⁰³⁷ wood was made by Nam mk'a' bzañ po; these iron bars of the door which please the eyes and have the colour of silver have been made by the skillful Blo brtan bzañ po of sNar t'añ.

K'RO P'U

On the club of the lotsāva

Om svasti.¹⁰³⁸ The craftsman of this (club) was ḍBe¹⁰³⁹ ḍGar rdo rje. The master of Śans has respectfully offered 53 srañ of iron. The master Ts'ul seṅ ge has offered 250 srañ of copper and bronze, 5 srañ of gold and 3 srañ of silver. The craftsman was satisfied with the gifts and the offerings¹⁰⁴⁰ made to him as a recognition of his work. This (club) was offered to the lotsāva by the master Ts'ul seṅ ge. May



those who have faith and delight in the precious (master) reach perfect completeness in the (twofold) accumulation of merits.¹⁰⁴¹⁾

NOR

On a silver lamp

In this chapel of the bKa' agyur of the glorious Evam c'os ldan, this silver lamp placed in front of the silver mc'od rten containing the relics, called Yid bžin nor bu and spreading light over all the heavens,¹⁰⁴²⁾ was offered in the year *sa sbrul* by the Šar pa Šes rab abyun gnas to fulfil the wish of the Šar pa Kun dga' dpal bzañ.

GNAS GSAR

On the wall paintings

In the aDsam bu gliñ, unfolding under the high blue sky, in the south, there are 360 different varieties of languages; among them there is the Indian language, from which translations were made into Tibetan. By the grace of the bTsan po¹⁰⁴³⁾ and the Bodhisattva, happiness was displayed in the kingdom of Tibet. In Tibet are included 4 wings. In the fields of Myañ ro, the good lotus of Ru lag,¹⁰⁴⁴⁾ the things that men who come and go may see are many; therefore eyes wish...

This [Don] yod grub with his retinue, ... the blissful ... was painted by the Nan bzañ of aBre,¹⁰⁴⁵⁾ the least of painters.¹⁰⁴⁶⁾ The brother Mañ rtsan rgyal

brtegs, fifth descendant of aBroñ t'og, had it made.¹⁰⁴⁷⁾ Created beings, with the gods, may obtain supreme enlightenment.

The three noble Gems ... the gods of the maṇḍala of the rdo rje dbyiñs ... the gods who are in the maṇḍala ... three ... dpal ma hā [kāla] ... black mGon po with his śakti the great lay devotee rDo rje legs ... to the custody of the C'os skyoñ ... blazing power all the thieves dispersed surrounded ... eating ... letters ...

NOR BUI K'YUÑ RTSE

On the wall paintings

In this vast park of perfect sciences,¹⁰⁴⁸⁾ is he not a wonder, Ñi mai dbaṅ p'yug, defender of the teaching, who, having sent that messenger which is virtue, has surpassed the extreme shore of the ocean of darkness, which consists in the practice of evil? Likewise the concomitant cause¹⁰⁴⁹⁾ was the vast liberality of the *spyi nañ* of Sam ldiñ, the dPon gNas mc'og who resumes in himself the qualities expressed by his name.

The material cause¹⁰⁵⁰⁾ was the dPon grub's ability.

SPOS K'AN

On the handle of a conchshell

This *un biñ qdsa leñ*,¹⁰⁵¹⁾ embellished with all gems (and adapted) to the shell,¹⁰⁵²⁾ is the work of a divine smith,¹⁰⁵³⁾ the master rGyal mts'an.

NOTES

1. But in the Sa skya Chronicles, pp. 3, 6 and in *ak'on rigs bla mai gduñ rabs kyī lo rgyus mdor bsdus* of Ye šes c'os ap'el of Lha rtse (Works, vol. ja, p. 1) they are spelled sPyi rin, gYu rin and U se. They are believed to have descended upon earth in mNa' ris stod. In the Sa skya Chronicles (which quote dKon mc'og lhun grub's history) the spelling *se* is followed. These three brothers are generally called gNam lha, celestial gods: on gNam and Se see Appendix two.

2. These Sa skya genealogies and legends are also repeated in the biography of the sNags ac'an nag gi dbaṅ Kun dga' rin c'en (see *Srid pa gsum gyi bla ma dpal sa skya pa c'en po snags ac'an nag gi dbaṅ po kun dga' rin c'en gyi rnam par t'ar pa no mts'ar rgya mts'o*). With such genealogical claims, the Sa skya pa had the pretension of overruling the derivation from the four or six *rus*; precisely for this reason they were called Lha rigs, divine progeny (see Life of Kun dga' rin c'en, p. 7 b).

3. In the Chronicles and in the above-quoted biography (p. 3 b): *sras se byi li spun bžir grags pa byuñ*: "Those who are known as the four Se byi li brothers were born as his sons," (in the biography quoted, on p. 7, Si byi li are the first dwellers on earth).

4. But in the Chronicles: lDoñ; lDoñ is the name of one of the six primigenial tribes (see Appendix two).

5. On this name see Appendix two. gYu rin's wife's personal name cannot be dissociated from that of her clan.

6. In such a case the Sa skya Chronicles, which the fifth Dalai Lama follows almost *verbatim*, have: *ma bzai*, but they call the seventh son Ma sañ spyi rje (in the chronicles of dKon mc'og lhun grub, *ibid.*, p. 3 a, *ma bzai*). The reading *ma sañs* is preferable; in fact *ma sañs* was the name of a group of nine demons; see Appendix two and cfr. *Mu sañs* in the Bon po traditions: *mu sañs ta jig skad du* in the beginning of the *Klu abum dkar po*, p. 1. *bZai* (in the archaic spelling: *bzaiñs*) is a recent and learned form, adopted for the sake of homophony.

7. At this point the fifth Dalai Lama follows another source. According to the dKon mc'og lhun grub and the Sa skya pa Chronicles, T'og ts'a dpa' bo stag is supposed to be the son of Ma sañs spyi rje and T'og lcam hur mo (the daughter of T'og lha 'od can, the god of lightning). T'og ts'a dpa' bo married a nāga's daughter: Klu lcam bram, from whom Klu ts'a stag po 'od can was born; the latter in his turn married mTs'o rgyal, of a Mon family.

Ts'a, according to the dictionaries, means grandson, but it is necessary to specify "grandson on the mother's side,"; thus the mother caused her son to belong to her clan. There is no lack of instances in the course of history: the son of K'ri lde gtsug brtan was called aJañ ts'a Lha dbaṅ from the name of his mother, aJañ K'ri btsun (see THOMAS, *Tibetan documents*, II, JRAS, 1928, p. 85). Sometimes the name of the grandfather on the mother's side appears also in the feminine names; see for instance Ma geig lDan ts'a c'os abum, the wife of P'yag na rdo rje (cfr. note 70).

This usage, as Müller has noticed, is followed in the names of the most ancient kings of Tibet (see MÜLLER, *Tibet in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, in *Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. XX, p. 307).

8. *gYa' span* means "verdigris,"; the demon he fights is: sKya reñs k'rag med. sKya reñs is the name of the lake out of which the Yang tse kiang is born (S. CH. DAS, *Dict.*, s. v.), and also means: dawn, but in the present case the name must be divided up into its component parts: *skya*, pale, livid; *reñs*, stiff, frozen; *k'rag med*, bloodless. The *srin po* is hence a fiend causing death, a disease which consumes and kills. His wife is called in the Chronicles: gYa' abrum Si li ma: *abrum* is the small-pox, gYa' abrum is: small-pox like rust (on the face), i. e. the name of another contagious disease. The struggle between gYa' spans and the ogre is perhaps a medical myth: the struggle between a disease and its medicine.

On the use of verdigris against leprosy in India, see *Aṣṭāṅgabṛdaya, Cikitsāstbāna*, XVIII, p. 67; XX, p. 16.

9. In the Chronicles and in the biography of Kun dga' rin c'en (p. 8): Si li ma, who is the ogre's wife herself. Between the two forms, Si li ma and Sil ma or bSil ma the latter is preferable, which we find in Tibetan mythology as the name of a class of princes who ruled over Tibet (see Appendix two).

10. lCe is also the name of a family, the one of Ža lu; concerning sMan see Appendix two.

11. But the Chronicles assign to aK'on only one wife, lCam bu sgron of bTsan family (*bza'*). *bza'* (on this term see THOMAS and *Indo-Tibetica*, and *Bar do t'os grol*, vol. na, p. 8 b: *ñe ba dan gza'* [for *bza'*] *ts'o ñu ba mt'oñ nas*) originally means "a family's female descendant," as it was in these cases; then, in more recent times, "wife,"; *bza' mi* husband and wife (cfr. also STEIN, *Fiches de divination*, HJAS, IV, p. 313, n. 1). Concerning the bTsan see Appendix two.

12. His real name, according to the Sa skya Chronicles, p. 5 a, should be dKon (following assimilation with dKon mc'og) rje guñ stag = dpal po c'e; it was given him after his meeting with King K'ri ston lde btsan.

13. In the Sa skya Chronicles, p. 5 a: *La stod gñan rse t'ar*; in the same Chronicles, instead of *ya ts'añs*: *ya c'añ*. In the Life of Kun dga' rin c'en: *ya c'añs* (p. 8 a).

14. The eight well-omened signs, according to a quotation from the Sa skya Chronicles (p. 5 a) are:

the well-omened signs of the earth, when the soil, large or small, is good both for building houses on and as fields (to till);

the well-omened signs of water, when lakes or ponds (*mts'o mo*) are good both as drinking-water and as water to (irrigate) fields;

the well-omened signs of trees, when forests resisting winter and reddened by winter give timber good for building houses and as fire-wood (*bud šin*);

the well-omened signs of grass, when, until it has grown old, the grass is good both in pastures near at hand and in far away pastures. (Cfr. Biography of Kun dga' rin c'en, p. 8 a).

15. The Chronicles say he became *nañ blon*, Minister of the Interior, of that same king.

16. On this family, which is that of the P'ag mo gru, see what follows. But the Chronicles (p. 5 a) read: *glañ k'ams pa lotsāva*. In the Chronicles the wife's name is not given; she is only "a girl,"; *Ne c'uñ ma* (*glañ bza'*): from the text it appears that lCam mo (Chronicles) has also the meaning of *bu-mo* (fifth Dalai Lama). Instead of four children, the same Chronicles only mention two: aK'on lotsāva Klui dbaṅ po and aK'on rdo rje rin po c'e; the latter, according to the fifth Dalai Lama, is his grandson. But the chronicles of dKon mc'og lhun grub agree with the fifth Dalai Lama. Although dPal po c'e's wife's name is changed, the name of her clan is the same, *glañ* being a homophone of *rlañs* (see these same Chronicles, p. 54 a). Instead of K'ren mdses, the chronicles of dKon mc'og lhun grub read: K'ri mdses, which corresponds better with the names used in this period. Klu dbaṅ po = Nāgendra, was dPal brtsegs's collaborator; he is also called Klui dbaṅ po bsrūñ ba, Nāgendrarakṣita (see Colophon to MDO CXXXV, 7; CORDIER, III, p. 493; PTY, transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 80; BUSTON, transl. OBERMILLER, p. 190, where it may be seen that Nāgendra is short for Nāgendrarakṣita).

17. In fact he is recorded by tradition as one of the seven *sad mi*, i. e. the first seven Tibetans regularly ordained as monks. The Bodhisattva is Ži ba ts'o. Concerning the seven *sad mi* see further n. 174.

18. According to the Chronicles: p. 6 b, the descendents of the first spread in Ma yul of mNa' ris; those of the second in Guñ t'añ, those of the third in Srad, of the fourth in gÑal lo ro, of the fifth in Nañ šab. Ma yul must be for Mar yul, approximately corresponding to present-day Ladakh, rather than *Mañ yul*, where Guñ t'añ is situated.

19. Precisely, the Chronicles say, in gYa' luñ, which was also the seat of gTsong tor šes rab.

20. Or, as the Chronicles say, aK'on ston Bal po.

21. Chronicles: Ts'va mo roñ.

22. *rDo rje qdsin pa* = *rdo rje slob dpon*; this is the name given to those who have become at one with cosmic consciousness, symbolized, in liturgy, by the vajra. The deity which protects the clan is the *rDo rje p'ur pa*, Vajrakila: while the *mgon po* or protector of the sect is *Gur mgon* (concerning whom see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 127 ff.) and the *y dam* is Kyai rdo rje, Hevajra. See above p. 87.

23. Equally known by the name of aK'on Sa skya pa: he is supposed to have been born in the year wood-dog (= 1034).

24. The new school of the mantra is the one introduced at the time of the second diffusion of the Law, i. e. beginning from Aṭiā and Rin c'en bzañ po (see above p. 88 f.); the name of the Lotsāva of aBrog mi

is *Ša kya ye šes*. Information concerning him and his journeys to India is found in DT, *na*, p. 2. He was a disciple of Śāntipā.

25. The Chronicles have: the lotsāva of rMal.

26. Purañ or sPu hrañs in Western Tibet, between Guge and Mañ yul; the lotsāva of sPu hrañs is perhaps bSod nams blo gros.

27. It is the mountain overhanging the convent and the city of Sa skya. dPon po ri is perhaps a recent spelling for Bon po ri.

28. In the year water-ox (1073).

29. I. e. spirit, word and body.

30. Mi t'ub zla ba, Ajitacandra: on his works see for instance the indexes of Mlle Lalou to CORDIER's *Cat.*, and DT, *na*, p. 2.

31. The Chronicles explain (p. 26 a): Neu t'og in gSañ p'u; the monk of C'a is C'os kyi señ ge (see above n. 164 to Part one). gSañ p'u was the seat of Legs pai šes rab, better known as rNog lotsāva or rNog ston, born in the year sa 1059 (not 1058, as in S. Ch. Das' tables); the monastery was founded 1073 and became one of the chief centres for the study of the Prajñā and of the bKa' gdams pa doctrines; see DT, *ca*, p. 1 ff. Later it was divided into gSañ p'u gliñ smad and gSañ p'u gliñ stod. The latter comprised several schools: Ni ma t'añ, rNam rgyal gser k'añ etc. Gliñ smad on the other hand comprised: Ra ba stod, Ra ba smad, Ņag roñ, P'reñ ba ži ba, aP'an yul glañ t'añ gnas sgo. The two schools were under two *žabs druñ*, four *druñ c'en* and ten *bla ma*; see Kloñ rdol's *bsTan qdsin skyes bu*, etc., vol. 2a, p. 4.

32. Šākyaśrī: his quarrel with rJe grags is told, with ample details, in the Chronicles 32 b, 33 a; he has been dealt with above.

33. I. e. the science of the *rtsa rluñ* or nervous centres, and of the *prāṇa* or vital breath, cosmic breathing, which operates within ourselves: in other words, yoga and, more exactly, the Hāthayoga.

34. I. e. in Central Tibet, but as Sa skya is in gTsañ, here dBus must be understood generally as Tibet. There is no lack of evidence that dBus and gTsañ are considered as a single region; hence gTsañ is called a part of dBus; so, for instance, we read in the guide of Sa skya (p. 3 a) that Atiśa was invited by aBrom ston in the gTsañ region, in dBus: "dBus su gTsañ gi p'yogs su spyān drañs nas...".

35. There is extant a small biography of his, of no historical interest, entitled: dPal ldan sa skya pañ di ta c'en poi nram t'ar, by the aGro mgon Sa skya pañdi Kun dga' rgyal mts'an (vol. na of the Sa skya masters', complete works, ed. DERGE).

36. "slob dpon qda' ap'yar rogs su sbran... in Huth (p. 77 of the text): "dPal ldan grub t'ob qdar ap'yar gyis rdsu ap'rul gyis nam mk'ai dbyiñs mt'on po nas bkug ste...". Huth takes qdar ap'yar as the ascetic's name, and proposes, as a Sanskrit equivalent of grub t'ob qdar p'yar: *Siddhaketu*. But one might object that *ketu* is rendered as *dar*, not *qdar*, and that the reading *qdar* is found both in the Chronicles and in aJigs med rig pai rdo rje. I think that this spelling is a mistake for *dar*, and in reality this ascetic's name, as we read in the DT was (*ca*, p. 8), Dar p'yar p'a btsan. Kloñ rdol bla ma, in his treatise on the bsTan sruñ, p. 36, quotes a grub t'ob aDar p'ya ru pa, as the author of special treatises on lCam sriñ ma. TĀRANĀTHA, *Jo nañ gi gnas bśad*, pp. 5, 6, mii dbañ dPal ldan grub t'ob qdar p'yar rin c'en bzañ po. Dar p'yar is the flag on which the slob dpon caused the image of rNam sras to be painted and then put it in his place (compare n. 340).

rogs su sbran is the same as ra mda' rogs su sbran.

On the occasion of the conversion of aP'rog byed and other prominent Hindu masters, probably Shivaïtes, the Sa skya Pañ c'en wrote a brief poem included in his works (vol. na of the Sa skya pa works, p. 220): "In the middle of the market-place, in a land near Āryavāti's temple in the city of sKyid groñ in Mañ yul, aP'rog byed dga' ba with other masters of the Tīrthikas, six in all, were defeated and made converts to Buddhism...".

37. Padmasambhava: literally Padmavajra. On the bsTan ma or bsTan sruñ ma see Appendix two.

38. This story is told in the Chronicles (p. 45) and in the History of Buddhism in Mongolia by AJIGS MED RIG PAI RDO RJE (HUTH, pp. 76-77 of the text and pp. 123-124 of the translation). I find no mention of it in the Guide to Sa skya. Sa skya Pañdi, as we have seen, is known also as one of the incarnations of the Pañ c'en of Tashilunpo and therefore his biography is included in the story of this lama's incarnations.

39. The meeting with Godan (Ködön) is related extensively by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje: the dates too correspond. According to the Sa skya Chronicles (p. 53 a) Godan had gone to Mongolia for the investiture (*rgyal sar ston pa*) of Go yug gan (Gyüük Qa'an), perhaps for the quriltai of 1246 in which Gyüük was elected Qaghan. He returned in the

year *me lug* (1247), while the Sa skya pañdi had arrived in Lin c'u (i. e. Liang-chou, see n. 40) in the eighth month of the year *me rta* (1246). The Sa skya Chronicles, p. 49 b, give the text of the letter which Godan is supposed to have sent to Sa skya pañdi when the latter was 62, i. e. in the year of the dragon, *šin qbrug* (1244). He set out in the following year, at 63. On p. 57 the Chronicles reproduce the proclamation which Sa skya pañdi, on his return from his visit to the Emperor, addressed to the lay and religious notables of Tibet, notifying his submission to the Mongol monarch. This letter has been translated above, on p. 10 f.

According to the Sa skya Chronicles, Godan was the son of T'o lo no yon (Tului), Gengis Khan's son. This piece of information contradicts the all but universal statements of Tibetan sources, which say that Godan was Gyüük's brother and hence Ögödäi's son. Thus the fifth Dalai Lama, Sayang Sācān and aJigs med rig pai rdo rje. The Bon po histories however say that he was Gyüük's son (see LAUFER, *Über ein tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon po*, T'oung Pao, 1901, p. 34).

As a matter of fact he was Ögödäi's son (see PELLIOU, *Les Mongoles et la Papauté*, "Revue de l'Orient Chrétien", 1931-32, p. 195; cfr. HAMBIS, *Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan che*, 1945, p. 71).

Tibetan tradition itself erroneously states that on Gyüük's death, in 1248 (not in 1233, according to aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 20, and transl. p. 31, and Sayang Sācān, transl. SCHMIDT, p. 111), his brother Godan succeeded him on the throne; indeed we know that after Gyüük the regency was taken over by his wife Oγul Qaimiš (see PELLIOU, *ibid.*, p. 197 ff.).

40. Literally "he collected the unfolding (*bkod pa*) of his body...". There is a pun between the epithet given to Sa skya Pañdi as a gatherer of magical capabilities *qprul sde*, and the sPrul pa sde where he died: the sPrul pa sde was the name of one of the four convents located near Liang-chou: sPrul pai sde, Sai dbañ gi sde, Pad mai sde, rGya mts'oi sde (as in aJigs med, pp. 85, 264, transl. pp. 136, 416). "This great lord, *bdag nid c'en po*, had three sorts of seats: principal, middling and small; principal: the glorious Sa skya and in the North Lin c'u rtse k'ab; middling: bSam yas, rKyañ t'ur in Ņañ stod; and Sreg šin in Šañs; the small ones were very many in K'ams, gTsañ and dBus... (Chronicles, p. 62 a).

rKyañ t'ur is certainly rKyañ p'u, namely Samada, about which I have spoken at length in *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 93 ff.

41. One of the two famous lotsāva in the times of King K'ri sroñ lde btsan. See *Mahāvvyutpatti* (bsTan agyur, vol. Go, and the authors based on it collected in FERRARI, *Arthavinīśaya*, Atti R. Acc. dei Lincei, S. VII, vol. IV, fasc. 13, p. 538 ff.); BUSTON, transl. OBERMILLER, p. 191.

42. *mcod yon*: an abridged form of *mc'od gnas*, chaplain, and *yon bdag*, *dānapati*, a patron giver of offerings.

43. Qubilai, in Chinese She tsu.

44. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 75, n. 2. On the date of aP'ags pa's birth Tibetan and Chinese sources differ; see *ibid.*, p. 74 and above, n. 43 to Part one; cfr. *Höbögirin*, Tables p. 146 (s. v. Pasupa) and later n. 515.

45. *gyaṇ ti*; in the Chronicles (p. 67 a) *gyaṇ kri'u*; in BELL, *English-Tibetan colloquial Dictionary*, *gyaṇ spri*; in S. CH. DAS, p. 1150, *gyaṇ spruu*. The uncertainty of the spelling suggests a foreign word: see LAUFER, *Loan words in Tibetan*, p. 130. Probably turkish: *yinču*, pearl.

46. *Dam k'a*, see note by PELLIOU, p. 622, n. 24.

47. *Gān dīn gu śrī* 灌頂國師 Kuan ting kuo shih "i. e. the master of the kingdom who has received the initiatic baptism..."; *murdhni-abhisikta*; on p. 45: *kva dīn gu śrī*. Concerning *gu śrī* cfr. *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 74.

48. *p'yam tse*: in Huth the word is lacking; *p'yam ts'e* corresponds to *p'yam ts'a*, a transcription of the Mongol *čamča*. *P'yam tsa* is interpreted as 'og gos, "underclothing, tunic", (see KOWALEWSKI, *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français*, p. 2104).

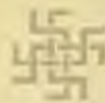
In AJIGS MED RIG PAI RDO RJE, p. 148 (transl. 235) *p'yam rtso* is erroneously understood by Huth as equal to the Sanskrit *kuṭapa*.

49. *Las žva*: aJigs med rig pai rdo rje (p. 95): *dbu žva*.

50. The Abbot of sŅe t'añ; this initiation took place when he was 21, in the year *šin yos* (1255). On the seven abandons see f. i. *Mahāyānasutrālañkāra*, XI, p. 4.

51. On the alphabet introduced by aP'ags pa, see PELLIOU, *Les systèmes d'écriture en usage chez les anciens Mongols*, Asia Major, 1925, p. 287.

52. The list of the 13 K'ri skor and of the 3 C'ol k'a is found in many sources, which nevertheless, as may be seen in the schemes which follow, do not particularly differ and hence all go back to original documents.



13 K'RI SKOR

from *Yig ts'an*
(quoted by SP)*Eulogy of gNas rñin*in *gTsañ*

1. mNa' ris	mNa' ris
2. La stod lho	Lho
3. La stod byañ	Byañ
4. C'u mig	C'u mig
5. Ža lu	Ža lu
6. Byañ aBrog	K'yun
7. Yar aBrog	sBra Ber

in *dBus*

8. aBri guñ	idem
9. P'ag mo gru	—
10. gYa' bzan	—
11. Ts'al pa	idem
12. Bya yul	—
13. Lho aBrog	—

Fifth Dalai Lamas Chronicle, p. 60 b KLOÑ RDOL, *bsTan* *adsin min grāns*, p. 50 *Dam pai c'os keyi abyūñ ts'ul*, p. 162

in *gTsañ*

Lho La stod	La stod lho pa	Lho
Byañ La stod	La stod byañ pa	Byañ
Gur mo	—	Lha
C'u mig	C'u mig	C'u (mig)
Šaṅs	—	Šaṅs
Ža lu	Žalu	Ža (lu)
Yar aBrog	aByañ aBrog	Yar aBrog

in *dBus*

rGya ma	rGya ma	rGya
aBri guñ	aBri guñ	aBri
Ts'al pa	Ts'al pa	Ts'al
T'an po c'e ba	sTag luñ	sTag
P'ag gru	P'ag mo gru	P'ag
gYa' bzan	gYa' bzan	gYa'

C'OL K'A

a)

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1. c'ol k'a of the Law (= dBus and gTsañ) | from mNa' ris skor gsum up to Sog la skya'o (Sok gom pa on the Sog-chu?) (according to S. CH. DAS from Guñ t'an in mNa' ris) | <i>rGya bod keyi yig ts'an</i> and <i>Sa skya pa</i> Chronicles derived from it, copying it literally |
| 2. c'ol k'a of men (= mDo stod) | from Sog la skya'o up to rMa c'u k'ug pa (the nook of the Huang-ho) | — |
| 3. c'ol k'a of horses (= mDo smad) | from rMa c'u k'ug pa up to rGya mc'od rten (in the Chronicles erroneously mts'o rten) dkar po (see above p. 252, n. 38). | — |

b)

- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|---|
| 1. c'ol k'a of the Law | dBus and gTsañ | Fifth Dalai Lamas Chron.; <i>Dam pai c'os keyi abyūñ ts'ul</i> , p. 163 |
| 2. c'ol k'a of men | mDo stod | |
| 3. c'ol k'a of horses | mDo smad | |

c) according to other sources quoted by *Dam pai c'os abyūñ ts'ul*, p. 163:

1. c'ol k'a mNa' ris skor gsum: Mal yul (for: Mar yul) mts'o, Guge, Pu hrāns;

2. gYas ru and gYon ru in gTsañ and dBus ru and gYo ru in dBus (i. e. four ru);

3. mDo k'ams { Ts'al sgañ
Bo aBOR sgañ
Mar k'ams sgañ

The slight differences are therefore due to the fact that in the writers' time a new name prevailed over the old one, or to changes of political horizon. So, for instance, Byañ aBrog, in the fifth Dalai Lama's writings, is replaced by Šaṅs, the country North of the gTsañ po. Bya yul takes the place of rGya ma and Lho aBrog of sTag luñ. Gur mo or Gur mo ts'oñ adus is a place in the immediate environs of Ža lu; it is therefore difficult to understand how three myriarchies like Ža lu, C'u mig and Gur mo could be included in such a narrow territory.

The list of the territorial divisions of Tibet is also contained in the *Yüan shih* (chap. 87, p. 14), but the transcription of the myriarchies' names does not always permit a reconstruction of the Tibetan original.

In the Office of Hsüan wei shih (宣慰使) and Tu yüan shuai (都元帅), in the three zones dBus, gTsañ and mNa' ris skor gsum, Na li su ku lu sun (納里速古魯孫) there are the following posts:

Hsüan wei shih (宣慰使) 5;

T'ung chih (同知) 2;

Fu shih (副使) 1;

Ching li (經歷) 1;

Chen fu (鎮撫) 1;

Pu tao ssü kuan (捕盜司官) 1.

To the said office also belong the following officers and officials:

2 Yüan shuai (元帅) in Na li su ku erh (兒) sun;

2 Tu yüan shuai (都元帅) in command of Mongol troops

in dBus and gTsañ;

1 Chao t'ao shih (招討使) in command of soldiers in Tan

li (擔裏);

1 Chuan yün (轉運) in the dBus, gTsañ and other zones;

1 Wan hu (萬戶) governing the country population of Sha lu ssü (沙魯思);

1 Wan hu governing the country population of Ch'a li pa

(擦里八);

1 Wan hu governing the country population of dBus and gTsañ;

1 Civil officer governing the country population of Su erh ma

chia wa (速兒麻加瓦);

1 Civil officer governing the country population of Sa la

(撒刺);

1 Wan hu in 出蜜 Ch'u mi;

1 Wan hu in 嗽籠答刺 Ao lung ta la;

1 Wan hu in 思答籠刺 Ssü ta lung la;

1 Wan hu in Po mu ku lu (伯木古魯);

4 Ch'ien hu (千戶) in 湯卜赤八 Tang pu ch'ih pa

(當布持巴);

1 Wan hu in 加麻瓦 Chia mu wa;

1 Wan hu in 札由瓦 Cha yu wa.

In the Office of Wan hu of Ya li pu ts'ang ssü pa 牙里不藏思八 there are 1 Ta lu hua ch'ih, daruyaci, 1 Wan hu and 1 Tan li t'o t'o ho sun (擔裏脫脫禾孫).

In all these names only the equivalence of the following seems to me certain, although the transcription cannot be considered regular:

Na li su ku lu sun = mNa' ris skor gsum

Sha erh pa = Ts'al pa

Sa la = Ža lu

Ch'u mi = C'u mig

Ssü ta ko lung la = sTag lun

Po mu ku lu = P'ag mo gru

Ya li pu ts'ang ssü pa = gYa' bzan (?)

Chia mu wa is perhaps = rGya mo (pa)

We do not know whether, before the Mongol epoch, a census of Tibet existed, but to judge from passages of the *bKa' t'an sde lña*, which THOMAS made known (cfr. Appendix two), it appears clearly that a tradition exists concerning censuses taken since the times of the kings, when the country was divided into military chiliarchies and into districts, enumerating the population of each. It is not unlikely that census returns were inscribed on stone slabs, like those on which was recorded the peace between China and Tibet; these ought to be the *rtsis rdo riñs*, alluded to in the *bKa' t'an sde lña* (sect. K'a, part I, chap. 17).

A geographical description of Tibet, containing some statistical data on the population and its groupings, is quoted by Klon rdol bla ma ('a, p. 4 ff.) and is assigned to aBrom ston's epoch (XIth century). I do not see why this attribution should not be accepted, as far as its nucleus is concerned.

"The territory called, generally speaking, "Country of Snows", is distinguished as to its parts into eight regions; dBus, gTsañ, K'ams, which are three, plus the four regions of Dvags, Koñ, Loñ po and Ñan, to which is added, as a fifth, the country of the aBrog in Byañ t'an on the frontiers. mNa' ris is also divided into three parts, and gTsañ in gYas ru and in gYon ru (and moreover gTsañ comprises Zar, aBri t'sal and Lho mun srad, Ru mts'ams, U yug, Šaṅs, 203 minor valleys and passes; dBus is divided into dBu ru and gYo ru: dBu ru in its turn comprises Lho and Byañ: Lho includes P'an yul and sTod luñ: Byañ includes Žo and Mal gro. In these regions there are 203 valleys, between larger and lesser ones; in sTod smad 4000, in K'ams 210. Altogether in Tibet there are 1500 large valleys, 12,000 ravines, 140,000 mountains, 2,500,000 minor mountains, 117 great highlands (t'an), 1,700,000 lesser highlands, 4 main rivers, 3,500,000 minor rivers, 4,600,000 sources, 90,000 cliffs (brag ri), 190,000 minor roads,; 105,000 houses (on this term see n. 486) 2,400,000 felt tents, 55 monasteries. . .

"In Tibet there are 30 million (bye ba) men, 40 million women (za ma bud med = bza' ma bud med), 40,000 monks (c'os la spyod), 400 saints (yar agro c'os pa) . . . (yar agro lam, in the Bar do t'os sgröl, is the way leading to union with the absolute). In a Bon po treatise 'Od gsal sems kyi me loñ, p. 8 b, there are those who go yar bzañ t'al and those who go mar bzañ t'al. za ma bud med ought to be a married or marriageable woman.

53. And in the first place the famous shell rgyaṅ grags which is one of the most important relics preserved in Sa skya; according to the tradition accepted by the Chronicles (p. 66 a), the shell was given, together with other sacred relics, by Dharmapāla to king Devarāja of China, the two kings being fast friends, as a reward for the troops the Chinese king had sent to aid the Indian king, overwhelmed by a hostile army besieging Nālandā. Is it possible that this tale preserves some memory of Wang Huien tse's expedition?

54. I cannot say what the "great mi yur", of China, "rgyai mi yur c'en mo", may be; it appears in the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles, in aJigs med rig pai rdo rje and in the Chronicles (p. 66 a).

55. On these places see the Sa skya guide, which on p. 40 b mentions the gSer aBum of aP'ags pa: it is p'yi rten, i. e. in the external part of the holy place, or a sacred building outside a temple, as might be the case with a mc'od rten; the opposite of the nah rten, a name given to the articles of cult proper, stored in the temple. In the present case the gSer aBum c'en po is a gtsug lag k'an founded by aP'ags pa, with gilden dome and keñjira.

Thus also the gSer aBum bkra šis sgo mañ is a mc'od rten, which owes its name to the golden "wheels", surmounting it.

56. On "umbrellas", the technical name of a part of the mc'od rten, see Indo-Tibetica, I.

57. Ša kya bzañ po (Chronicles, p. 74 a), to the West of the dBu rtsa rñin ma, founded the gSer t'og c'en mo.

58. To the South-West of Lhasa, along the Brahmaputra; S. CH. DAS, s. v.: and precisely in sKyid šod (see Klon rdol, vol. 'a, p. 13 b).

59. The Lha k'an c'en mo stands in the plain, on the left of the river; walled round and girt with towers, it looks like a fortress; as it represented Sa skya's most important centre, its rivals, when the sect declined, tried to take possession of it or to garrison it with their own men (see above, p. 22). I am not sure I have read correctly the sentence bśul du žugs pai žar byuñ du.

60. Cfr. for this title his biography in the Yüan shih.

61. This Kar ma ba kši is called rgya, and this word cannot stand for rgya nag, China, because this lama's Tibetan origin is not doubtful; neither can it be a place-name, because the adjectival form rgya pa would be necessary; hence it stands for rgya bo, "the bearded one". The fifth Dalai Lama nearly always uses the form ba š, but aJigs med rig pai rdo rje: pa kši (see LAUFER, Loan words in Tibetan, n. 157). Concerning this episode see aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 95 (transl. p. 148). For Kar ma ba kši's biography, *ibid.*, p. 86 (transl. p. 136). The Kar ma pas who had their main seat in mTs'ur p'u of sTod luñ, also called Kar ma kam c'an, split up into two schools, called according to the colour of their caps, Žva dmar, red caps and Žva nag, black caps. The list of the patriarchs of each sect is preserved by Klon rdol bla ma, bsTan aḍsin gyi skyes bu rgya bod du byon pai min gi grans, za, p. 29 b);

Žva nag:

6. Po to pa; 7. Kar ma pa dus gsum mk'yen; 8. K. p. ba kši; 9. K. p. Rañ abyuñ rdo rje; 10. K. p. Rol pai rdo rje; 11. K. p. De bzin gšegs; 12. K. p. mT'ön don ldan; 13. K. p. Mi bskyod rdo rje; 14. K. p. dBaṅ p'yug rdo rje; 15. K. p. C'os dbyiñs r. r.; 16. K. p. Ye ses r. r.; 17. K. p. Byañ c'ub r. r.; 18. Kar ma bDud aḍul r. r.

Žva dmar:

1. Ti lo pa; 2. Kun rig; 3. Ts'ul k'rims dpal bzañ; 4. dGe slon Nam mk'a' 'od; 5. bKra šis grags pa; 6. rTogs ldan grags pa señ ge; 7. C'os rje mk'a' spyod dbaṅ po; 8. C'os dpal ye ses; 9. C'os grags ye ses; 10. C'os kyi don grub; 11. dKon mc'og c'os kyi űi ma; 12. Mi p'am C'os rgyan rgya mts'o.

We shall find some of these lamas mentioned in the course of the following pages. One Ha li ma, Kar ma pa is mentioned also in the *Ming shih*, chap. 331, p. 2 b, with much honour. "There was (then) a monk Ha li ma (哈立麻):^{a)} the people of that country, as he possessed the art of enlightenment, considered him supreme master. When Ch'eng tsu was "prince of Yen",^{b)} (燕王), he was informed of his name. In the first year of yung lé, 1403 he ordered the eunuch chief of ceremonies (司禮少監) Hou Hsien^{c)} (候顯) and the monk Chih kuang^{d)} (智光) to take letters and gifts to him and to go and invite him. That monk (Ha li ma) first sent some envoys of his to offer the tribute and then himself came to court, following the imperial envoys. In the fourth year, 1406; in winter, while he was about to arrive, the Emperor ordered the Fu ma tu wei (駙馬都尉)^{e)} (the Emperor's son-in-law) Mu Hsin (沐昕) to go and meet him. When he arrived, the Emperor received him in the palace Feng t'ien (奉天殿) and on the following day he offered him a banquet in the palace Hua kai (華蓋) and presented him with a hundred (ounces) of gold, one thousand of silver, twenty-thousand notes of paper money, forty-five silk dresses, religious articles, pillows, saddles, incense, fruit, tea, rice and various other objects. His retainers also received gifts.

"In the following year, in the spring, he presented the staves (to be carried in the processions), two ivory staves, a pair of staves with silver handles, a pair of bone staves, two lamps decorated with fish bones, two silk lamps, two boxes of scent, two fly-whisks, six warming-pans, an umbrella, a chair inlaid with silver, a silver stool, a silver table, a silver basin, a silver vase, a round green fan, a round red fan, a pillow, a mosquito-net, pails for horses, 48 standards, two saddled horses, four unsaddled horses.

"The Emperor, wishing a holy office to be celebrated for his deceased father's and mother's souls, ordered him to institute the ceremonies of fast and purification in the Ling ku temple (靈谷寺).

On the seventh day the Emperor himself went to offer incense in that temple. Then clouds of good omen, sweet dew, a green bird, white elephants, were seen by everyone for a whole day. The Emperor was extremely pleased; when the officials had presented poems and good wishes, the Emperor again presented (that monk) with a hundred ounces of gold and one thousand ounces of silver and two thousand notes of paper money and twenty silk dresses and nine horses.

"His disciples, the Kuan ting yüan t'ung shan hui ta kuo shih (灌頂圓通善慧大國師) Ta shih pa lo ko lo ssü^{f)} (答師巴囉葛羅思) and others, received great gifts. Then the Emperor appointed Ha li ma; "Wan hsing chü tzu shih fang tsui sheng yüan chiao miao chih hui shan p'u ying yu kuo yen chiao ju lai ta pao fa wang hsi t'ien ta shan tzu tsai fo", (萬行具足十方最勝圓覺妙智慧善普應佑國演教如來大寶法王西天大善自在佛) entrusted him with the Buddhist teaching throughout the whole world, gave him the seal with its decree, and also gold, silver, paper money, embroidered silk, monastic dresses ornamented with gold and gems; gold and silver objects, saddles, and ordered that his disciple Po lun fu wa Sang erh chia ling chen / Sañs rgyas rin c'en^{g)} (李隆逋瓦桑兒加領眞) should be named "Kuan ting yüan hsiu ching hui ta kuo shih", (灌頂圓修淨慧大國師), Kao jih wa ch'an^{h)} po (高日瓦禪伯) should be named "Kuan ting t'ung wu hung chih ta kuo shih", (灌頂通悟弘濟大國師), Kuo luan lo ko lo chien ts'ang pa li ts'ang puⁱ⁾ (果樂羅葛羅監藏巴里藏卜) should be named Kuan ting hung chih ching chieh ta kuo shih (灌頂弘智淨戒大國師).

"To all of them the Emperor gave seals with their decree, silver, money and silk. He then ordered that Ha li ma should go to the Wu t'ai shan (五臺山) to perform a great function and the ceremonies for the souls of the deceased Emperor and Empress; then he distributed an abundance of gifts.



"In the fourth month of the sixth year 1408 (Ha li ma) took leave and went back. (The Emperor) again gave him gold, silk, images of the Buddha and ordered the eunuchs to accompany him. From this moment up to the end of the Chêng t'ung (正統) period (1436-1450) Ha li ma sent the tribute to court eight times.

"When the Fa wang died, tributes were not offered for a long time. In the eighth year of the Hung chih (弘治) period 1495, prince Ko li ma pa (葛哩麻巴) (again) began to send envoys which came to offer the tribute. In the 12th year 1499 the tributes were offered twice: the Minister of rites said that it was not according to the rules to offer the tribute twice in a year, and begged (the Emperor) to diminish the gift (given in exchange). The Emperor accepted this proposal. In the first year Chêng t'ê (正德) (1506) they again came to offer the tribute, and again in the tenth year.

a) This Ha li ma pa (later Ko li ma pa) can be no other than the fifth, according to Kloñ rdol the eleventh, Kar ma žva nag De bžin gšegs, spoken of diffusely by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje (transl. p. 171), Sa'yan Săcăn (SCHMIDT, p. 291) WEI TSAN T'U SHIH, p. 120; SCHULEMAN, p. 103, HUTH and S. CH. DAS (in Sum pa mk'an po's tables). They give 1383 as the date of his birth, but the year *šin byi* is 1384. In 1403 he was then nineteen, but his fame had reached China, as an incarnation of Rol pai rdo rje. Sa'yan Săcăn is mistaken when he states that Yung lê, immediately after ascending the throne, invited Rol pai rdo rje to China; he makes a confusion between him and his incarnation. Rol pai rdo rje had then been dead for several years having, passed away in the year *c'u p'ag*, 1383; Rol pai rdo rje on the other hand had been invited by the Yüan Toqôn tāmür (aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 179 transl.).

De bžin gšegs died in the year *me lug*, 1427, *ibid.*, p. 173, and DT, *ñā*, p. 46 ff.

b) to-day Ho pei.

c) *Ming shih*, chap. 304, pp. 4-5.

d) Concerning whom see below.

e) *Ming shih*, chap. 126, p. 20.

f) Ta shih pa lo ko lo ssü; almost certainly bKra šis dpal blo gros; I find no trace of him among the De bžin gšegs's disciples, upon whom the title of Gu šri was conferred: according to DT they were Sañs rgyas rin c'en dpal (see note g), Blo gros rgyal mts'an (see note i), Rin c'en dpal, Don grub 'od zer, C'os kyi rgyal mts'an, Ša kya bžan po.

g) This can be no other than Gu šri Sañs rgyas rin c'en; see DT, *ñā*, p. 47 a; po lun p'u wa must be a birth-place = spu lun p'u (Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 41).

b) This name is divided in two parts: Kao je wa perhaps a title; ch'an po is purely Chinese and means prince of meditation.

i) I. e., as we have seen, Blo gros rgyal mts'an; I find the first element of his name: kuo luan obscure.

62. In the Chronicles (p. 67 b) she is called C'a bu = Cambui Qatun in Sa'yan Săcăn, p. 119 (SCHMIDT); in aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 91 (transl. p. 143) she is called mDses ma bžan mo. In the inscription dictated by aP'ags pa for a mc'od rten built by Qubilai's order: bTsun mo C'a'u (rGyal po yab sras kyi mc'od rten bženis pa la bsñags pai sdeb sbyor, p. 2). In the Yüan shih, chap. 106, Ch'a pi huang hou hung chi lieh 察必皇后弘吉列.

63. *adren byed* = Sanscr. *nayana*: the five mystical families are the *pañcata-thāgata*, the supreme pentad, concerning which see above, part first, p. 222 f.

64. *dus ston*: i. e. one of the nine feasts fixed by the religious calendar, on which see S. CH. DAS, *Diction.*, p. 624.

65. C'u mig was a great monastery, the centre of a myriarchy, according to the Mongol territorial division (see above n. 52); the old convent has been destroyed and nothing remains of the ancient city, except an unassuming Lha k'an to the S. W. of sNar t'an, almost on the crossways of the path leading from this monastery to that of Nor; it is seen on the right, descending from Gañs can dgon pa. Huth did not understand that this was a place-name and translated (p. 145) "das C'os ak'or der Quelle des gTsan," (cfr. p. 158 "an der fernen Quelle des gTsan,". On this council, which took place in the year *me glan* (1277) see *Chronicles*, p. 95 a.

66. The same event is related in the DT, *ñā*, p. 79 a. "Grags pa ye šes (of aBri guñ) ascended the throne in the year iron-snake (1280) and in that same year a Hor army invaded Tibet and the Hor army destroyed Bya rog rdson and the dPon c'en Kun dga' bžan po was killed by the Hor."

The prophecy is contained in the PTY, chap. XCII; TOUSSAINT, p. 381, translates "Au Fort des Corbeaux une troupe battit le tambour

des édités et enrôlera les fainéants pour récolter l'or de paille,". The *gse p'ye c'u* is also the name of the Yang tse kiang.

67. One of the chief reasons of the disturbances which covered Tibet with blood was the violent quarrel between Sa skya and aBri guñ, which broke out in aP'ags pa's last years and became more acute under his successors. The aBri guñ began by accusing the Sa skya pa to the Mongol court; it was then that the three most influential persons in the Sa skya court, namely the dPon c'en Ša kya bžan po of Grum (this locality must be in the Sa skya territory; the river passing through this place is called Grum c'u), the dGe šes Rin c'en brtson agrus of bTson k'a on Eastern sMad, and Hor C'e ston ts'ul of Gon gyo in mDo stod, went to the Chinese court and stated the Sa skya pa case so ably that, notwithstanding the charges brought against them, they persuaded the court that their conduct had been correct, and any suspicion concerning the great monastery was dispelled. Thus the Sa skya took once more the upper hand to such a point that Ag len dpon c'en of Sa skya joined the troops of T'i mur Bokkha (Tāmür-buqa. This general's biography is contained in the Yüan shih, chap. 132, but there is no allusion to his Tibetan campaign). He attacked and burnt in his turn the aBri guñ monastery.

This is the information, desumed from the *rGya bod yig ts'an*, which the fifth Dalai Lama inserts in the biography of Blo gsal rgya mts'o grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bžan po, p. 21 a. In this relation it is interesting to remark that this Rin c'en brtson agrus, like Hor C'e ston ts'ul, was a native of the extreme province in Eastern Tibet. This means that even at this comparatively late period, there continued to be in Tibetan aristocracy a prevalence of people coming from K'ams, who gradually supplanted the local nobility or infused their vitality into it. He was descended from the bKa' ma log, a tribe on the north-eastern frontier of K'ams. The fifth Dalai Lama inserts, in relation with this, a rather important legend on the origin of this family, which is bound up with Pe dkar's cycle:

"In ancient times, in the days of the C'os rgyal of Tibet, K'ri sroñ lde btsan and of his fourth son K'ri sde sroñ btsan, garrisons were placed to defend access to Tibet in the four regions of Tibet oppressed by barbarous soldiers. In particular (the king), leading several myriads of Tibetan soldiers, destroyed the hermitage of Bha ta hor. After victory, before going back, Tibetan soldiers having arrived to protect the access to those regions, he placed on the frontier between Tibet and Hor nine capable men with 900 soldiers.

"Then, when they asked him when they should come back, the king answered that they should not come back (*ma log*) without his order (*bka'*). Hence the descendants of those nine brave men were called bKa' ma log. And in that place there are many clans of Tibetans and aBrog pa, which belong to the bKa' ma log. A Minister of Se c'en's, named Sangha C'in sañ, belonged to that clan of bKa' ma log."

68. P'yag na stands for P'yag na rdo rje, as in the Chronicles.

69. According to the Chronicles (p. 105 a) Zañs ts'a's second wife, who bore him Rin c'en rgyal mts'an dpal, was called Jo agro, a native of Sa skyai c'u mdo. The spelling aGrom of the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles is not correct, it should be aGro mo. The Sa skya Chronicles, as it is nearly always the case, are dependant on dKon mc'og lhun grub, but they are not ignorant of the tradition accepted by the fifth Dalai Lama, which they attribute to the *gDun rabs* of sTag ts'an.

70. In the Chronicles her name is mDo sde; she married a Mus pa and was the mother of the Mus c'en rGyal mts'an dpal bžan po, p. 105 a. These two names bSod nams abum and Ni ma abum suggest certain remarks on the onomastic type of female names in the period we are concerned with. While the first element may be one of the many appearing in men's names, like bSod nams or Ni ma, the final abum is generally (but we know of exceptions) characteristic of women's names: Jo mo abum, mK'a' agro ma abum, Kun dga' abum. Sometimes abum precedes the rest of the name: aBum skyid. According to another onomastic type, women's personal names are preceded by ma gcig, lha gcig, lha gcig mdsas ma, ma gcig mk'a' agro ma; at other times the name is followed by *lcam*, and in this case *lcam* usually has the same value as *bza'* and is preceded by the family name; the type with *bza'* is however more common: Hor bza', Cog ro bza'. In later times, particularly for women of a high rank, the name is accompanied by Byañ sams, as in the Gyan-tse inscriptions. Sometimes the woman is mentioned, only with her own or her father's original name.

71. In the text we read: Bod, but it is evidently a mistake for: Hor, as in the Sa skya Chronicles, p. 150 a, with which the fifth Dalai Lama generally has literal analogies.

72. aJa ma li or Jo bo aJa ma li is an effigy of Avalokiteśvara (in S. CH. DAS, *Ditt.*, s. v. jo bo ja ma li) on the frontier between Tibet and Nepal, in Kojarnāth.

Concerning aJam ma li mc'ed gsum, the three aJam ma li brothers information may be gathered, though these two sources do not always agree, both in the guide to Kojarnāth, *Lhan bcas agro bai mc'od sdon jo bo dñul sku mc'ed gsum sñon byuñ gi gtam dan brjod pai rin c'en vai dñu rya sñon poi pi van*, and in the *aJams bu gliñ rgyas bñad* (mss., p. 10, WASSILIEW, *Geographia Tibetica*, p. 9). The first text relates various traditions on the origin of the silver statues worshipped in the temple: according to a tradition, after King K'or re, i. e. Ye še 'od, had long meditated on Jambhala, seven ācārya appeared to him, and each of them poured out before him a load of silver. He had six statues of aJam dpal made with it: the artists he employed were a Nepalese sculptor called Aśvadharmā and a Kashmiri artist Vañ ku la.

The statue represented aJam dpal ye šes sems dpa' and was placed on a block of alabaster.

According to another tradition seven Mongol merchants once went to king gNam mgon sde, also a devotee of Jambhala, and deposited with him seven chests, saying that if three years should pass before they came back to claim them, he might use their contents. Three years having gone by and the merchants not having come back, the king and his wife Jo abum ma rgyal mo opened the chests and found there coins (*tam k'a*) of silver, on which the characters aDsam aDsam (i. e. Jambhala) were written. With the metal they had a statue of P'yag na pad ma made, and another of P'yag na rdo rje, to be placed respectively on the right and on the left of aJam dpal's image, dedicated in the times of aK'or re.

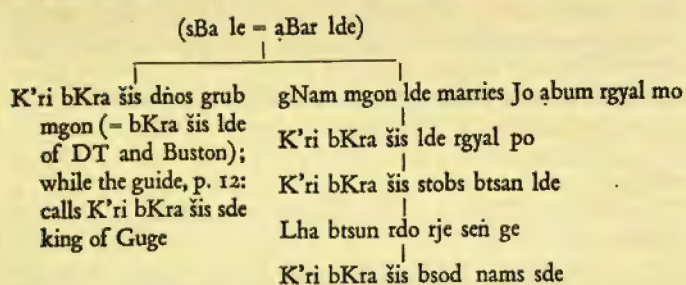
According to the *aDsam gliñ rgyas bñad*, the artists who made the statues came from aDsum lan, that is, from the district of Jumla in North-Western Nepal near the Tib. frontier (Biogr. of the gTer stons, p. 27: *Bod mts'ams*).

The two sources we have quoted do not mention the fact that the statues were transported to Sa skya; anyhow, only copies were carried there, as the two statues remained in the temple of Kojarnāth, where they are still worshipped. See TUCCI, *Santi e Briganti*, pp. 38-43.

Kojarnāth is for Purang what mT'o gliñ was for Guge: the region's greatest sanctuary, founded by Ye šes 'od and by his son Byan c'ub 'od; it was periodically embellished by successive princes, who ruled over the district, more as vice-regents for the kings of Guge than as actual sovereigns. The same guide mentions the visits of bKra šis lde, the C'os rgyal of Guge, to Kojarnāth (p. 12), while it considers his younger brother, gNam mgon lde, as the head of the region. It is quite probable that the cadet branch of the kings of Guge or their younger brothers were called upon to rule over that district.

The biography of the founder of Nor Kun dga' bzañ po also mentions the monastery of aK'or c'ags as being under the rule of the C'os rgyal of Guge (p. 39).

The Guide we have quoted records the following succession:



73. That is, two women: the first, according to the Chronicles, founded the Jo mo gliñ monastery and continued to lead a religious life; the second married bKra šis rtsegs pa dpal, lord of Guñ t'an (p. 105 b).

74. *rjei bla ma*, in the Chronicles (105 b): *blai mc'od gnas*. The date of his death is uncertain; some sources place it in the year *c'u bya* (1273) at the age of 36, others, like the Chronicles, at 37, in the year *šin k'yi*, 1274 (pp. 105 b, 106 a).

75. In the Chronicles (*ibid.*): Hu dkar c'e. On aJan see THOMAS, *Tibetan documents*, JRAS, 1928, p. 85.

76. In this text Rin c'en abyuñ gnas is called slob dpon: but in the Sa skya Chronicles slob dpon ma, that is, he should be a woman (p. 105 b).

77. According to the Chronicles, p. 106 a, P'yag na (rdo rje) had three wives: Mam mgal, Godan's daughter (Godan is here called king

"rgyal po,": the same as Ji big t'e mur, *ibid.*: rgyal po has therefore here the meaning of "royal prince,"); ma gcig lDan ts'a c'os abum and mK'a' agro abum the daughter of rNa sgra, sku žañ of Ža lu, and Nañ blon of the king of the Hor. The latter was Dharmapālarakṣita's mother. She had a son Ratnabhadra, who died young and with whom this branch became extinguished. bZañ po dpal's mother was Jo mo abum (*Chronicles*, p. 107).

78. The first internal crisis of the Sa skya thus belongs to this period: although the Chronicles and the fifth Dalai Lama speak with the usual euphemisms, to cover any stain that might dim the good name of a clan of divine origin, it is clear that in the times of P'yag na rdo rje there were serious struggles between the various brothers born of Zañs ts'a, each aspiring to succession. From the narrative we may also infer that P'yag na rdo rje wished to secure supreme power for his own line, transmitting it to his son Dharmapālarakṣita, who, dying young, left it in the hands of his son Ratnabhadra. The early age at which these princes died is surprising: one at twenty and the other at five, so that we suspect these precocious deaths not to have been natural. In the meantime the son of Ye šes abyuñ gnas, the bDag ŋid c'en po bZañ po dpal, following certain charges, unspecified by the Chronicles and by the fifth Dalai Lama, but casting doubts on his legitimacy, was called to the Mongol court to account for his activities, and then exiled. From the Chronicles it appears that the city where bZañ po dpal was confined was accessible by sea or by river. He was confined in a large castle (*mK'ar mig c'en po*) called Zo c'u, at twenty days' navigation (*c'u aJam*) from the bay (*rgya mts'o lag*) of the country of sMan rtse, hence in Han c'u, which was seven days' journey from that place.

Thus in the Sa skya Chronicles (p. 106 b); the same account appears in Kun dga' rin c'en's biography, identical save for some orthographical variants, p. 33 b: *sMan rtse'i yul p'yi rgya mts'oi lag c'u abyams* (in the *Chronicles*: *c'u aJam*: on the word *aJam* see above p. 13) *c'en po ŋi šu rtse bgrañ bsgral ba na zo c'u zer pai mK'ar mig c'en por bžugs yañ de nas luñ gi mjal lam* (*Chronicles*: *aJa' lam*) *bñun bğod pa na bam c'u* (*Chronicles*: *ban c'u*) *zer pai mK'ar mig c'en por bžugs*.

sMan rtse 蠻子 corresponds to the name the Mongols used to give southern China, which had remained under the Sung's government; this word is derived from: man tse, a name the Chinese gave to the Southern barbarians. In Marco Polo the same name appears as Mangi, Manzi.

Zo c'u is perhaps Su chou and Ham c'u = Hang chou.

The Tibetan *sman rtse* for *man tse* registered by S. CH. DAS, or rather *man tsi* (see LAUFER, *Loan words in Tibetan*, n. 280), is derived from the Chinese *man tse*, "thin silk,," it is probably due to a contamination with the sMan rtse mentioned above.

The bDag ŋid was called to China and consequently exiled at the age of 21 (1282). It is logical to see these events as a struggle for succession between pretenders to the Sa skya throne, which the Mongol Emperor (Qubilai) must have ended. In the meantime there was an interregnum, during which, as we can gather from the Chronicles, power was vested in the Šar pa aJam dbyaṅs rin c'en rgyal mts'an, who kept it not only until the bDag ŋid c'en po returned, in his thirty-fifth year, *sa k'yi* (1298), but until he attained the age of 45 (1306), because an order of the king forced him to study (we should say to remain confined) in the Lha brañ's palace. So his exile seems to have lasted 16 years, but his actual absence from power 24 years. He was called back thanks to the intercession of the Šar pa and other dignitaries; from the Chronicles (p. 108 a-b) it appears that Grags pa 'od zer was one of those who had him restored to favour. Who is this Ti šri Grags pa 'od zer? One of the ordinances of Ža lu I have published was issued in his name. As may be gathered from the Gyantse chronicles, he belonged to the Bla brañ K'an gsar. According to the information concerning him, contained in the Sa skya pa Chronicles, he was the bDag ŋid c'en po's chaplain (*mc'od dpon*). When aP'ags pa died, he was chosen by the Sa skya to take the news of the Lama's death and his relics to Qubilai. He thus became extremely acceptable at court and stopped there a long time, enjoying great consideration, as may be desumed from the fact that Ag len and the others sought his intercession with the Emperor in the bDag ŋid c'en po's favour. He is included in the list of the Ti shih contained in the *Yüan shih* (cf. above p. 252, n. 47).

To close this long note, we should add, concerning the bDag ŋid c'en po, that he was not a lama; he was bDag ŋid c'en po, "great lord,," was only invested with temporal authority and had no religious authority or rank up to the age of 52.

79. Ratnabhadra.

80. Ag len or An len, concerning whom see what follows. In this circumstance, to restore Sa skya's fortunes, he formed a council of Sa skya pa chiefs, following which this letter was sent to the Ti tri Grags pa 'od zer.

81. Sa skya Pandita and aP'ags pa.

82. K'au rdo: but in the Chronicles (p. 108 b): Nam mk'a' 'ub kyi rdoi c'ar pa babs; in the text of the fifth Dalai Lama the raven is like a rin c'un but in the Chronicles ri bo ts'am.

83. Žal no: from this and other passages of the texts used, it appears that Žal no means "chief, prince," insofar as he is also a hierarch, i. e. a religious chief: "monk official,". The meaning assigned to the expression by S. CH. DAS, "an official in command of more than 50 soldiers but inferior to a captain," (centurion?) does not suit these and other cases. The plural Žal no nams, the chiefs or notables of a place, is often found.

84. Nag ap'ra: in the Myan c'un, p. 224, nag p'ran; in the Chronicles, p. 105 a, c'un zad nag ap'ra tsam byun bai dus. This sentence is not in the dictionaries, but the meaning is clear: to be in difficulties, in danger, in decline, but also: to be short of. Cft. gduñ rgyud nag p'ra bar byun pas "the succession of the family being in danger," (Life of the Zur pa t'ams cad mk'yen, p. 24 a). C'os nīd gñis ka jin tu nag p'ra ba žig adug, Vaidurya ser po, p. 366 b.

85. Born of the wife he had married in China: Muñ gan.

86. Seven wives is an error: they are seven only if we include in their number the Chinese wife he married in sMan rse according to the Chronicles (p. 112). The latter was rather a concubine, the others wives of his own country. Concerning the bDag nīd c'en po's wives see my scheme, where some discrepancies between sources are noted. Some data seem doubtful. The uncertainty noticed on this point is not due to the fifth Dalai Lama, nor to the author of the DT: it already existed in the sources they used; this conclusion is reached through the continual allusions, in the Chronicles, to a variety of opinions among the various writers of Sa skya Chronicles. This is also due to the hardships of the times, troubled by warfare, and to the decay of the Sa skya family itself: it no longer kept its archives up to date and documents were consequently lost. All considered, the author of the Chronicles, who had many more sources at his disposal than the other compilers, seems worthier of our belief, also because he diligently sifts the information collected by his predecessors.

We notice that according to the Chronicles (I.109 b) the bDag nīd c'en po took religious vows at the age of 52, assuming the name of Amoghavajrasīpāla, and that all his sons were born before he was 52. Opinions differ also on the date of his death. Some sources, like the gDun rabs of the lotsāva of sTag ts'añs, of gTsañ byams pa, of Šes rab rdo rje, say that he died at 63, in the year žin byi (1324). Others, like the one by Ni lde, say at 61, in the year c'u kyi (1322). The Chronicles follow the first date.

87. He went to China at eleven (sa bya, 1309); he returned to Tibet at 24 (c'u kyi, 1322). In the Chronicles, p. 112 b, only Gegan is mentioned. Notice how the spelling of the same name wavers between T'e mur and T'i mur, Gigan, Ge gan; Bu yan is Buyantu (Ayurbaribada), Jen huñ 1312-1320; Gegan is Gāgān Qošila, Ying tsung; Yesun t'e mur is Yāsūn Tāmūr (T'ai ting ti) 1323-1328. On these persons see HAMBIS, s. v.

88. Ratnaśrī, Rin c'en dpal, younger son of Qošila; see HAMBIS, pp. 140, 141.

89. bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po and Kun dga' legs pa blo gros, when the Ming succeeded the Yüan, sent envoys to ask the new dynasty for the jade seal, but it was refused, with the excuse that it had already been given to another dignitary. It is well to translate here the passage in the Ming shih concerning these events, chap. 331.

"In the beginning of Hung wu (1368) T'ai tsu fearing the disturbances (caused by) Tibet in the T'ang's times (should be repeated), decided to put these matters in order. Conforming to their customs, he made use of the monks and of their disciples to educate them and then guide them towards good. He also sent envoys with the order that they should submit. Moreover he arranged that Hsu Yün te 許允德, Yüan Wai lang 員外郎 of the provincial government of Shen-si, should go into that country, and he ordered that those who were invested with old offices conferred upon them by the Yüan, should come to court and be (again) confirmed in their posts.

"Then in dBus and gTsañ power was exercised by the Ti shih Nan chia pa ts'ang pu 喃咖巴藏卜^{a)} who began to send envoys to court

to offer the tribute. They arrived at court in the twelfth month of the fifth year. The Emperor was glad and sent (that monk) as a gift a red dress for meditation, of embroidered silk, with cap and shoes, money and other things.

"In the following year (1373), in the second month (the Ti shih) came to court personally to introduce (to the Emperor) those who had formerly been invested with official dignities; they were about 60 persons in all. The Emperor confirmed him in office and, as he already possessed the office (of a Ti shih), he appointed him "precious Ti shih Buddha of perfect knowledge," "Chih sheng fo pao kuo shih," 熾盛佛寶國師 and again gave him the jade seal and clothes of coloured silk (綵幣), twenty suits of each kind.

"When the jade carver had finished the seal, the Emperor examined the jade, and as it was not handsome, he ordered it to be cut afresh. Thus he honoured him.

"Then the (Ti shih), having asked permission, returned to his country. (The Emperor) ordered the prefecture of Ho chou 河州 to send an official to escort him, commanding all the barbarians who had not yet submitted to make an act of obedience.

"In the winter (1373) the descendant of the Ti shih of the Yüan, So nan chien pa ts'ang pu^{b)} 鎖南堅巴藏卜 and Yüan kuo [kung]^{c)} 元國公 Kung ko lieh ssü chien ts'ang pa ts'ang pu 公哥列思監藏巴藏卜^{d)} sent envoys to ask for the jade seal; the court officials said that it had already been conferred and could not be conferred anew, but they were presented with figured silks.

"In the seventh year (1374) in the summer, the Fo pao kuo shih sent his envoys to offer tributes. In the autumn the descendant of the Ti shih Pa ssü pa of Yüan, Kung-ko-chien-ts'ang-pa-ts'ang-pu 公哥監藏巴藏卜 and the monk of dBus and gTsañ Ta li ma pa la 答力麻八刺 sent envoys to court to ask for investiture, and then the Emperor appointed the descendant of the Ti shih: "Yüan chih miao chiao hung chiao ta kuo shih 圓智妙覺弘教大國師 and the monk of dBus and gTsañ, Kuan ting kuo shih 灌頂國師 and together gave them jade seals.

"The Fo pao kuo shih (above mentioned) again sent his followers to offer the tribute, and presented at court five persons who had held official posts; the Emperor confirmed them all in their office.

"In the ninth year Ta li ma pa la^{e)} sent envoys to offer the tributes. In the eleventh year he again sent an offer of tribute and presented at court sixteen persons who had formerly been invested with various dignities, like Hsüan wei shih 宣慰使 and Chao t'ao shih 招討使; the Emperor consented (to confirm them).

In the fourteenth year (1381) that monk sent a new tribute. At that time Nan chia pa ts'ang pu died.

a) Nam mk'a' dpal bzañ po is a very common name in Tibetan onomastic, therefore it is not easy to identify the person here named. But in Sum pa mk'an po's chronological tables, p. 59, we find Nam mk'a' dpal, who died in 1378 (S. Ch. Das's dates, as we know, are unreliable); his death would not be distant from that of the personage mentioned in the Ming shih. According to the DT the date of his death is uncertain, some give sa rta, 1378, others sa lug, 1379; he was the spiritual guide of bKra šis dpal rtsog of sTag lun (ibid., Na, p. 104).

b) dPal ldan bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po 1312-1375.

c) in the Chinese text a 公 kung has fallen between his name and the title.

d) Kun dga' rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po (Zla ba rgyal mts'an) born in 1344; according to the Chronicles he was unable to return to China, due to disturbances on the Chinese-Tibetan frontier.

e) This name corresponds to Dharmapāla, but for chronological reasons he can be neither Dharmapālarakṣita, who was then already dead, nor Dharmapāla of Ža lu.

90. Kun dga' blo gros, possibly to avoid the strife which had occurred in the times of P'yag na and his father, made a division of the Sa skya property, allotting to each of his brothers a palace as his seat, so that the clan was actually split up into four groups, each of which took the name of the palace it resided in, forming in course of time a family to itself.

According to the Chronicles (p. 113 b) at the age of 26 "he gave his brother mk'as btsun Nam mk'a' legs pa rgyal mts'an the rock crystal seal (šel gyi dam k'a) and the bŽi t'og palace. To the Ti šri Kun dga' legs

abyun gnas he gave the golden seal and the palace of the Lha k'an, to aJam dbyans don yod rgyal mts'an a rock crystal seal and the palace of Rin c'en sgan, to dBan Kun dga' legs pa and his sister, a golden seal and the palace of Dus mc'od.,,

It should further be noticed that tradition made this distinction in the series of the Sa skya pa: the Sa C'en, Kun dga' sñin po, the ācārya bSod nams rtse mo and rJe tsun grags pa rgyal mts'an, as the three "white ones"; the Sa skya Paṇḍita, Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, aGro mgon aP'ags pa and Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an, who were dGe sloñ, as the three "red ones". Furthermore the three "white ones", with the Sa skya Paṇḍita and aP'ags pa were called "goñ ma lña", "the five ancient ones". After bSod nams rgyal mts'an, the Sa skya were propagated into another three monasteries, Goñ dkar, Nor and Ts'ar (see KLOñ RDOL, *bsTan qdsin gyi skyes bu rgya bod du byun bai min gi gran*, complete works, vol. Za, p. 31 b).

91. On this word see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, table of the Sa skya abbots' genealogies, n. 8, which however should read "this Hor dynasty is called in Chinese *Tai dben*.,,

In Desgodins' dictionary the word *Ta dben* is recorded in the double form "*ta dben*," "*ta rin*," as the equivalent of the Chinese 大人 *ta jen*. But *ta dben* and *ta rin* correspond to two different terms: the equivalence between *ta dben* and *ta yüan* is established beyond all doubt by the evidence of the DT and by the fact that 大元 *ta yüan* does in reality appear in the titles given by the Mongols to the great lamas, for instance to P'ags pa (see *Yüan shih* and *Ming shih*). *Ta rin*, *ta zin*, or, in the Gyanse chronicles, *ta bzin*, correspond, on the other hand, to 大人 *ta jen* "His Excellency", (cf. LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 296).

92. The bzi t'og, "palace four stories high", is one of Sa skya's most imposing structures; it is in the centre of the sacred city, between the river Grum c'u and the mountain. Of course this is not the ancient palace, but the one reconstructed by Kun dga' rin c'en. The guide describes it at length, giving a list of the most interesting things it contains.

93. I. e. bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po. He was appointed T'eg c'en and was a contemporary of Tsoñ k'a pa (Life of Tsoñ k'a pa, p. 87).

Some of these hierarchs beginning with Kun dga' bkra sis are also mentioned by the *Ming shih* (chap. 331, pp. 5, 6); it transcribes the name of Kun dga' bkra sis faultily as *kung tsê shih pa*.

According to the Sa skya pa chronicles, he went to China in the year of the dragon 1412 and was appointed by the Emperor as T'eg c'en c'os rgyal, corresponding to the Chinese title *ta ch'eng fa wang*. He died in 1425.

"The king of the Law of the great vehicle was the monk of dBus and gTsan K'un tsê ssü pa 昆澤思巴. His disciples also called him supreme master. In the Yung lê period, the Emperor Cheng tsu invited Ha li ma, and having heard that K'un chai ssü pa possessed the art of enlightenment, he ordered a eunuch to bring him letters with a seal, to present him with silk and silver and to invite him (to come to China). But that monk had already sent his envoys beforehand to offer (holy) relics and an image of the Buddha. Hence he came himself to court with the imperial envoys and in the second month of the eleventh year he came to the capital. The Emperor received him at once, gave him a collection of the sacred scriptures, silver, money, silk dresses, saddles, fruit and other things, and appointed him Wan hsing yüan yung miao fa tsui sheng chen ju hui chih hung tz'u kuang chi hu kuo yen chiao cheng chiao ta ch'eng fa wang hsi t'ien shang shan chin kang p'u ying ta kuang ming fo 萬行圓融妙法最勝真如慧智弘慈廣濟護國演教正覺大乘法王西天上善金剛普應大光明佛 and instructed him to guide the Buddhist teaching in all the world; he gave him a seal and a diploma, religious clothes, insignia and saddles, umbrellas and other implements. He honoured him as the second next to the Ta pao fa wang.

Next year (1414) he took leave and went back; the Emperor gave him larger gifts than those he had given him before and ordered that a eunuch should be his escort. After repeated times, he sent offerings of tributes. The Emperor several times ordered the eunuchs Ch'iao Lai hsi 喬來喜 and Yang San pao 楊三保 to take to him as a gift images of the Buddha, sacred objects and religious clothes, sacred draperies for meditation, velvets, coloured silk and other objects.,,

In the passages of the *Ming shih* immediately following are mentioned other pretenders to the title of Ta ch'eng fa wang, which as we have seen had been conferred upon the Sa skya patriarch, but I can

find no trace either of the personages or of the events in traditions and any exact identification escapes me.

"In the two periods Hung hsi (1425) and Hsüan te (1468), they came to offer tributes. In the fourth year Ch'eng hua (1468) prince Wan pu 完卜 sent envoys to offer tributes.^{a)} The master of rites said that the letters lacked the seal of the king of the Law. Neither was it in accordance with the rules that (the envoys) should have had access to T'ao chou 洮州^{b)} (in Kan suh); the gifts (given in exchange) should therefore be decreased. The envoys said that the country where they dwelt was more than twenty stages distant from dBus and gTsan, and that they had arrived in the capital after a five years' [corr.: months?] journey; they offered many horses and asked to be given a complete gift. The Emperor ordered the gifts to be increased.

"In the 17th year (1476) they came to offer tributes. In the first year of the Hung chih period (1488) prince Sang chia wa 桑加瓦 sent his envoys to offer tributes. According to usage, when the king of the Law died, his disciple proclaimed himself his successor without awaiting the imperial order. In the third year (1490) the Fu chiao wang 輔教王 sent his envoys to offer tributes and asked the Emperor to be appointed the Ta ch'eng fa wang's successor.^{c)} The Emperor received tributes, and having presented them with the (due) gifts sent them back, but did not allow him to succeed the Ta ch'eng fa wang.

"In the fifth year Ch'eng tê (1510) he sent his disciple Ch'o chi wo hsieh erh 絳吉我些兒^{d)} and others (monks), who came to China from Ho chou wei 河州衛^{e)} to offer tributes.

"As they had not followed the road of the tributes, the Minister begged the Emperor to reduce the gifts offered in exchange and also that the commander Hsü ching 徐經 should be punished. The Emperor accepted this proposal. Then Ch'o chi wo hsieh erh obtained the Emperor's favour and was appointed Ta tê fa wang 大德法王. In the 10th year the monk Wang pu so nan chien ts'an pa erh tsang pu 完卜鎮南堅參巴爾藏卜^{f)} sent his envoys to offer the tribute and asked to be appointed Ta ch'eng fa wang. The Minister of rites imprudently did not thoroughly examine the case and allowed this.

"In the 15th year of the Chia ching period (1536) he, together with the Fu chiao and Chan chiao and other princes, sent offerings of tributes. The envoys amounted to about four thousand men. As the number of men was excessive the Emperor reduced the gifts, but he punished the Ssü ch'uan officials who had erred in allowing the men to pass.

"This happened when Cheng tsu appointed Chan hua and five other princes; each had his own particular lands.

Only the two Fa wang, as they were itinerant monks, had no fixed seat; therefore their tribute is not found in the list of those who had to pay tribute every three years. However, throughout the Ming dynasty, the presentation of tributes (on their part) was never interrupted.,,

a) Wang po corresponds to the Tibetan dbañ po, but for chronological reasons we cannot think of dbañ po Nam mk'a' legs pai rgyal mts'an of the Dus mc'od lha k'an of Sa skya, whom the Ming, according to the Chronicles, invested with the title of kyao wan, chiao wang "Lord of the teaching", and that of dBañ, as we read in the Chronicles of Gyanse: probably these titles being transferable from father to son the person here alluded to is his son Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po. Cfr. n. 824.

b) Now Lin t'an 臨潭 in Kan suh.

c) He who proclaims himself the heir of the title of Ta ch'eng fa wang should be the successor of Kun dga' bkra sis, just mentioned, but I cannot find any name which might correspond to this; is san kia pa a faulty transcription of sa skya pa?

d) I. e. C'os kyi 'od zer, concerning whom I find no information.

e) Lin hsia 臨夏 in Kan suh.

f) This name certainly corresponds to dbañ po bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po, namely bdag ñid c'en po Sa lotsäva aJam dbyañs Kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mts'an, who died in 1533. The fact that his second mission reached China in 1536 affords no difficulty, since it may have been sent by his successor having the same title of Ta ch'eng fa wang. But I do not deny that this identification seems nevertheless to be contradicted by what is said immediately afterwards, that the two fa wang, i. e. C'os kyi 'od zer and bSod nams rgyal mts'an, were two itinerant monks and had no monastery. On the other hand it remains ascertained that the latter had the same title vouchsafed to the hierarchs, the Sa skya pa. It should also be remembered that on account of internal feuds and the struggle with dBus the Sa skya pas were compelled to leave their monastery for some time.

94. This is a Jam dbyaṅs Kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzai po, commonly known as the Sa skya lotsāva. See n. 91. A biography of his is known to me: "dPal sa skya lo tsa bai rnam par t'ar 'no mts'ar gsal bai me loṅ dgos qdod le un qbyuṅ", which sNags ac'an nāg dbaṅ Kun dga' bsod nams summarized from an ample biography written by dKon mc'og lhun grub. This summary, composed in a fire year, has barely 19 pages and contains only a curriculum of the master's studies; it would be vain to look for historical information in it.

95. Whose biography exists. See p. 156.

96. In his time strife broke out between the Sa skya pa and the princes of sNeu gdon (see the Biography of Nān ston K'ra ts'an blo gros mc'og gi rdo rje, p. 35 b).

97. A biography of his is known to me: *Rigs pa rgyai cod pan sa skya pa c'en po snags ac'an nāg dbaṅ kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzai poi rtogs pa brjod pa 'no mts'ar rgya mts'oi rba rlab kyī ap'ros glen pa dad pai c'u rgyun*, pp. 1-68. It has no historical interest and is rather a eulogy than a biography.

98. This is the Ti tri bSod nams blo gros.

99. On these provinces and the myriarchies see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 84 ff. and above, p. 251, n. 35. The Chronicles, instead of *c'ol k'a*, write *p'yogs k'a*, trying to give a Tibetan appearance to the Turkish word *chölğä, jölğä*; it corresponds to the Chinese 路 lu (see PELLIER, *Notes sur le Turkestan de M. W. Barthold*, TP, 1930, vol. XXVII, p. 78 ff.).

100. In the *Ža lu* ordinances, and in the Chronicles themselves, p. 39, more regularly: *Svon vi se* = 宣慰使 *Hsüan wei shih*. On this office see *Yüan shih*, chap. 86, p. 10 and above, p. 32 f.

101. *C'e gsal c'en mo*: to examine and judge quarrels, to pacify. In the Gyantse Chronicles *p'ye gsal* means also "census", (see note 804).

102. In the Chronicles, speaking of the return of the bDag nid c'en po (p. 88), and in the DT, p. 6 b: Ag len. As this form appears in a contemporary document like the *Ža lu* document n. II, it must be considered the right one.

Concerning Ag len further information is to be found in the biography of the fifth Dalai Lama (p. 21 a) whose mother belonged to the sNa dkar rtse clan, having among its ancestors Ag len. The fortunes of this family began with Su t'u A skyid, who was ordered to conduct, together with the rGya mi c'en po Ar mgon (Arghun) Do šu nu gan, the census of Tibet in Qubilai's times. The son of Su t'u A skyid was Yon bdag Kun dga' bde skyid; he married aBum skyid who bore him Ag len rDo rje dpal (the etymologies of both names are legendary). When the aBri guṅ pa, the Sa skya pa's rivals, invited the sTod Hor, Se c'en (Qubilai) sent an army commanded by T'i mur bho kha, Tämür-buqa. The latter and Ag len defeated the aBri guṅ pa and their allies; both the sGom pa of the aBri guṅ pa and the prince of the Hor were put to death. Ag len conquered Byar, Dvags and Koṅ, E, gNal and Lo, Lho brag, advancing southward as far as the Mon country. Having called Chinese craftsmen, he is said to have introduced into Tibet the use of boats for ferrying. The K'ri skor of Yar abrog was assigned to the princes of sNa dkar rtse. The information collected by the fifth Dalai Lama is taken from the *rGya bod yig ts'an*.

103. Better: dPon po ri (see above, n. 27), name of the mountain above Sa skya; here evidently a monastery.

104. K'an gzar glin, one of the Sa skya's minor temples. According to the guide, the temples in this place are divided into four major and fourteen minor ones. The four major ones are: sGo rum gzims spyil dkar po, gŽi t'og (for: bŽi t'og), Rin c'en sgaṅ, Lha k'an c'en po, on the left bank of the Grum c'u. The minor ones are: 2 ancient gZims k'an, K'an gzar c'en mo, including dKon k'an lha braṅ and Dus mc'od lha braṅ, Zan ts'ul lha braṅ (these last four together are the four palaces subsidiaries to the bŽi t'og), Šin mk'ar lha braṅ, Seṅ ge sgaṅ, Ža lu k'an gzar, which formed the three dependencies of Rin c'en sgaṅ, Lha c'en lha braṅ, mT'on smon lha braṅ, depending from the Lha k'an c'en po, Zi t'an lha braṅ, C'u mig rdsin k'a, Šar glin c'en po (see *Guide to Sa skya*, p. 6 b).

105. *Svon jin dben* is a transcription of the Chinese 宣正院 *Hsüan cheng yüan*, an office overseeing matters connected with the Buddhist religion (see p. 32).

106. The biography of the dpon c'en rGyal ba bzai po is contained in the rNam t'ar of Blo gsal rgya mts'o grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzai po, p. 22 ff. It is worth while to give a summary of it, for the information it contains and because it is certainly based on an authoritative source, like the *rGya bod kyī yig ts'an*.

He was the son of Dhar ma dkon cog and the grandson of the dGe bšes Rin c'en brtson agrus, aP'ags pa's counsellor. His uncle was the Ban rgan Blo gros rin c'en, who, having gone to China, had obtained from Öljäidü an investiture over the land opposite Lha rgod, from rTse to Ra gyu mts'o (p. 22). Dhar ma dkon cog was invested with the office of myriarch of Bya yul; on his death he was succeeded in this office by the K'ri dpon dKon cog rgyal mts'an, son of the Du dben sa Kun dga' rdo rje, his brother. rGyal ba bzai po followed Kun dga' blo gros (1299-1327) to China and on his return he married Sreg sin dpon mo, assuming jurisdiction (*k'a qdsin*) over mT'on smon Lha k'an (in Šaṅs), sPaṅ groṅ. From his marriage he had four sons: dPon po dKon cog 'od zer, who was K'ri dpon of Byan Ru t'og, dKon cog rin c'en, mK'an po bSod nams blo gros, rGod po rin c'en. He went back to China in the retinue of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an (1310-1358); he returned a second time to China, taking with him his son dKon cog rin c'en. He spent in China about 18 years altogether, during which he held the office of dPon c'en, which was the most important in the *Hsüan cheng yüan*, i. e. in the office for Tibetan affairs. In other words he was military commander, *Hsüan wei shih*, as it is mentioned in the *Yüan shih*, chap. 34, p. 2 (see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 9 and above p. 33). At the moment of departure, he asked the Emperor to give him a feud in Šaṅs, and the Emperor assigned to him, in the region of gYe dmar sgaṅ in Šaṅs the territory comprising gYe re bab lha gdon, Tag ma dal gdon and other localities, as his own apanage (*rta sga qbog sa* = *rta mgo* of S. CH. DAS, literally; land where one can deposit his house's harness), allowing him to build there anything he liked. Hence rGyal ba bzai, having seen that the place was fit for this purpose, built in mT'on smon a palace with a wall encircling it, turrets and a temple, on the model of the royal palace, called Myug rgyal k'an. The temple was given into the keeping of the Pandita of So aJigs med grags pa, and was appropriately endowed, because he doubled the taxes meant for the support of the religious community (*btsum k'ral*). And in the upper part of gYe dmar sgaṅ he built, in memory of his parents, a great sKu abum, which he invited Bu ston to consecrate.

He was dPon c'en three times altogether, once in China, and twice in Tibet. One of his sons was Grags pa rgyal mts'an, who began by being *nān c'en* of Sa skya and ended as dPon c'en of dBus and gTsaṅ; he resided almost always in mT'on smon.

Another son of his, very celebrated, was rGod po rin c'en, who served under bSod nams blo gros and his brother; he then went to China, and received from Toqön Tämür several offices, like that of Hu tri (i. e. *Gütri, Kuo shih*) in the *Hrin Svon jin dben* 行宣政院 (see *Yüan shih*, chap. 87, p. 5); he was confirmed in all the privileges already granted to his ancestor, the Ban rgan Blo gros rin c'en (*ban rgan* stands for *Bandbe rgan po*, as may be desumed from bSod nams dhan po's biography, pp. 37-38: *bandbe rgan pos p'ul ba... ban rgan gdi*). Having returned to Tibet, he became assistant to the *sde pa* of sTag ts'an, a general in the Sa skya's service, and the princess (*dpon sa*) of sTag ts'an made him administrator of rTa nag; he founded sNa dmar rdsin, and having reached a great fame owing to his military and political abilities, he took sTag sna grub rtse rdsin in the year *me stag* (1386). All the members of this family were in good relations with the Mongols, from whom many of them received honours and titles; they are regularly called *Du dben ša*.

107. *sde bži*: in this case it does not refer to the four divisions of Buddhism, but comprises the *caturvarga*: *dharmā, artha, kāmā, mokṣa*: in other words all of the Sa skya's power, civil and religious, passed into the hands of P'ag mo gru pa.

108. Some verses follow, taken from C'os rje dKon mc'og lhun grub, on the world's vanity, and the final verses with which the fifth Dalai Lama closes each of his chapters.

109. Mongkä (Hien tsung 1251-1259). Hence it would seem that before aP'ags pa, the lamas of other convents had thought of establishing relations with the Mongol court. That Se c'en favoured the Ts'al pa seems to be contradicted by the close relations between that Emperor and the Sa skya pa. But here only this was probably meant, that the family's power began with Se c'en, receiving from him the official investiture on their lands, as in fact we know concerning Rin c'en rgyal mts'an.

110. I. e. Külük (Qaisan), 1308-1311, concerning whom see below PELLIER's article, p. 619.

111. The inclusion of mNa' ris in the list of the places under Mongol control must be understood as nominal rather than real; although, as we have seen, the Mongols claimed sovereign rights also over mNa' ris, there is no trace that they interfered actually in the administration of that country (see p. 252, n. 36). mNa' ris, on the other hand, is a vague expression:

it refers to the extreme Western provinces, Guge being of course excluded as it may have preserved its independence also at this time. The mention of sPu rig, the present district of Kargil, allows us to suppose that, at least in theory, the Mongol kings claimed their rights as far as Ladakh. La rtsa (or La rtse) in sPu rig is unknown to me, unless it is to be identified with Lan dkar rtse.

In this period the Ladakh Chronicles place Lha c'en dños grub, as the country's king; they say concerning him: "k'yad par du c'os kyi rje gñig rten gsum gyi mgon poi druñ du gser dñul zañs byi ru mu tig la sogs pai brgya abul, which Francke translates (p. 99) "but more important than this, he laid down before the prince of the faith, the lord of the three worlds, gold, silver, copper, coral, pearls, etc., all (presents numbering) one hundred,, and Marx observes "the Lord of the three worlds is either Bud-dha or Avalokiteśvara,,. This interpretation is not so sure: druñ du means a person's material presence; C'os rje corresponds to dharmasvāmin and refers to monks famous for great sanctity or learning; so gñig rten mgon po is, as we have seen, a very frequent epithet of the greatest masters and dignitaries. Hence it is probable that the Ladakh chronicles here allude to a Lama, and this seems even more natural when we recall that immediately before the passage under discussion, it is said that this king sent monks for the ordination of dBus and gTsañ. Who this Lama may have been, whether a Sa skya or belonging to another sect, it is difficult to say: agro mgon, gñig rten mgon po was an epithet of aP'ags pa; but aJig rten mgon po was also the epithet given to aBri guñ rin po c'en (1143-1217). But this last identification is opposed by chronological difficulties, if that king is really to be placed in the XIIIth century. Some of the names here quoted are well known: gñal to the south of Lho brag (WASSILIEV, *Geografia*, p. 37) E (*ibid.*, p. 36), T'añ po c'e (Yarlung T'añ po c'e; *ibid.*, p. 34), aP'yoñ rgyas (*ibid.*, p. 34), On sna (= On *ibid.*, p. 35).

112. dbyig adsin = vasudhārā.

113. I. e. good. On aGro mgon of Žañ see DT, *ñā*, pp. 136 a-138 a.

114. lugs zuñ = lugs gñis = c'os and srid.

115. The mGar family, with which the Ts'al pas connected their origin, is one of the most famous in Tibet. It is enough to recall the figure of mGar stoñ btsan yul zuñ, Sroñ btsan sgam po's Minister, mentioned in these Chronicles, concerning whom, besides histories of Tibet in general, see BACOT, *Le mariage chinois du Roi Tibétain Sron bean sgam po*, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, Bruxelles, 1935.

The spelling of this name wavers between mGar, dGar and aGar (in DT, *Ka*, p. 24 a, aGar stoñ btsan). mGar may be the name of a locality, or it may be the same as mgar, blacksmith. In primitive civilizations those who wrought iron were believed to possess magic power and hence were particularly feared; in ancient Turkish tribes there was a constant relation between kingship and the blacksmith's art. mGar stoñ btsan is called rig pa can, the possessor of wisdom. Rig pa is the Sanskrit vidyā, which means not only wisdom but the magical formula.

Tibetans have a religious reverence and awe for the underground world: it is the reign of the Klu and the Sa bdag, jealous and easily incensed keepers of their dwellings and of the riches they protect and defend. The foundation rites mentioned in the *Klu abum*, the expiations to be performed on digging the ground or cutting down trees or causing water to spring from the earth, prove to what an extent the Tibetans were harassed by the suspicion that any relation they established with the underground world might offend the powers hidden therein; gñud, the juice of the earth, lies there; hence they think, even at present, that it is dangerous to operate mines. So relations with the invisible underground powers must be left to experienced persons, knowing the appropriate rites and exorcisms which can pacify them. Metal workers, who handled riches drawn from underground, would necessarily be magicians.

Did the mGar owe their power to this characteristic of theirs? mGar stoñ btsan yul corresponds to mGar stoñ rtsan yul zuñ or sToñ rtsan of the Chronicles (see BACOT, article quoted above, p. 10 and *Documents de Touen Houang*, pp. 29, 131).

116. Name of the monastery in Ts'al, founded in 1175 (see CSOMA DE KÖROS's list). Sum pa mk'an po briefly summarizes the events, but his text is extremely incorrect. SP, p. 309.

117. šes su c'ug gi aja' sa: cfr. in the Sa skya Chronicle, p. 177 b: gser dam aja' sa, bod la šes su bcug pai luñ bzañ po gñan and passim.

118. On which see *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part I, p. 96.

119. rgya p'ib; see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 66, n. 2.

120. p'ru, p'ru ba = bum pa, part of the mc'od rten (see *Indo-Tibetica*, I, passim).

121. dbu t'og dbu rtse. One Ts'al pa K'ri dpon is often mentioned as dānapati of many statues in the Guide of the sPrul pai gtsug lag k'añ. See WADDELL, *Description of Lhasa cathedral*, JRASB, 1895, pp. 267, 269, 272, 274, 277, and GRÜNWEDEL, *Die Tempel von Lhasa*, Heidelberg, 1919. The 'Os dga' bde bzañ po of Waddell and Grünwedel is Tre pos (or, as written on other occasions Tre 'os) dGa' bde bzañ po, mentioned later. Cfr. SP, p. 308.

122. As usual a double merit is distinguished: the one towards the Law and one towards political power. Royal authority, according to the Indian treatises, is based on seven elements, i. e.: svāmin, amatya, janapada, durga, danda, kośa, mitra, dharma; when we take away dharma, already mentioned, and his own person, which is the svāmin, five elements are left.

123. Tre pos. In PS, transl. p. 652: Tres hor; in the Life of Tsoñ k'a pa, p. 199: Tre hor dPal byor bzañ po and Tre hor pa rñams byin bdag byas. dPal byor bzañ po was one of Tsoñ k'a pa's patrons. Tre po is a place or tribe name in Eastern Tibet (WASSILIEV, *Geographia Tibeta*, p. 47). See Tre po mgon po DT, *ja*, p. 6; cfr. *ca*, p. 38.

124. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 91, note, and above, p. 625.

125. The spelling of this place wavers between aBri k'uñ and aBri guñ; that of the SP, aBri goñ, is an error.

126. sNa nam is one of the most ancient tribes of Tibet, concerning which see THOMAS, *Literary texts*, pp. 271, 279. It is found also in K'ams, see above p. 258.

127. Concerning aBri guñ pa and his life see the PAD MA DKAR PO's C'os aByuñ, p. 169 ff. and DT, *ñā*, p. 85 a-b.

aBri guñ rin po c'e was born, according to the DT, in gTsod (but in Pad ma dkar po: rTsod) in lDan stod. His mother, according to the same text, was called sBas pai rñal aByor ma bTsun ma. Having met the aGro bai mgon po P'ag mo gru pa, he was ordained as a monk by Žañ sum t'og pa, Ci luñ pa and aDsin adul of gñal, receiving the name of Rin c'en dPal. He was then called aJig rten mgon po and he founded the monastery of aBri guñ in gŽo stod, in 1179. In the beginning, after the death of the lama of Žañ, who had ruled P'ag gru from 1170 (*lcags stag*) to 1177 (*me bya*) he passed to the abbatial seat of that convent, as aGro mgon aP'ag mo gru pa's second successor, and remained there up to 1179 (*sa p'ag*), in which year he founded aBri guñ. Rather than a foundation, we should speak of enlargement, because a monastery already existed in that place, founded by sGom rin of Mí ñag, a disciple of aGro mgon: he was an ascetic rather than a lama; and could not even read (see DT, *ñā*, p. 84 b).

In Pad ma dkar po (p. 169) his clan is called sKyu ru (instead of sKyu ra). He also met the Kashmiri Pañdita Śākyaśrī.

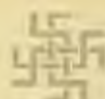
Other allusions to him may be found in the bKa' gdams c'os aByuñ, p. 11.

128. This aGro mgon is not the Sa skya one, but the aGro mgon rin po c'e, i. e. aP'ag mo gru (see DT, *ñā*, p. 66 a ff.; Pad ma dkar po, p. 163 b; brief mentions in the bKa' gdams c'os aByuñ, p. 11 a). P'ag mo gru pa had been born in aBri luñ rne šod, in the southern part of mDo k'ams. He belonged to the dBas Ve na ap'an t'og clan; his father's name was dBas Ve na A dar, and his mother's Ro aBya gza' btsun ne. He was born in the year *lcags stag* (1110). His baptismal name, which he received at the age of nine from Lhiñ ne yan t'ub bu t'sul k'rims and Lhiñ ne 'od zer rgyal mts'an, was rDo rje rgyal po. At the age of 19 he went in the dBus region settling in rGya dmar in sTod luñs, where at 25 he received the complete initiation and finished his religious and theological education. Then he went to gTsañ and met the monk of Brag dkar po, rNog mu ne, Bur sgom pa in Bur and the Sa skya abbot Sa c'en Kun dga' sñiñ po, Kumārabuddhi, Lotsāva of aByim, Byañ sems zla ba rgyal mts'an, Myañ sgom rgod. In 1151 he met rJe sgam po pa, Mí la ras pa's disciple. In 1158 he transferred himself to P'ag mo gru and dwelt there in a small cell, which later became the famous monastery of that name. Among his first frequenters, sTag luñ t'añ pa is mentioned. There he stopped until 1170 (*lcags stag*), the year of his death. Thus he is connected both with the Sa skya pa tradition, Sa c'en having been one of his principal masters, and with the bKa' brgyud pa tradition, represented by rJe sGam po pa's school. But he also had close relations with the bKa' gdams pa school; thus it was natural for the times he lived in, when the sects, as I have amply shown, were still undifferentiated.

129. Concerning whom see note 127.

130. I. e. dBon rin po c'e's descendants.

131. Nāropā's master. See above, p. 232.



132. sGom pa, as we saw, is the title of civil and military governors of the aBri guñ pa; their office was equivalent to that of the dPon c'en Sa skya pa, but originally, as may be desumed from note 177, their office consisted in administering convents, like the p'yag mdsod. The religious heads of this sect regularly keep the title of spyan sna, like the P'ag mo gru abbots.

133. I. e. Grags pa bsod nams.

134. This alludes to the destruction of aBri g'uñ, which took place in 1290. (See below, p. 654 and DT, ña, p. 108 b. The expression *glin log* is interpreted by S. CH. DAS as: revolution, internal discord, but this meaning is ruled out, for instance, by the use of the expression respecting Rva greis, which was destroyed by the Mongol invasion, without any internal revolt. The meaning "destruction," is clear in the following sentence of Padma dkar po's (72 b): *Ag glen gyis rgyai dmag bos nas abri k'uñ glin log btañ*: "Ag len having called Chinese soldiers, destroyed aBri k'uñ,".

For a similar legend one may compare the story of Karuṇāmiśra who, when his house was burnt by the approaching troops of Vaṅgala, embraced the lotus feet of Buddha and ascended to Heaven. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, p. 299.

135. I. e. he who respects the 22 bKa' gdams precepts, namely the twenty teachings (c'os) of rNog lotsāva and the two teachings of K'u, that is K'u ston (see bKa' gdams c'os abyūñ, p. 17). These teachings are known as the Bu c'os, to distinguish them from the Yab c'os, Atiśa's teachings, which are 26 (see dGe ldan rin lugs adsin pa gzan rgya c'en po adod rñams la p'an pai mts'an t'o, by Kloñ rdol bla ma).

136. There is then a distinction between the sGom c'en and the sGom c'uñ who was probably the former's vice-regent or successor.

137. I. e. bSod (nams) rin (c'en).

138. *Luñ bzañ* is regularly said of imperial edicts or diplomas (cfr. p. 79 a-b). Instances are frequent in the Sa skya chronicles, where the titles conferred by the Mongol Emperors on abbots are called *min bzañ*.

139. I. e. they abandoned the red cap and adopted the yellow one.

140. *guñ dñ q'el*. On the events which follow, see SP, transl., p. 652 f.

141. On this title of Nañ so see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 84 and above p. 35. In the *Ming shih*, chap. 331, relations are recorded with the monks *pi li kung wa*; this place can only be aBri guñ, but I have not found all the names of the dignitaries recorded in the *Ming shih* in the Tibetan sources.

"Shan chiao wang 闡教王 was the monk of Pi li kung wa 必力工瓦.

In the beginning of Cheng tsu (beginning from 1403) the monk Chih kuan, bearing the imperial diplomas, entered among the barbarians.

The kuo shih Tuan chu chien ts'ang 端竹監藏^{a)} sent envoys to offer the tribute. In the first Yung lê year (1403) they came to court, and the Emperor was pleased and offered banquets and gifts; then they went back. In the fourth year they again brought tributes. The Emperor increased his gifts and also gave the kuo shih, great pandita, and Lü shih 律師, master of monastic rules, So nan ts'ang pu 鎖南藏卜^{b)} dresses and silks. In the eleventh year he further gave him the title of Kuan ting ts'ü hui ching chieh ta kuo shih 灌頂慈慧淨藏大國師, and on the monk Ling chen pa erh chi chien ts'ang 領眞巴兒吉監藏,^{c)} he conferred the title of Shan chiao wang, making him presents of seals, diplomas and silks. From that time on they presented a tribute every year. Yang San pao, Tai Hsing 戴興 and Hou hsien were sent to him by the Emperor and they gave him gold, silks, images of the Buddha and sacred objects.

"In the fifth year Hsüan te (1429) that prince died. The Emperor ordered that his son Ch'o erh chia chien pa ling chan 綽兒加監巴領占^{d)} should succeed him. After a certain time the latter also died. The Emperor ordered that he should be succeeded by his son Ling chan pa erh chieh chien tsan 領占兒結堅參.^{e)} In the fourth year Cheng hua (1468) according to the words of the Minister of Rites it was decided that once every three years they should come to bring tributes. In the following year (1469) that prince died. The Emperor ordered that he should be succeeded by his son Ling chan chien tsan pa erh ts'ang pu 領占堅參兒藏卜.^{f)}

"In the 20th year (1484) the Emperor sent the Tibetan monk Pan chu erh^{g)} 班著兒 to carry letters and diplomas and to offer gifts. That monk was afraid of the journey, and having gone half the way he forged the seal and a letter of the prince's in the Tibetan language. The prince reported him to the Emperor, who ordered him to be judged.

In the 13th year Cheng te (1518) the Tibetan monk Ling chan ta pa 領占劄巴,^{h)} and others were sent to confer the investiture on the new prince. (This monk) Ta pa and the others asked for horses and for 30 swift boats, and that they might bring salt to pay for the expenses needed to enter Tibet.

"The Finance Department 戶科 Hu k'o and the Minister of Finances 戶部 Hu pu tried to prevent this, but the Emperor did not heed them.

"During their journey Ta pa and the others enforced taxes and tributes without ever being satisfied, and having arrived at Lü liang 呂梁ⁱ⁾ they beat the Kuan hung chu shih 管洪主事, Li yü 李瑜 within an inch of his life. Such was their insolence.

"Up to the Chia ching period (1522-1567) Shan chiao wang continued uninterruptedly to send tributes,".

a) Don grub rgyal mts'an.

b) bSod nams bzañ po.

c) Rin c'en dpal kyi rgyal mts'an, perhaps Rin c'en [rgyal mts'an] dpal bzañ po, bla dpon mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama.

d) C'os rje ... dpal rin c'en.

e) Rin c'en dpal gyi rgyal mts'an.

f) Rin c'en rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po.

g) dPal byor?

h) Rin c'en grags pa.

i) To the South-East of the present T'ung Shan Hsien, in Kang Suh.

142. I. e. the P'ag mo gru pa, see above.

143. gTsug lag adsin, a mythical king of Za hor, concerning whom see PTY, XXVII, Toussaint transl. p. 162 ff. (Āṣadhara), the fifth Dalai Lama's biography.

144. In the following sentences the fifth Dalai Lama inserts a brief account of the families of the myriarchs of sNa dkar rtse, who, as we have seen, were his mother's ancestors. bsTan adsin is one of the sNa dkar tse myriarchs.

145. *rgya nag goñ mai k'ri la gnam gyi luñ gis*; *gnam* = *tängri*.

146. I. e. the Sa skya pa Lama (1147-1216).

147. Nam rin and not Dañ ma rin, as in SP, cfr. n. 530. The genealogy of these princes is reproduced by Tāranātha in *Rigs ldan c'os abrug sgra kyi rgyal po rnam rgyal grags pa bzañ poi rnam par t'ar pa rab bshags snan pa*.

148. Four kinds of assemblies, i. e. of four kinds of Buddhists. Yon btsun is included in the list of the dPon c'en Sa skya pa (see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 90). But in this list neither the father nor his son 1Do rje mgon po are mentioned.

149. t'o ſu, seal; ſel gyi t'o ſu, ſel gyi dam k'a, that is, the equivalent of t'e se, t'el se.

Gui guñ corresponds to the Chinese *kuo kung* 國公.

The immediately following title of Ta dben gu ſri corresponds to the Chinese *Ta yüan kuo shih* 大元國師.

150. *Sras sna ts'ar*, *sras p'yi ts'ar*: son of the first wife and of the second wife; cfr. DT, ga, p. 15 a. l. a.

151. She was the wife of the sLob dpon c'en po bSod nams bkra ſis, born in 1357, died in 1417.

152. *srii ji tre bos*. On Tre hos, Tre pos see n. 123.

153. See Gyantse Chronicles, p. 665; he arrived in Tibet in 1413.

154. See Gyantse Chronicles, p. 666.

155. In the biography of bSod nams dbañ po, Sa skya pa lama (p. 38) one Nam mk'a' ts'e dbañ p'un ts'ogs mi dbañ of Byañ is mentioned, who lived towards the end of the XVIth century and the beginning of the XVIIth.

156. Under this name, *Po ti se ru*, two books are quoted: one is the *rLan po ti bse ru*, mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama in these same Chronicles, in a passage preceding this one; the other is the *Rus mdsod po ti bse ru*, quoted by Sum pa mk'an po, unless the two works be identical. This family of P'ag mo gru is known by the name of Lha gzigs gduñ rgyud or C'os rgyal sNe 'u gdon pa (Kloñ rdol, p. 14 a).

157. On the egg in Tibetan cosmogony see Appendix two.

158. This name is of the Bon po type; the mythical names of this sect very often begin with the word *ye*, which represents perfection, completeness, primeval: for instance Ye lha sems kyi sgron ma can, Ye mu brgyud dkar po, etc. It must be remembered that Ge sar too was born out of a white egg issued from a white vein on his mother's head (see A. DAVID NEEL, *La vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling*, p. 48).

159. On the value of ts'a in these cases see above.

160. I. e. Luñ k'a hril mo's three sons, Bod ajons the son of the eldest of them, rGya hril žan and his three sons.

161. Notice how the number 13 recurs; it is typical of Bon po classifications. See Appendix two.

162. These verses are fragments of ancient songs glorifying the noble and warlike families; Ge sar's epic is the only document which, so far, has reached us in its entirety. Notice that the Sa skya pa's story is repeated also for the P'ag mo gru pa: the clan is derived from a forefather of heavenly origin, descended upon earth, while his other brothers remain in heaven.

To pray the gods (in the present case, under the influence of ideas imported from India, Brahmanā), the family's forefather goes on the mountain to offer a propitiatory sacrifice. The mountain is sacred to the gNan, indeed it is inhabited by them (gNan po can). The sacrifice is performed in the first month of the year and it is concluded by the theophany, in a rainbow-coloured light.

The song closes with the prophecy of Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an's birth, which may be either a later addition inserted into the song when he had firmly established his dominions, or it points to the date in which these songs were written down in a literary form.

163. An allusion to one of the many wars with China, fought at the time of the first kings, from Sron btsan sgam po up to Ral pa can. In Ge sar's epic cycle the war against China is also mentioned. Concerning these armies of animals and monstrous creatures, defeating China, see also Appendix two, § 10.

164. On Ge sar's cuirass made of shells see DAVID NEEL, *La Vie surhumaine de Guézar*, p. 114.

165. The *mdso mo* is born from a yak and a cow.

166. An allusion to the division of the P'ag mo gru into three branches: the lamas on the abbatial see, the Gon ma and the *gdun rgyud qdsin pa*, those who continued the lineage. See above p. 28.

167. Notice, concerning *rLans*, that *rLans* is also the name of a region.

168. Manasarovar.

169. The family took its name from him: Lha zgigs gdun rgyud.

170. *adre ak'ol* means: he who enslaves fiends, *adre*, and uses them as slaves, submits them to his will. The legend concerning this ancestor of the P'ag mo gru is connected with Ge sar's cycle, which is precisely an epic on the hero's struggle with fiends. On the *adre* see Appendix two.

171. I do not find this prophecy either in the KT, or in the PTY.

172. *spyi dpon*. In monasteries there is the office of *spyi pa*: see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 277.

173. mGo rum sen ge is another brother. mGo rum recalls the name of the most ancient Sa skya temple, concerning which see above, p. 6.

174. This Go c'as rlans k'ams pa is not in the list of the seven *sad mi* which the rGyal rabs has handed down to us (concerning them see LAUFER, *T'oung pao*, 1908, p. 9, n. 2; ID., *Der Roman*, p. 174), but in BU STON's list (see OBERMILLER, p. 190). Ka ta na of gLan is precisely the central one, between the first and the last three.

Let us compare the lists of the 7 *sad mi*:

KT (*ca*, p. 16):

gSal snañ of sBa
dPal dbyañs of sBa
La gsum rGyal mc'og
dPal gyi rdo rje of Lha luñ
Rin c'en mc'og of rMa
K'ri bžer of sBa
Vairocana

BU STON (I list, complete works, *ya*, p. 127, OBERMILLER, p. 190):

Mañjuśrī of sBa'
Ratnarakṣita of sBa'
Kamutika of Bran (Obermiller's reading: Kumudika, is better)
Nāgendra of aK'on
Vairocana of sPa gor
Devendra of rTsans (missing in Obermiller who substitutes for it: Rin c'en mc'og of rMa)
Katana of Glan

BU STON (II list, complete works, *ya*, p. 127; OBERMILLER, p. 190):

[Bya k'ri zgigs] snañ gsal

rGyal ba mc'og dbyañs of Nan lam (but Obermiller has the erroneous reading Ran la)

Rin c'en mc'og

K'ri bžer of sBa'

Vairocana

Legs agrub of gTsan

Klui dbaṅ po bsruñ ba

rGyal rabs (p. 126 b):

Ratna the son of sBa sañ ši

Śākyaprabha the son of A nu of mC'ims

Vairocana

rGyal ba mc'og dbyañs of Nan lam

Rin c'en mc'og of rMa

Klui dbaṅ po bsruñ ba of aK'on (who, according to a gloss, is not considered by some texts as one of the seven)

bTsañ legs grub

KT (*na*, p. 67 a):

Vairocana

Nam mk'a' sñiñ po

rGyal ba mc'og dbyañs

Ye šes dbaṅ po

K'ri bžer

Sañ ši rat na

rGyal ba byaṅ c'ub

From this comparison between the different lists it appears that the tradition on the first seven persons who are said to have received monastic ordination in Tibet, is far from sure and credible. It was established in later times, when some of the families who had increased their influence wished to be linked with the first glories of Buddhism, now triumphant, and to boast a priority of devotion as compared with other clans.

In the *Lo pañ t'añ yig* (p. 67) K'ams pa go c'a is mentioned, without being designed as one of the seven *sad mi*. A little later also Glan dpal gyi sen ge, who according to the fifth Dalai Lama was his son, is mentioned.

175. Concerning cemeteries see *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 173 and above, p. 342. A description of the *bsil ma ts'al* is to be found in the PTY, chap. XXII (transl. by TOUSSAINT, p. 110).

The *Lha* are evidently the gods of the Bon po pantheon, and the *adre*, as we saw, a class of fiends. See Appendix two. All these brothers then preserve Byan c'ub adre ak'ol's character, that is, they are imagined by tradition as exorcists and wizards.

176. I. e. munificent donor: Yon bdag c'en po; but in the tradition this epithet is not separated from his personal name. The sPyan sna's biography is also to be found in Pad ma dkar po (p. 170 b).

After having taken vows at 13, he assumed the name of Grags pa abyun gnas, under which he is known in the DT (*na*, p. 74 a and ff.). In this work is related a contest of magic between him and a Bruža lama, which is very important because it proves the presence of wizards in Gilgit (on this equivalence Bru ža = Gilgit, see LAUFER, *Die Bruža-Sprache*, p. 3 - reprint) and the survival of Bon po practices in the heart of Tibet up to late times. See Appendix two.

177. PAD MA DKAR PO (p. 170 b) and DT (*na*, p. 75 a) explain the origin of this epithet *spyān sna* by saying that as *gzims gyog*, "footman", of the C'os rje of aBri guñ, sitting always in front of him (*spyān sna*) he was called *spyān sna*. Nevertheless the religious heads of the P'ag mo gru continued to bear this title.

The C'os rje of aBri guñ entrusted him with the monastery of P'ag mo gru, which he ruled up to his master's death, when he was invited to occupy the abbatial seat in aBri guñ itself. During this period rDo rta nag's invasion, which we have already mentioned more than once, took place; the DT (*na*, p. 76) and Pad ma dkar po (p. 171) tell it almost in the same words:

"During the seventh year (of his residence in aBri guñ), namely in the year iron-mouse 1240, the news came that the Hor soldiers had reached aDam, and all the monks of aBri guñ a'tel were preparing to flee; but he, saying there was nothing to fear, remained to inspire them with courage. In the beginning the Hor general was Mi li byi, who, as soon as he saw him, had faith in him and, the same feelings that bind a son to his father being born in him (towards the lama), he promised to present him with gifts, and without harming men or beasts he went back.

"Then, after 28 days, rDo rta, who had become a general (of the Hor) arrived. Having taken the sGom pa Šā kya rin c'en, he was leading

him away, when stones began to rain from the sky. He then asked what it was, and the sPyan sna said: "As you have taken the sGom pa of the holy son, the holy son (*dam bu*) is displeased. And the holy son being displeased, the sky is displeased,," He asked him what was to be done, and he answered: "The holy son does not till the fields, but by placing in this one's hands the offerings made by others, he protects the community,," Hence rDo rta, so full of sins, became extraordinarily serene. And the soldiers, more soft-mannered than peddlars, went back without doing any harm. (*k'u co med par log*),,

"The holy son,," *dam bu*, is used instead of "I,," The reference to the sky shows that the lama adapted himself to and took advantage of the religious beliefs of the invader.

178. Whom the DT mistakenly calls the son of Yon c'en Sañs rgyas skyabs, instead of rGyal ba skyabs; their mother was the same.

179. *sku c'os* is a honorific synonym of *c'os gos*, as we learn from PAD MA DKAR PO, who tells the same tale. According to the DT (*ñā*, p. 78 a), having heard of his fame, Hu la sent him rich gifts three times; Pad ma dkar po said: "He was appointed chaplain by Hu la, a chief (*t'u bo*) of Ji gir gan (Genghis Khan), who, believed to be an incarnation of heaven, heard the voice of thunder (i. e. conversed with thunder) and did other terrific things. Fearing lest he should seize the kingdom of China, he had been banished in the Sog po territory, and due to his great merits had taken possession of sTod Hor, also conquering K'a c'e,,"

180. In PAD MA DKAR PO: Bod ya rse; in DT: Ya t'e. Ya t'e is in Purang; see FRANCKE, *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 169 (from Sum pa mk'an po). WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 8.

181. T'el bzan or gDan sa m'til, according to SP and Csoma de Kőrös's tables, was founded in 1158.

182. *rKañ bži* may be a place-name (but *rKañ bži dpon* is in the sense of a Brog pa; (cf. *rKañ bži nor ldan*, synonymous with a Brog pa in *mNon brjod kyī bstan bcos mk'as pai rna rgyan*, fol. 120).

183. *gžis ka*: that this is the meaning of such a word results from the context of the Chronicles and of the other documents published in the present book. This name is given to lands ceded to monasteries, that their revenue may be used to perform the prescribed ceremonies, and in this case they are called *c'os gžis ka*, *mc'od gžis ka*; or ceded to private persons who enjoyed their income. The *gžis ka* was often exempted from tributes. The spelling is uncertain; in the life of Kun dga' rin c'en we always find *gžis dga'*. The present-day meaning is "country house,," cf. *p'a gžis*, family property.

184. *drag žan* is a term that frequently recurs in the texts we have studied: *drag pa* is nobleman, *drag ris* nobility; *žan* vile, humble; hence *drag žan* must be understood as a collective name: nobles and plebeians. In the fifth Dalai Lama's biography (p. 66 b) we find; *drag ris dan dmanis pa*, nobles and plebeians; *ibid.*, p. 74 a: *žal no gtsos pai drag ris*, the nobles with the hierarchs at their head; in the Life of bSod nams mc'og ldan, by the same author (p. 16 b): *drag žan abrin*, the nobles, the plebeians and the middle classes. However, in the Gyantse chronicles, it is opposed to *mi dmanis*, i. e. to the populace, and in the same text we also read *drag btsan*, which are synonymous. See above p. 39.

185. I. e. P'ag mo gru pa.

186. The same fact is alluded to in the DT, *ñā*, p. 78 a.

187. *c'an nag* = *c'an dan nag mo*.

188. Cf. DT, *ñā*, p. 79 a. We have already spoken about Ti šri Grags 'od zer in note 78.

For the intricate vicissitudes of the P'ag mo gru myriarchy see Appendix one.

189. *Lag rtags*: imprint of the hands; honorific form: *p'yag rtags*: legalization of a document or consecration of a sacred object, e. g. a painting, by pressing on it the inked hand or fingers. In this case perhaps it only means a seal.

190. See above p. 69.

191. Viz. Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an.

192. Prophecy contained in chap. 92 of the PTY (see Toussaint's translation, p. 379).

193. 1302.

194. Grags pa rgyal mts'an.

195. I. e. in 1315.

196. *ban rtsa byas nas*. Cf. *ban zon byed pa*. The bDag c'en rin po c'e is bZañ po dpal.

197. *las ts'an*.

198. *dam gñer*, i. e. *dam k'a gñer*, keeper of the seal which conferred authority on the decrees issued by the Sa skya chiefs. This was an office

of great trust; also from what follows it is clear that these officials lived in a great intimacy with the bDag c'en; they were in fact addicted to his private service; they poured out his drinks (*gsol*), cared for his bedroom (*gzims*). Among the offices of which the *Yüan shih* gives a list, a 知印 *chih yin* is included. See above p. 33. Cf. the *tamgači* of the Turkish inscriptions of Orkhon.

199. I. e. in 1317.

200. Other episodes and prophecies concerning his career follow.

201. I. e. in 1318. Rin c'en sgan, as we have seen, is one of the Sa skya palaces. Rin c'en sgan ge is not on the list of the dPon c'en.

202. *mGo gñer* is not in the dictionaries: the sense "guardian,," is ascertained in the spoken usage: can it also be "master,," as opposed to *slob gñer*?

203. I. e. 1322.

204. On these two myriarchs see Appendix one.

205. He was, as we have seen above, p. 5 and in Appendix one, the son of the bDag ñid c'en po; he came back to Tibet from China in his twenty-fourth year, namely in 1323. Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an denounced rGyal mts'an skyabs to Kun dga' blo gros, and the former was deposed from his office by the Sa skya dignitary. Anyhow it was urgent to find a solution, because in the meantime there were two myriarchs in P'ag mo gru. His appointment was officially proclaimed on the ninth day of the ninth month.

206. *bka' žog bca' bu*, cf. n. 353; *bca' tse*. In the Gyantse chronicles; *bca bu bca' tse*, from the Chinese 答付 (札付) *ta fu* (*cha fu*); see for instance *Yüan shih*, chap. 84, p. 13.

207. *rtis blañs*: (cf. 76 b, the Situ: *gYa' bzañ dgon pa dan gžis kar rñams rtis blañs*), to take a census, in the sense of taking possession of a territory. This expression is spoken of above.

208. *ca ra ma mdsad*. Or, reading *tsar* instead of *ca ra*; he did not allow other to investigate? Cf. n. 968.

209. I. e. 1329.

210. I. e. the palace of Indra.

211. I. e. he was condemned to give back his diploma as a myriarch and the seal that went with it: on this occasion was perhaps elected myriarch, until power was resumed by the Si tu, alluded to in the summary by S. CH. DAS quoted in the Appendix one bSod nams rgyal mts'an.

212. Evidently appointed by the Yüan court.

213. *p'ye gsal*, cf. p. 77, note 91, *dppe gsal*, to investigate, to pacify: *k'a mc'u adii dppe gsal ma byuñ bar*.

214. *ajags byed*.

215. *li ji bca' bu*.

216. This letter must be the letter of investiture which the deposed myriarch ought to have handed back, following judgement.

217. *bskor gyañ byas pa*; or: intimation to surrender? In the fifth Dalai Lama's biography (p. 15 b): *druñ c'en rin po c'e la sgor bskyil žus nas*: invited to submit.

218. *ko ža*: it is not in the dictionaries, but the meaning is clear, from *ko ba* leather.

219. *dpañ lag gi t'og*.

220. I. e. there is a change of dPon c'en and dBañ brtson replaces rGyal ba bzan po. mT'oñ smon is the name of a palace to the North-East of the Lha k'añ c'en mo of Sa skya (see *Guide*, p. 6 b). But besides this temple there was a place of the same name in Sañs (see above, n. 106), which perhaps, to judge from the present passage, was rGyal bzan's residence.

221. *dam sbrags ma byed par*: to force, to prevail over someone.

222. *k'as len bskor*, cf. *k'a kor ba*, "to make one change his feelings,," *c'os byed pa* = *c'os pa*, monk, *skad mi zer pa*, silent.

223. *dmag rñams bteg*.

224. *ak'ra p'ur ts'ugs*?

225. bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po (1312-1375).

226. I am unable to identify this personage.

227. Concerning *bca' bu* see above, n. 206.

228. *dmag rags*: *rags* = *brags*, chosen: *go brags*, choice troops.

229. Read *gñis kyis* instead of *gñis kyī*.

230. The same bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an thus tries to effect a reconciliation between his dPon c'en and the T'ai si tu; the agreement was reached, but from the Dalai Lama's account the conclusion seems to be suggested that the dPon c'en brTson agrus, now convinced of his former rival's power, passed on the latter's side; thus may be explained why his arrest was ordered by the Ti šri's sons, Ni ma rgyal mts'an and Zla ba rgyal mts'an, and caused the Si tu's punitive raid.

231. The C'en po, as may be seen on p. 130, was Rin c'en bzan, the c'en po of sNel.

232. The *Nān pa* is *rNam rgyal grags pa* of *āBri guñ*. *Nān pa* corresponds to *Nān so*.

233. *bstan jus*; *bstan jus mt'a dag p'ag gru pai 'og tu sor ba*.

234. See PTY, chap. XCII (transl. by TOUSSAINT, p. 385).

235. *gser yig*. *Da ra k'a c'e*: it recurs also in the diplomas of *Ža lu VIII* (see LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 158). Prof. Ettore Rossi, whom I have consulted concerning this word, adds to the bibliography: FISCHER, *Translation of the Turkish drama Rublar*, by ABDULHAQQ HĀMID, Leipzig, 1942, p. 8, and BJÖRKMANN, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg, 1928, p. 166.

236. It is clear from this speech that the *Sa skya*'s downfall was also due to internal discord. Not only the various branches of the family were jealous and suspicious of one another, but the *dPon c'en* began to betray them. We have seen that the *dPon c'en rGyal ba bzañ po* had passed on the *Si tu*'s side; the other *dPon c'en brTson agrus*, who succeeded him, probably fearing his intrigues or his betrayal, took his life in *Lha rtse*.

237. *bca ts'e*; see above, n. 206.

238. *c'e gñan* = *c'e btsan*.

239. *jug bsdoms*.

240. Notice the use of *skor*, about, with numerals (*brgya skor* = about a hundred, etc.) very frequent in this text.

241. *Lha rtse* on the *bTsañ po*, at small distance from *Sa skya*. Concerning *Byañ* see above.

242. In which it was forbidden to take up arms without the *Si tu*'s order.

243. The *C'en po* of *sNel* already mentioned.

244. Garrisoned, as we can see, by the *Si tu*'s troops.

245. Brother of the *Bla ma Dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an* (1310-1358).

246. Son of *Kun dga' legs pai abyün gnas* (1332-1362).

247. Prince of *Brag dkar* (see pp. 94, 128). It is not correct, as S. CH. DAS says, that the *Si tu* himself went to China.

248. The *rdson* founded in *dBus* and *gTsañ* during the *C'os rgyal* dynasty of *sNeu gdon*, by them or their ministers, are mentioned in the following list by *Kloñ rdol bla ma* ('a, p. 14 b):

rTse t'añ sNe gdon rdson
aP'yon rgyas P'yiñ byar sTag rtse rdson
'Ol dga' sTag rtsei rdson
dBus stod Byi ri stag rtse rdson
Brag dkar gSañ snags bde c'en rdson
aP'an yul Lhun grub rdson
sKyid šod smad Yar rgyab goñ dkar rdson
gZis k'a sneu rdson
C'u šur rdson
Yar abrog dPal sdei rdson
Roñ Rin spuñ rdson
Nāñ stod rGyal mk'ar stag rtse rdson
Nāñ stod Pa rnam lhun grub rdson

At the same time old *rdson* were reconstructed, namely:

bSam agrub rtsei rdson of the *sde pa* of *gTsañ*
gTsañ stod Lha rtsei rdson
sKyid šod gDon mk'ar rdson
dMar po ri in Lhasa

sNeu gdon rtse, the capital of *P'ag mo gru* (S. CH. DAS, *Journey* ed. Rockhill, p. 230), must not be identified with *gZis k'a sNeu rdson*, near *rTse t'añ*, on the Southern bank of the *Brahmaputra* (*qDsam bu gliñ rgyas bšad*, p. 41, of my mss., not in Wassiliev: *ap'yon rgyas rdson dan yar klun sne gdon rdson*). *sNeu gdon rtse* is near *sNe t'añ* to the east of the *sKyid c'u* (WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 22) to the South of *sTod lung* (S. CH. DAS, Rockhill, ed., p. 145, *Toilung*). This feud belonged for several generations to a collateral branch of kings of *sNe gdon*, i. e. the *P'ag mo gru pa*, until their last descendants, the brothers *Druñ Nag dbañ bSod nams rgyal po* and *Nag dbañ bSod nams lhun grub* were deprived of their territory by *Don yod sde srid* of *Rin spuñ*. *Bu k'rid dpal adsom*, the wife of their grandfather *Druñ Grags pa dpal bzañ* and *dPon mo Sañs rgyas*, the wife of *Druñ Nam mk'a' a' dpal*, took up their abode in the monastery of *dPal abyor lhun po*, behind the *Potala*, and contributed to the printing of the complete works of *rGyal ts'ab dar ma rin c'en* (see KLOÑ RDOL, 'a, p. 15 a).

249. As we read in the *qDsam gliñ c'en poi rgyas bšad snod bcud kun gsal me loñ* by *sMin grol no mo han*, known through Vassiliev's transcription

of *Mincul Kutuktu* (p. 12 of my copy), some divided Tibet into two parts: *Bod c'un* and *Bod c'en po*, great and small Tibet, the first being *dBus* and *gTsañ* and the second *mDo K'ams*. But this division is not accepted by the author, not being based upon any plausible reason.

As LAUFER justly remarks, the *Bod c'en po* of the *Lhasa* inscription has no geographical value; it is modelled on the Chinese *Ta t'ang*.

250. *bañ zom*.

251. or sixteen; according *Kloñ rdol*, in the *bsTan pai shyin bdag byün ts'ul gyi min gi grans*, p. 7 a, which summarizes the *rGyal rabs* pp. 68-69 (cf. S. CH. DAS, *IRAS B.* 1881, p. 219).

- 1) you shall not kill, you shall not steal, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not bear false witness
- 2) faith in the three gems, and pactice of the holy Law
- 3) you shall not be ungrateful to your parents
- 4) you shall honour virtue, nobility, old age
- 5) a kind heart towards kinsfolk
- 6) be helpful to your fellow-citizens
- 7) be unassuming, and straightforward in your speech
- 8) follow noble men and think upon future life
- 9) be moderate in eating and in accumulating riches
- 10) do not use rude language to your friends
- 11) pay your debts in due time
- 12) do not counterfeit weights and measures
- 13) be of an even temper with all and bear no envy
- 14) do not lend an ear to the words of wicked friends
- 15) speak kind words
- 16) be welcoming and generous

252. These laws are enounced in a schematic and symbolical form. They have been preserved, and will be studied by me in a work to be published shortly on ancient Tibetan law.

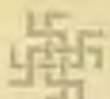
253. *Dvags po rje*, i. e. *sGam po pa*, *Milarepa*'s disciple.

254. In the year 1351. Instead of *rTse t'añ*, the fifth *Dalai Lama* himself often uses the form *rTs'e dan*, *rTs'e dan gi gduñ c'os*. (*Life of the Zur pa t'ams cad mk'yen*, complete works, vol. *Ta*, pp. 36-37).

255. From now on the vicissitudes of the *P'ag mo gru pa* are followed in the *Ming shih*; Chapt. 231, p. 9 b ff., to which we must refer for all the events concerning this family.

"*Shan hua wang* 闡化王 was a monk of *dBus* and *gTsañ*. At the beginning of the fifth year *Hung wu* (1372) (the commander) of the garrison of *Ho chou* 河州^{a)} said that in the country of *P'a mu chu pa*^{b)} 怕木竹巴 in *dBus* and *gTsañ* there was a monk who was called *Chang yang sha chia chien ts'ang*^{c)} 章陽沙加監藏, to whom in the *Yüan*'s times, had been given the title of "*Kuan ting kuo shih*...", and to whom the barbarians had been entrusted. Now *Shang chu chien ts'ang* 賞竹監藏^{d)} the chief of *To kan* 朵甘, fought against *Kuan Wu erh* 管兀兒^{e)}. If that monk of *P'a mu chu pa* had been sent to persuade him, *To kan* would certainly have become a subject of the Chinese Empire. The Emperor accepted this advice, and again appointed that monk *Kuan ting kuo shih*, and sent envoys to him to give him the jade seal and coloured silk. In the following year (1373) this monk sent to the Emperor the chief *So nan ts'ang pu*,^{f)} bringing tributes of images of the Buddha, Buddhist books and religious necklaces. Meanwhile the Emperor had already ordered *Fo pao kuo shih* to act in such a manner as to bring the barbarous peoples into submission, and then the monks of *P'a mu chu pa*, who gave themselves the name of *Nien pu shê* 聶卜闡^{g)} sent envoys to bring their document of surrender and tributes of local articles. The Emperor gave them great gifts. *Nien pu shê* in that country means first monk. In the first month of the eighth year (1375) the Emperor ordered the myriarchy of *P'a mu chu pa* to be established, and entrusted this task to the chief of the barbarians. When *Chang yang sha chia* died (the Emperor) conferred on his successor, *So nan chia ssü pa i chien ts'ang pu* 鎖南扎思巴噶監藏^{h)} the title of "*Kuan ting kuo shih*...". In the 21st year (1388) he notified the Emperor that he was ill and suggested as his successor his cousin *Chi la ssü pa chien ts'ang pa ts'ang pu*ⁱ⁾ 吉刺思巴監藏巴藏卜. Then (the latter) was appointed "*Kuan ting kuo shih*...".

Since that time, every three years he sent to offer tributes. When *Ch'eng tsu* succeeded to the throne (1403) he sent the monk *Chih kuang* 智光 to bring gifts. In the first year *Yung-lê* (1403) that monk sent his envoys who came to offer tributes. In the fourth year (1406) the Emperor conferred upon him the title of *Kuan ting kuo shih shan hua wang* and gave him the jade seal with the dragon-headed button, 500



ounces of silver, three silk dresses, flowered stuffs, 50 bolts of silk, 200 pounds of Pa shan (巴山) tea.¹⁾

In the following year (1404) he ordered the two princes Hu chiao 護教 and Tsan shan 贊善 and Pi li kung wa kuo shih^{m)} 必力工瓦國師 and Pi li 必里,ⁿ⁾ To kan 朵甘, Lung ta 隴答 and other (commanders) of garrisons and the various tribes of Ssü ch'uan and Tibet, to establish once more stages for the post, so that communications by road should be easy.

In the eleventh year (1413) the eunuch Yang San pao 楊三保 who had been sent to dBus and gTsan, came back. The Shan hua wang had sent in his retinue his son Ta chieh 割結^{o)} and others to offer tributes to the court. In the following year San pao was sent again to that land. The Emperor ordered that (that land) with the three princes Shan chiao 闡教, Hu chiao 護教, Tsan shan 贊善 and Chuan pu 川卜, Chuan Ts'ang 川藏, various places of Ssü ch'uan and Tibet together, should establish the post-stations, and that those which did not yet function should be newly established.

From that time on the roads were all practicable; envoys came and went; for several tens of thousands of li robbers and brigands were no longer feared. After this, tributes were much more frequent and plentiful. The Emperor was satisfied with his sincerity and again ordered that San pao should go to present him as a reward (for his services) images of the Buddha, sacred objects, monastic dresses, sacred draperies, velvets and coloured silks. He also ordered the eunuch Tai hsing 戴興 to go and present coloured silk to him.

In the second year Hsüan te (1427) he ordered the eunuch Hou hsien 候顯 to go and present him with velvet and silk.

Once the envoys who had to carry the tribute had killed the son of the postal official. The Emperor, as they were ignorant, called them back and ordered the Fa wang to punish them. In the ninth year (1434) when the envoys who carried the (Emperor's) gifts and tea arrived in Lin T'ao 臨洮 the local authorities seized the tea and put the envoys in prison, asking instructions concerning them. The Emperor ordered them to be freed, and the tea to be returned to them.

In the fifth year Cheng t'ung (1440) that prince died and two Shan shih were sent as first and second envoy, that his son Chi la ssü pa yung nai chien ts'ang pa ts'ang pu^{p)} 吉刺思巴永耐監藏巴藏卜 might be invested with the title of Shan hua wang: those envoys traded in silk and tea on their own account for many tens of thousands of measures and they ordered that the local officials should provide their transportation. For this reason the Minister of Rites made a petition that this should be forbidden. The Emperor, thinking that they were men from distant countries, ordered them to provide their own transportation, with boats and carts.

When that prince died he was succeeded by Sang erh chieh chien tsan pa ts'ang pu^{q)} 桑兒結堅智巴藏卜. In the first year Ch'eng hua (1465) the Minister of Rites said "During the Hsüan (te) and Cheng (t'ung) periods the men bringing tributes were not more than 30 or 40. In the Ching t'ai period they were ten times as many. Now when the envoys bringing tributes are about to arrive (the Minister of Rites) asks the Emperor to issue a proclamation to the Shan hua wang, ordering the ancient rules of Hung wu's times to be respected. That is, they come only once every three years to bring tributes."

Then in the fifth year (1469) that prince died. The Emperor ordered that he should be succeeded by his son Kung ko lieh ssü pa chung nai ling chan chien tsan pa erh ts'ang pu^{r)} 公葛列思巴中奈領占堅參巴兒藏卜.

The latter sent monks to offer tributes; on their way back, having got to Hsi ning, 西寧^{s)} they stopped at a monastery and did not go away; then, usurping that prince's name, they sent tributes and hid the gifts received from the Emperor and his letters. The (Tibetan) prince sent three of his men to investigate. But those monks shut them up in a room, and put out the eyes of two of them; one was able to escape and related the facts to Sun chien 孫鑑 who was "Tu chih hui," 都指揮. The latter arrested them and put them in prison; he accepted bribes from their followers and then sent in a report to the Emperor. The Emperor ordered that the Hsün nan 巡按 (inspector of provinces) of Ssü ch'uan should make a through investigation of the matter, and four monks were condemned to death. Sun chien was about to be punished, but the Emperor pardoned him, and he escaped trial.

In the 17th year (1481) as the barbarians of Chang ho hsi 帳河西^{t)} often brought tributes under false names of Tibetan princes, the Emperor ordered the diplomas of the four princes, the Ch'an hua, Tsan shan, Shan chiao, Hu chiao, to be verified so as to avoid fraud.

In the 22nd year (1486) (new) envoys were sent; 460 men came to bring tributes. The officials on guard on the frontiers, according to the new rules, admitted only 150 persons. The Minister of Rites, as they had already entered the frontiers and it was difficult to send them back, begged the Emperor to grant their wishes. Hence they were admitted (into China), on condition that the tribute should be valid for two future tributes also.

In the eighth year Hung chih (1495) monks were sent and came to bring tributes. On their way back, having got to the Kuang ling 廣陵 post in the Yang chou 揚州 district, they met Ta cheng fa wang's envoys,^{u)} who were also charged with bringing the tribute. Together with them, they killed animals and gave themselves up to drink. They did not move for three days. Seeing other envoys arrive in a boat, they hit them with stones and did not allow them to reach the shore. The prefect, T'ang K'ai 唐愷 got to the post and, crying out, he forbade the boatmen (to do so); the monks took up arms and staves and crying out and raising a tumult got inside (the post). K'ai fled. His minions fought stoutly and then fled, many were wounded. This matter came to the Emperor's ears and an inquest was ordered; the interpreter and his comrades were punished. The Emperor sent back his men to give the prince to understand that he must punish his envoys himself. But at that time the prince was dead and his son Pan a chi chiang tung ta pa 班阿吉江東割巴^{v)} asked the Emperor to succeed to him. The Emperor ordered two Tibetan monks, ranking as first and second envoy, to go and confer the investiture upon him. When they arrived, the new prince also had died. His son A wang ta shih ta pa chien tsan 阿往割失割巴堅參^{w)} wished to receive the investiture. The two men, unable to act otherwise, gave it to him. He (the prince) prepared the usual objects, to express his thanks, and also showed as a proof (that his dignity was legal) the diplomas and seal he had received from his father. When they arrived in Ssü ch'uan the governor protested against that investiture and asked the Emperor for an inquiry (against the two monks), in order that they should be condemned to death. The Emperor changed the death penalty into an enforced residence (for the first envoy). (The others) beginning from the envoys of the second rank downwards, were pardoned. In the third year Cheng te (1508) as the envoys appointed to bring the tribute were above the prescribed number, the Emperor ordered that this should hold good also for the tributes of the succeeding years.

In the third year Chia ching (1524) the (prince) together with the Fu chiao wang 輔教王 and other 36 Tibetan tribes, between great and small, proposed that they should be admitted to pay the tribute. The Minister of Rites, as the name of the country and of the tribes was not stated, ordered the prefect of that territory to look into the matter thoroughly and to send in a report. In the 43rd year the Shan hua wang and other princes sent envoys to offer the tribute and to ask for investiture.

The Minister of Rites, following the ancient custom, sent 22 Tibetan monks as first and second envoys and an official of Rites (序班) Chu T'ing tui 朱廷對 was appointed to watch over them. When they had gone half their way, a great turmoil arose; (those monks) did not accept T'ing tui's orders, and the latter went back and reported the matter. The Minister of Rites begged that in future, when investitures were to be given to Tibetan princes, the diplomas should be entrusted to the envoys, that they might take them (to Tibet) and that the frontier prefect should choose a monk of the neighbouring territories, to carry the gifts and investitures. From that time the custom began not to send any more monks from the capital to invest Tibetan princes. The Tibetans, continually coming to China to offer contributions, used to make great profits; although restrictions were often enforced, those who came (to court) increased every day.

In the third year Lung ch'ing (1569) it was laid down that the three princes Shan hua, Shan chiao, Hu chiao, should send their tribute every three years. Their envoys, appointed by each of them to bring the tribute, were 1000 men every time: the Emperor gave half of the gifts complete and the other half reduced. Those who had received complete gifts sent eight men to the capital. The others remained on the frontier. This was the rule.

In the seventh year Wan li (1579) the envoys appointed to bring the tributes begged that Cha shih ts'ang pu^{y)} 札釋藏卜, the Shan hua wang's first son, should succeed his father. The Emperor granted their request.

After a long time the former died. His son begged the Emperor to (be allowed to) succeed his father. Shen tsung consented, and in the diploma he called him only Shan hua wang. (Then), according to

the words of the Cabinet Minister Shen Yi kuei 沈一貫²⁾ he changed his title into that of Pa mu chu pa kuan ting kuo shih shan hua wang of dBus and gTsañ 烏斯藏伯木竹巴灌頂國師闡化王. From that time on his successors offered tributes without interruption. The objects they offered were painted Buddhas, bronze Buddhas, bronze stūpas, coral, rhinoceros horns, Tibetan velvet, tassels for hats made of hair. The princes offered suchlike tributes...

- a) As we have seen above, Lin hsia in Kan suh.
- b) P'ag mo gru pa.
- c) aJam dbyaṅśa kya rgyal mts'an.
- d) Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an, who has nothing in common with the P'ag mo gru prince of the same name; To kan is mDo k'ams.
- e) Kuan wu erh is unknown to me.
- f) bSod nams bzaṅ po must be the father of aJam dbyaṅśa gu śri; hence he is called the chief of the clan; he was gduñ rgyud qdsin "continuator of the lineage", but had neither civil nor religious authority.
- g) Rin po c'e.
- h) bSod nams grags pa rgyal mts'an, but the Chinese transcription supposes grags pai with the sign of a pronounced genitive and bzaṅ po at the end [dpal] bzaṅ po.
- i) Grags pa rgyal mts'an; notice the different transcription of grags pa; he is Sa kya rin c'en's eldest son.
- j) In Ssü ch'uan.
- m) I. e. the Kuo shih of aBri guñ pa.
- n) Biri or Beri. See above.
- o) bKra śis?
- p) Grags pa abyūñ gnas rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po who is not his son but the son of a younger brother.
- q) Saṅs rgyas rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po.

According to the Tibetan sources, the latter was the successor, on the rTse t'an throne of his son Kun dga' legs, who left that abbatial seat to ascend the sNeu gdoñ rse throne in the year sa abrug, 1448, without occupying the abbatial seat; he was nan so of rTse t'an up to the year of his death, me glai, 1457. The *Ming shih* seems to bring proofs of this chief's restlessness; he tried to obtain supreme power, wresting it from his own sons. He seems not to have recognized Kun dga' legs's pretensions and to have put himself forward as the successor of Grags pa abyūñ gnas, asking for China's recognition. He obtained it, for on his death Kun dga' legs's succession is spoken of. This proves, anyhow, that in this lapse of time internal discord troubled the P'ag mo gru pa family. The Chinese and Tibetan sources differ on the date of Saṅs rgyas rgyal mts'an's death: the *Ming shih* places it in 1469 and the *Deb t'er* in 1457 with a difference of a duodenary cycle.

- r) Kun dga' legs abyūñ gnas rin c'en rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po.
- s) Today the capital of Kōkō-nor.
- t) Western Ssü ch'uan, near Ta chien lu; see *Ming shih*, chap. 331, p. 19.
- u) I. e. The Sa skya pa abbot. See above.
- v) According to the chronological tables, the latter should be Nāg gi dbaṅ p'yug, but there is no correspondence with the Chinese transcription.
- x) Nāg dbaṅ bkra śis grags pa rgyal mts'an.
- y) This name seems to correspond to bKra śis bzaṅ po, but I find no trace of it in the Tibetan sources.
- z) *Ming shih*, chap. 218.

256. The brTag gñis points out the *Hevajratāntra*; from the sentence bka' pot bži "the four sections of the sacred scriptures", the meaning of the word pot is clear; it has nothing to do with po ti, pustaka, but is derived from the Chinese pu 部 section (see LAUFER, *Loan words*, p. 430, n. 2).

The four sections are perhaps: Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma and Tantra.

257. On whom see PETECH, *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 20 ff. and Appendix two.

258. log par ak'u ba; Kun dga' bkra śis, a Sa skya pa lama (1349-1425).

259. One of the terrific forms of P'yag na rdo rje (see *Indo-Tibetica*, III).

260. His biography is also in the DT, űa, p. 80. He is also known as C'os bži pa gzar ma.

261. The T'ai si tu's younger brother.

262. dPal ldan bla ma dam pa, a title under which bSod nams rgyal mts'an is known, the Sa skya lama we have spoken of and who enjoyed great prestige for his learning and sanctity.

263. According to the DT (űa, p. 80 b) and other sources, Tsoñ k'a pa also learned from him Nāropā's six laws, on which he is known to have written a commentary.

264. See also the DT, *ibid.*

265. But according to the bKa' gdams c'os abyūñ (p. 94 a), he had from another wife, aDsom dpon rdor, another son, Rin po c'e Don grub rgyal po, who was abbot of T'el and received from the Emperor the title of Gu śri.

266. Before bSod nams rgyal mts'an, the DT (űa, p. 81 b) places bSod nams bzaṅ po, also mentioned by bKa' gdams gzar rñiñ gi c'os byūñ, p. 92 (see Tsoñ k'a pa's life, which says he was the master's contemporary) correcting the date of his death, which is not exact: not űiñ spreu (1404) but me spreu (1416). On bSod nams rgyal mts'an see *ibid.*, pp. 92 and 93, which also contain allusions to Byaṅ c'ub rdo rje.

267. The story of the Yüan's fall is told more or less in the same manner also by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje (p. 28; transl. p. 41). But instead of Gru t'a la gru the name of the new dynasty's founder is Ju ge. Thus also in Sayang Säcān (p. 131 ff.).

268. Chien Wen (1399-1403).

269. Yung lê (1403-1425).

270. According to the bKa' gdams gzar rñiñ gi c'os abyūñ (p. 936) this investiture on the Chinese Emperor's part took place when he was 44; but against his custom, the author gives neither the year of his birth nor that of his death. However, according to the *Ming shih*, the title and the investiture were conferred upon him in 1406, so that his birth would fall in 1364. But this contradicts the DT (Ba, p. 10) according to which he was born in the year űiñ stag, i. e. in 1374. According to this same text, he died in 1440.

271. mi brgyud dan bcas pa.

272. Notice the title of Goñ ma, which was given to the Chinese Emperors: it was kept by the P'ag mo gru pa for a long time.

273. Concerning which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 79 ff., and above.

274. Literally: struck at his heart; t'ugs la p'og - gnañ du p'og.

275. dpuñ gi ajug sgo mdsad pas. Probably on this occasion the king of Gyantse was aided by the Sa skya pa, who were bound by ancient ties to the princes of Gyantse and still dreamt of their lost power. That there was war between Sa skya and Grags pa rgyal mts'an is proved by information contained in the biography of Blo gsal rgya mts'o grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po (p. 26 a); according to this source, when the Goñ ma, having gathered a large army, marched against sTag sna rdson, the K'ri dpon dKon cog 'od zer, son of the dPon c'en rGyal ba bzaṅ po, resisted strenuously and did not give up the fortress; hence the Sa skya pa regained part of their former prestige. This took place in the year me kyī (1406).

276. Which was garrisoned, ever since the Tai si tu's times, by P'ag mo gru troops, to prevent any inclination to revolt on the Sa skya's part.

277. Kar ni ka, in the singular, because it is only one on the left. See S. CH. DAS, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, ed. ROCKHILL, p. 82, note.

278. Concerning which see above, p. 94 and note 199.

279. bdag mo.

280. c'e sa means: noble, notable; as a title of dignitaries it is very frequent in the literature of the period we are treating.

281. Ching t'ai (1450-1457).

282. According to the DT (űa, p. 90 b) Grags pa abyūñ gnas for several years ruled over aBri guñ also.

283. bso k'a: frontier. See: so qdsin, to occupy the frontiers of a region; so sruñ, a sentinel on the frontier.

284. I. e. Ch'eng hua (Hsien Tsung) 1465-1488.

285. ka bži pa is an epithet of some lamas. See n. 625. The Goñ ma can be no other than the brother of Grags pa abyūñ gnas, to whom he had not yet succeeded. As will be seen later, Grags pa abyūñ gnas was also known by the epithet of C'os lña rin po c'e.

286. yab yum, father and mother, as said of the gods.

287. I. e.: Yar rgyab, Goñ dkar, Bya, bSam agrub rtse.

288. sNeu gdoñ, 'Ol k'a, dGa' ldan.

289. This quotation is taken from the DT (űa, p. 84 b). See above p. 29. All this proves that the tradition was not trustworthy and that the various sources differed. A comparison with the *Ming shih* is always necessary for this period.

290. C'os lña rin po c'e, like C'os bži pa.

291. *gnañ bkod*, above: *gnañ sgo*, appointment, succession; in these cases succession within the family; otherwise, it is said of the chief of a government, distributing offices and appointing officials.

292. *lag*. The feud of *sNeu* is *sNeu rdson*, concerning which see above n. 248 and not *sNeu gdon*.

293. Of *sNeu gdon*.

294. *Grags pa* *abyuñ gnañ* and *Kun dga' legs*.

295. Who remained in the T'el monastery on the abbatial throne, but assumed temporal power also.

296. I. e. the *sPyan sna* of T'el who had assumed temporal power and had thus become *goñ ma*.

297. *gduñ rgyud*: heir (see p. 91 b, where these facts are again related), or better, according to Klon rdol's expression: *gduñ rgyud adsin pa*: he who continues the lineage. See above.

298. *gnañ bkod*, see above n. 291. According to the *bKa' gdams c'os qhyuñ*, p. 94 b, the chief of T'el was called *mK'an po* and that of *rTse t'an* was called *C'en po*.

299. *dPon ts'ab t'el gton byed pa*. See on p. 91 b, same expression.

300. *T'ugs k'og c'e ba = blo k'og c'e*. Until *Nag dbañ bkra šis* came of age, the regency was practically held by his mother (*dpon sa*; concerning this expression see n. 307). She remained in good relations with the *sPyan sna* of *gDan sa m'il* (t'el). See *Life of Nañ ston K'ra ts'an pa blo gros mc'og gi rdo rje*, p. 18 a.

301. I have not found this prophecy in the PTY.

302. *C'os grags rgya mts'o*, died 1506 (see *Reu mig*, p. 69; cfr. SP transl., p. 654). On p. 67 of the *Reu mig*, instead of *C'os grags ye šes*, should we read *C'os grags rgya mts'o? ho wañ = fo wang* 佛王.

303. *legs bris pa rnam* = Sanscr. *deva* according to the *m'Non brjod bstan bcos*.

304. *mts'an jus*, see above: *bstan aju*.

305. Brother of *Ts'e dbañ rnam rgyal*.

306. *p'yi rgyai blon c'en = p'yi blon* opposed to *nañ blon*.

307. For *dpon sa*, see above n. 300. I translate "princess", the term *dpon sa*; *dpon sa ap'yon rtsei druñ k'ab tu bžes*. For other instances of the value of *dpon sa*, see: *dPon sa stag luñ ma*, *Life of the Zur pa t'ams cad mk'yen*, by *Blo bzañ rgya mts'o*, p. 34; *lcam dpon sa rje btsun ma*, *ibid.*, p. 45; *dPon sa a ne druñ yum*, *Biography of the fifth Dalai Lama*, I, p. 73; *dpon sa yar rgyab mar srid qbebs mdsad pas kar ma p'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal k'ruñs*, *ibid.*, p. 24.

308. *gnañ bkod ma legs pai zer bun bslañs te = bun lom*: agitated, impure = slander?

309. *mion ts'an can med na = ts'an for mts'an*.

310. I do not find this passage in the *C'os qhyuñ* by *PAD MA DKAR PO*.

311. *rgyu mts'an gnañ*.

312. Viz. *Žiñ bšag* and his sons. See n. 453.

313. 1564-1565, when *gTsañ* was entirely conquered by the *Ts'e bstan rdo rje* and by *Pad ma dkar po* (see SP transl., p. 21).

314. Also according to *Klon rdol* (a, p. 14 a) he is a contemporary of the fifth Dalai Lama.

315. This family's history is summarized by *S. CH. DAS* in *JRASB*, 1881, p. 243, where instead of *Ša k'ri bzañ po* we read *Na k'ri bzañ po*. See also: *Klon rdol*, a, p. 15 a; *PETECH*, *op. cit.*, p. 24. *Rin spuñs* or *Rin c'en spuñs* was, as we see in the fifth Dalai Lama's chronicles, one of the main *rdson* into which the *Situ Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an* divided his territory. It is included in the *K'ri skor* of *Šañs*, according to the division into 13 *k'ri skor* made in *aP'ags pa's* time. *Šañs* is in the Eastern part of *gYas ru*, which with *Ru lag* is one of the two *ru* into which *gTsañ* is divided (see *Life of bstan pai rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po*, by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 28 a-b, cfr. down below Appendix two).

316. *Gru gu = Dru gu* (concerning whom see *PELLIOT*, *T'oung Pao*, 1920-1921, p. 330, and *THOMAS*, *JRAS*, 1927, I, p. 85 and lately *PETECH*, *RSO*, vol. XXII, p. 84). Judging from what is said later, this place should have had means of communication by river (*Murussu?*).

317. Or better, he was the *šbyin bdag*, the one who gave the money to build this monastery, which the *bla ma bKa' gdams pa gžon nu rgyal mc'og* had wished to build (see *Klon rdol*, a, p. 15 a). On this place see *WASSILIEV*, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 18.

318. *spyil po*: hut (often made entirely of straw) in the neighbourhood of monasteries, where the monks pass the time of their retreat. An instance can be seen in the environs of *Gyantse*.

319. *Ma sañs*: the name of his family, from the divine ancestor from whom it claimed descent. See above n. 6.

320. *dpon ts'ab kyi t'el gton mdsad; t'el = t'el tse?* See above, n. 299.

321. This alludes to the exploits of the *c'os rgyal* of *rGyal rtse*, *Rab bstan kun bzañ ap'ags pa*, in the times of *Grags pa rgyal mts'an*.

322. The same as *C'u šul Lhan po rtse* of p. 648; from this last passage one would deduce that this place was regained by the *nañ so Nam mk'a' rgyal* of *dGa' ldan*, causing the war mentioned in the following passage.

323. *Nag dbañ bkra šis grags pa*.

324. See p. 649.

325. Or vassals, *no bltas* (in *S. CH. DAS*, *no ltor*). See the *Ša skya Pañdita's* letter, n. 22 on Part one.

326. From which his father had taken tribute, i. e. he had brought it under subjection, as it is said in the preceding page.

327. I. e. *Vajraśekhara* (*śikbara*), concerning which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part. I, p. 111.

328. See Appendix two.

329. I. e. here the fifth Dalai Lama, to glorify his own family, claims descent from *Aśoka*: *Šiñ rta beu pa is: Daśaratha*. Instead of *Dsa* in the *Life of the fifth Dalai Lama* (p. 12 a) we find: *Dsa* or *Indrabodhi*; in the SP (II, p. 167): *Dsa*. But there is no contradiction, because, as it appears from the *rGyal po bka' t'an*, vol. k'a, p. 28, *Dsa* is another name of *Indrabhūti*: *rGyal po dsas žes Indra bbu ti yin*. *Dsa* is the king to whom the *Guhyasamāja* was revealed (DT, ga, p. 20; cfr. *bsTan agyur*, *rGyud*, XXVI, p. 38 [pp. 119-121]). Instead of *Šiñ t'abs can*, in the same work, we read *Šiñ t'ag can*.

330. On the story of the *Zamatog*, *Karañdavyūba*, besides the *rGyal rabs* (portion missing in the *Ladakh Chronicles*) see *BUSTON*, transl. *OBERMILLER*, p. 182. Instead of *Yom bu gla sgañ*, in the *Life of the fifth Dalai Lama*, the spelling is: *Yum bu mk'ar*, as in the SP (p. 167) which is derived from it; in *Buston*: *Yam bu la sgañ*; in the *rGyal rabs* (p. 52): *Yan bu glañ mk'ar*. The spelling of this king's name is two-fold: *Lha t'o t'o ri sñan žal* in *BU STON*, *rGyal rabs* (pp. 56-58), *rGyal po bka' t'an* (p. 20); or *Lha t'o t'o ri gñan btsan* in DT., ga, p. 3, SP (p. 166): *gñan po gsañ ba* is translated by *Obermiller*: mysterious helper, evidently reading: *gñen po*.

331. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Biography*, p. 12 b: *Indrabhūti*. The fictitious character of this genealogy is evident: it pays no attention to chronological data and, taking well known figures of Buddhist hagiography, it makes one out of two of them, or two out of one.

332. *Kukurapā*, *Kukkuripā*, one of the 84 siddha, concerning whom see *GRÜNWEDEL*, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 19, and *Die Geschichte der 84 Zauberen*, pp. 178-180. See above p. 229.

333. Instead of *Šakra*, the *Life of the fifth Dalai Lama* (p. 12 b) reads *Ša kra pu ti*.

334. *dbugs qhyuñ*: on this king see PTY, transl. *TOUSSAINT*, p. 162 ff.

335. *Śāntirakṣita*.

336. Who, according to the tradition, should be one of *Padmasambhava's* two wives.

337. *Padmasambhava*.

338. I. e. *Pañcaśirṣa*, *Pañcaśikha*.

339. I. e., from the Chinese *bu 護*, "pāla", protector.

340. I. e. having evoked those deities (the eight *rta bdag*, on which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 200, part II, p. 158 and above, p. 575) together with *rNam t'os sras*, *Vaiśravaṇa*, he put them into their respective images, painted on the flags, so that his army should be guided by their invincible power. The guru then performed the ceremony called *ava-hana* on the flags of his armies. On these episodes see Appendix two.

341. *mk'an*, *slob*, *c'os = Śāntirakṣita*, *Padmasambhava* and *K'ri sron lde btsan* (= *c'os rgyal*).

342. *ries par brlams pa*. The *rgyal po* is the *C'os skyoñ* of *gNas c'uñ* the State oracle, who utters his answers when possessed by the god (see *WADDELL*, *Lamaism*, p. 478).

343. *guñ agrig*.

344. *rnam sras sprin gseb ma* is the name of a story or a legend.

345. *ar glad = ar la glad pa*. See below p. 735.

346. A woman of the same clan, *P'o yon za rgyal mo btsun*, was the wife of *K'ri sron lde btsan* (see *BU STON*, transl. *OBERMILLER*, p. 189).

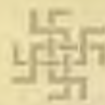
347. The son of *Glañ dar ma* and the father of *bKra šis rtsegs*, who took possession of the *ru lag* in *gTsañ*; see DT, na, p. 1.

348. On this name *Lha sman* see Appendix two.

349. Note the use *ts'ul*, Sanskrit *iti*, frequent in the fifth Dalai Lama's writings. On *dPal ak'or btsan* see *Indo-Tibetica*, part II, p. 17. Here *Rin c'en rdo rje* is used for *rDo rje rin c'en*.

350. *Nan lam rgya mts'o* is unknown to me. *Buston* (*OBERMILLER*, p. 202) speaks of five masters of *gTsañ* (See above, p. 84).

351. *p'yags šin* for *p'yag šin*.
 352. *bla mc'od du bkur pas*.
 353. Hor pa sar was a feud from which the family took the name of Hor; this family is mentioned also in the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 15.
 354. *sras c'e ba k'a'n pa p'yi mar p'og pas* and next: *klu ldiñs su p'og* in the locative case. I. e. he divided his property between his sons, according to the Indian system.
 355. *gsol ja pa*.
 356. *dmag gis bsdigs pai bskor gyan mañ du byas pas*; on the sentence: *bskor gyan* cfr. n. 217.
 357. *spa agoñ*, Sanskrit *avasāda*: to be in a discouraged, depressed condition.
 358. aJañ is the country of the Moso; in the *aDsam bu gliñ rgyas bšad* is placed between rGya nag and Mon (WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 3).
 359. Lho mon, are the Mon of the southern region of Tibet.
 360. According to the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography (p. 16) he began by being *gsol dpon* of the sPyan śia bSod nams grags pa.
 361. As we have seen above, being *rdson dpon* of bSam agrub rtse, he had bKra šis lhun po built.
 362. In reality the two brothers dPal abyor bzañ po and the Nañ so dKon cog rin c'en had the same wife (this family was addicted to polyandry) dPal aksom skyid. On *sras ñag p'ra ba* see above, n. 84.
 363. gŠed dmar, Rakta-Yamāri is invoked in order to have children. See BUSTON, *rGyud sdei zab don sgo abyed rin c'en gces pai sde mig*, p. 30, where there is an allusion to the *rigs kyī bskruñs pai c'o ga*.
 364. Grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, technique and medicine.
 365. Viz. besides rDo rje ts'e brtan; they had the same wife.
 366. On the 18 vidyā see *Mahāvīryūtpatti*, CCXVII. The list of the 64 kalā is well known. One may refer to Klon rdol, vol. pa.
 367. On this subject see also S. CH. DAS, JRASB, 1881, p. 248. *goñ mai bka' šog buñ rgya mai nañ du*: *rgya ma* perhaps means a document having a seal (see JÄSCHKE, p. 106); *buñ* is the Chinese *feng* 封, to seal, seal.
 368. I. e. Nag dbañ bkra šis grags pa.
 369. *gtam p'yag len du mdsad*.
 370. Goñ sar, i. e. to the prince of sNeu gdoñ rtse.
 371. *mc'od gžis*, on which see above, n. 183.
 372. *c'ins bdag*: *c'ins* is also quarter, armistice, in the modern usage: *c'ins sgrig*.
 373. Literally: as the price of pen and lips: *smyu gu mc'u rin la bžes*.
 374. On which see Biography of fifth Dalai Lama, p. 18, b.
 375. Great master Kar ma pa; according to the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography (p. 18 b) dPal sgañ and bSod nams dar rgyas, although extremely devoted to the Kar ma pa, also had relations with bSod nams rgya mts'o.
 376. Vairocana is Padmasambhava's greatest Tibetan disciple. Concerning him see LAUFER, *Der Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, *passim*. On Šeb rab 'od zer, known also by the name of aP'rañ ago gter ston, see the following note.
 377. Šel brag gi t'añ yig, the gTer ma deposited in Šel brag by Padmasambhava. See PTY, chap. XCI (transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 373). See above p. 231. S. CH. DAS transcribes according to the pronunciation She tag and erroneously translates Black crystal. Tag is the pronunciation of Brag, rock. But the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography, instead of Šel brag gi t'añ yig, has: *Pad ma bka' t'añ*.
 378. *Sems ñid ñal gso*, i. e. *Sems ñal gso bai t'ugs rje c'en poi sgrub t'abs*, n. 2748 (*Cittavīramāṇamabākārumikasādhana*).
 379. See the autobiography of Pad ma dkar po, born in 1526; see above chap. 162.
 380. Šar pa of dGa' ldan.
 381. *ser k'yim*.
 382. See S. CH. DAS, JRASB, p. 1881, p. 250.
 383. So polyandry was practised in this family too.
 384. See above, p. 638.
 385. Died in 1491.
 386. On these events see above, p. 638.
 387. *jus kyī agro k'yab c'e ba byuñ*, *jus* is the same as its homophone *byus*; *byus agro*, lit. to be lucky, successful. See the expression *bstan jus*, which we have met with more than once, above. *jus legs* is the same as victor (*mñon brjod kyī bstan bcas mk'as pai rna rgyan*, p. 116).
 388. *gžan sde*, rebellion. The expression recurs several times with this meaning in the text. *k'rim ra bsgyur*: to instruct a trial.
 389. *bya k'ra ma*, list of the actions imputed to (cfr. *k'ram šin*).
 390. Known by the name of C'os bzi pa. The most venerable Grags pa is another name for dPon šag pa.
 391. Follows a list of the works and paintings he caused to be executed in the monasteries of sPrul pai lha k'añ in Lha ldan, of C'os rdson, of bKra sis sgañ, of Brag nag and dBus gliñ.
 392. *dmag res byes gñer*. *Byes* is a seat in a country not one's own; *res* means: alternated; hence I think that *res byes* should be understood precisely as a garrison, troops temporarily sent in some place, awaiting to be relieved.
 393. Du dben ši, but in other places: Du dben ša. Cfr. rGyal rtse Chron. and Ža lu, Geneal. It corresponds to 都元帅 *Tu yüan sbuai*, military office. On the Tibetan transcription of *yuen* for *dben*, see above, n. 91.
 394. *jus ñes c'en po bt'añ bas*. *jus ñes* is the contrary of *jus legs* (where *jus* is mixed up with *byus*). See above, n. 387.
 395. Kun dga' legs.
 396. *bKa' pot*: i. e. on religious subjects, scriptures, *bka'*; on *pot* see above, n. 256.
 397. Rañ abyuñ rdo rje.
 398. In the Gyantse Chronicles: lDan yul, which seems erroneous, as lDan is in K'ams.
 399. On this place and its various spellings see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 67.
 400. In the Gyantse Chronicles: dPyal.
 401. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 79.
 402. *bskon c'a*, in the sense of ensign, coat of arms.
 403. *bcva ts'e*, as above, n. 206.
 404. *rgan po*: old, aged, a title given to this day to village headmen.
 405. I. e. Rañ abyuñ rdo rje. See Chronicles of Gyantse and n. 32, *ibid*.
 406. *šes su bcug* see above, n. 117.
 407. On which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 57.
 408. *bsgar nas*? Perhaps a mistake for *bsgor nas*: "having surrounded him".
 409. On these places see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 65 ff.
 410. *sku gsuñ t'ugs*.
 411. I find no trace of this story and of this image in the *Myañ c'uiñ*.
 412. The disciple of Tson k'a pa, see above p. 120. But according to the *Vai đui rya ser po*, p. 61 at a certain moment their relations were broken off.
 413. Follows the narrative of the construction of the bKra šis sgo mañ and of the dedication of the large t'añ ka on woven material. The fifth Dalai Lama, on this occasion, does not speak of his rebellion against Grags pa rgyal mts'an, on which however see above, p. 27.
 414. In this place Blo bzañ rgya mts'o and the Gyantse Chronicles disagree. According to the latter, written by a contemporary, Rab brtan bkra šis, as may be seen in the scheme I have reconstructed, is Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa's nephew, not his son.
 415. This prince P'un sum ts'ogs is not known to me. *rgyab gñer*, perhaps the administrator of the frontier territories, of the land behind the lines; *rgyab šhon dmag* = auxiliary troops.
 416. See S. CH. DAS, *op. cit.*, p. 351. The spelling of this place wavers between the forms 'Ol k'a, 'Ol ka and 'Ol dga' (e. g. in the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography). For the name, compare 'Ol mo, a place celebrated in the mythological geography of Bon. Has this name any relation with the Turkish Ölgä, territory, province? The uncertainty of the spellings: 'Ol ka, 'Ol k'a, 'Ol dga', would seem to confirm the foreign origin of the word.
 417. *K'a bas bskor bai ljoñs*.
 418. Namely Grags pa abyuñ gnas; rGyal ts'ab is Tson k'a pa's disciple on whom see above, p. 119.
 419. *gžan sde*; see above, n. 388.
 420. His religious merits are recorded. He was particularly attached to dGe adun rgya mts'o.
 421. T'on mi is the name of the tribe; Bu ston in the dKar c'ag of the bŠtan agyur (f. 117 a) writes T'u mi. But in the *C'os qbyuñ*: T'on mi (transl. OBERMILLER, p. 183). In the *rGyal rabs* (p. 62): mT'o mi.
 422. His biography is in the collection of the biographies of Buston's successors and abbots of Ža lu. See down n. 586.
 423. *kyi* instead of *kyis*. Kun blo = Kun dga' blo gros, the son of bDag ñid c'en po.
 424. See S. CH. DAS, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
 425. Follows a prophecy from PTY, chap. XCII (transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 385); but the quotations do not entirely correspond.
 426. *Caryātantra*, i. e. the second of the four classes into which the Tantra are divided. See above, p. 220.
 427. "The one struck by lightning"; see above, p. 634.
 428. sPu gri, deity of the cycle of the mGon po.
 429. *šon moñ* for *sre moñ*.



430. The word *spyān gzigs* is used for the skins of stuffed animals regularly hung up in the mGon k'an.

431. The relations between master and disciple are stated as relations of spiritual sonship: *c'os sras* opposed to *rigs sras*.

432. *sgo sdud*. This seems to be the meaning, not the more usual "having collected the taxes."

433. It must refer to one of the invasions of 1267, 77 or 81 (see p. 16).

434. Son of Kun dga' legs: he was not Goñ ma, that is, he had no royal power but he remained at the head of rTse t'an: his authority, however, cannot have been negligible, if he could elect myriarchs, but he lived in a period in which the P'ag mo gru family was undergoing a deep crisis.

435. *bsko ja*.

436. The Ts'al pa, as we have seen, opposed the T'ai Si tu.

437. *rgyogs*, which may be a catapult or a gun; but in this case the usual form is *me rgyogs* (BELL: *me sgyogs*).

438. This proves that polyandry was practised in this family too.

439. Then taken by Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs (see above, p. 112 and p. 234, n. 69). Above, instead of C'u šol, it is written C'u šul.

440. *sNel pa nan zlos*: I understand *nan zlos* as "internal contentions," (cf. *bzlos pa byun ba*, in S. CH. DAS, s. v.).

441. *sne bsu mdsad*.

442. In an early period, then, dGa' ldan sided with Rin spuñs; when this happened it is difficult to say, as any chronological reference is lacking.

443. *goñ sa = goñ ma*; on those events see pp. 44 and 642.

444. An allusion to the struggle between the Goñ ma c'en po Nag dbañ bkra šis grags pa and the Žabs druñ Nag gi dbañ grags pa.

445. *rKañ sa*. Notice the fifth Dalai Lama's periphrases in relating the conduct of the prince of dGa' ldan who sided with the Žabs druñ Nag grags against the Goñ ma c'en po (see above, p. 105). The dGa' ldan po had become the masters of the dGe lugs pa, and he tries most artfully to excuse their conduct and to place their exploits in a favourable light.

446. On this descent see *Indo-Tibetica*, II. It must be remembered that gNam lde 'od sruñ was gLañ dar ma's son.

447. *Mi dpon*.

448. An allusion to the war caused by the princes of gTsañ: the "apish race," are the Tibetans.

449. *K'a bai rdul man yoiñs su brtsegs pai bod*. Bod is here considered distinct from the Bod c'en.

450. The usual formula: *gnam bskos, gnam gyis bskos pa* (aJig med rig pai rdo rje, p. 38; transl. p. 54).

451. *Žiñ k'ams gžan du agro bai ts'ul bstan pa*. The Žabs druñ goñ ma is Nag dbañ bkra šis grags pa.

452. See above, p. 111.

453. Hence the kings of gTsañ do not belong to the family of the princes of Rin spuñs: the same fact is repeated which we have always noticed in the course of this period of Tibetan history: ministers become independent of their masters, next they try to take their place.

It is surprising that the fifth Dalai Lama passes over the troubled period of struggles which caused the fall of the gTsañ kingdom, indeed gives almost no information concerning it. He does not even mention the names of the kings who succeeded one another on the throne of bSam agrub rtse and who not only brought about the P'ag mo gru pa's decay, but also threatened and plotted against the Yellow Sect, as it spread and gained power. Without the brief information given by Sum pa mk'an po or gleaned from other works, whether Tibetan, European or Chinese, next to nothing would be known about this bold dynasty. The fifth Dalai Lama confines himself to the quotation of some prophecies, one of which says "in the gTsañ region a king will arise, bearing the name of Pad ma," clearly an allusion to Pad ma dkar po's son, Ts'e brtan rdo rje.

These princes assumed power when, with Nag dbañ aJigs med grags pa, the Rin spuñs pas' authority came in reality to an end, terminated by them with a revolt (see above, p. 45). According to what is written in the MC (p. 286) their family belonged to the clan of gNags and boasted descent from the same lineage which had given birth to Jñānakumāra, a contemporary of Padmasambhava. Through various events, a branch of this clan had come to Rin spuñs and belonged to the local nobility, as may be desumed from the office the Rin spuñs had entrusted them with. Sources are very scanty concerning these military chiefs who tried to renew Tibet's former political authority. They were only three, and their attempt came to a tragic end with the third one.

What Kloñ rdol bla ma says when briefly summing up this family's ups and downs, is worth translating (complete works, vol. 'a, p. 15 b): "King Gu šri came to Tibet invited by the p'yag mdsod of the rGyal

ba lña ba i. e. bSod nams rab brtan. In bKra šis lhun po, in bSam agrub rtse's palace, the last of the three *sde pa* of gTsañ was then reigning, namely Kar ma bsTan adsin, the son of P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal, himself the son of Kar ma Ts'e brtan, who was a subject of the *sde pa* of Rin spuñs Nag dbañ aJigs med grags pa, learned in rhetoric. With the last of these three king Gu šri fought seven months, and finally, by the strength of his armies, he conquered Tibet, which he, Gu šri bstan adsin, gave as a gift to the Kun gzigs lña ba c'en po."

The *sde pa* of Roñ, of whom the fifth Dalai Lama speaks, is precisely the chief of Rin spuñs, usually called Roñ Rin spuñs.

From Blo bzañ rgya mts'o's narrative it appears that although the founder of the bSam agrub rtse princes' military power was Pad ma dkar po, the family's ascent began with Žiñ gšag, formerly Minister of Rin spuñs. This Žiñ gšag can be no other than the Žiñ gšags rdo rje of bSam agrub rtse, patron of the Sa skya pa Lama pa Kun dga' rin c'en (1517-1584); while the son of Kun dga' rin c'en, bSod nams rnam rgyal, was protected by P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal.

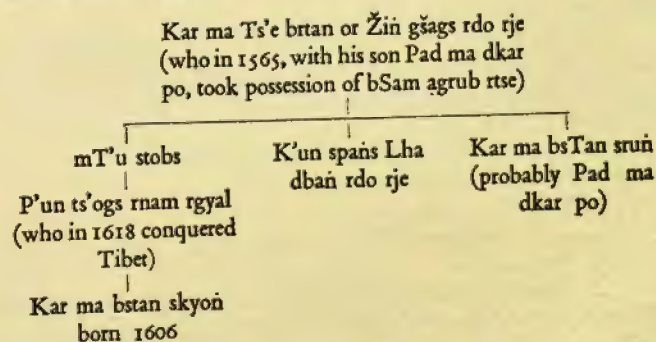
In Kloñ rdol bla ma there is no mention of either Žiñ gšags or Pad ma dkar po; however Kar ma Ts'e brtan's identity with Pad ma dkar po is excluded, because Sum pa mk'an po speaks of them as father and son, who were together when bSam agrub rtse was taken in 1565. It is likely that Žiñ gšags rdo rje is also an epithet of Kar ma Ts'e brtan. The Kar ma bstan sruñ mentioned in the Nor chronicles is perhaps no other than Pad ma dkar po.

On the other hand P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal was the son of mT'u stobs, who would then be a brother or cousin of Pad ma dkar po. I desume this from what I read in the life of the Zur pa T'ams cad mk'yen C'os dbyiñs rañ grol (pp. 24 b-25 a): "Zur Sa kya rdo rje ñi ma dpal bzañ po settled in bSam agrub rtse to perform the protective ceremony, and he made the talisman which should continue the lineage of the *sde pa* of gTsañ stod Kar ma pa mT'u stobs, and having caused existence to descend into the womb of princess (dPon sa) who was of Yar rgyab, Kar ma P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal was born."

Fortunately a complete genealogy of these chiefs is contained in the *K'rimis yig žal lee bcu drug pa* containing the code published by Kar ma bsTan skyoñ. According to this text (p. 6) the power of this family, descended from gNags [Jñāna]kumāra, began with gNam bskos lhai bu Žiñ bšag Ts'e brtan rdo rje (p. 6). He had nine sons the most famous being: Kar ma mT'u stobs rnam rgyal considered an incarnation of the Tibetan C'os rgyal, Kun spañs Lha dbañ rdo rje, Kar ma bsTan sruñ dbañ po said to be an incarnation of Ge sar. They invited the sGar c'en lama father and son and had as their son Kar ma P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal.

The latter was born in the year *leags k'yi* (mistake for *me k'yi*); when he was 25 years old, he attacked dBus, conquers Yar rgyab and submitted dBus Lho rgyud (Southern dBus) (1611). In the year *sa rta*, 1618, Hor Sog and Kla klo invaded Tibet and took the temples of Lhasa: he fights against them in sTod luñ, wins, repairs the temples destroyed and offers presents to the Jo bo. Then Kar ma C'os dbyiñs rdo rje elects him master of dBus and gTsañ and gives him the corresponding seal. His son was Kar ma bsTan skyoñ who was considered an incarnation of P'yag na rdo rje. He was born in the year *me rta*, 1606; when he was 15 year old, 1621 he is placed on the throne of bSam agrub rtse. He repaired the temples of Lhasa where on account of the Mongol invasion for two years no service was held, Sa skya, and sTag luñ. He built the palace in bSam agrub rtse and wrote down the code.

For the reasons I have stated, the family's genealogical table may be summarized as follows:



Nevertheless it is certain that it was precisely Kar ma P'un ts'ogs who brought the family to great power; in bSod nams dbañ po's biography

(pp. 28 and 30) he is called "cakravartin, by virtue of his strenght... According to this work (p. 28) Kar ma p'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal's ascent began in the year 1607, when he succeeded, at the head of his troops, in dispersing a Mongol army, called in by the prince of sKyid šod. In 1612-1613 he had united under his rule, a large territory from Byañ in gYas ru to Ņañ stod, Lo stod and dBus, although he was forced to take up arms continually to maintain peace.

His son Kar ma bstan skyoñ, according to the fifth Dalai Lama's biography, was sixteen in 1621. It is true that this statement seems to be contradicted by Sum pa mk'an po, who says that in 1610 he led the campaign against dBus, together with his father P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal but even if we admit that this is not a slip of Sum pa mk'an po, we may suppose that the boy accompanied his father on his warlike exploits.

The same mistake is made by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, who says that when Legs ldan (alias Lingdan), having changed his attitude towards the dGe lugs pa, prepared to march against Tibet, he had already contracted an alliance with the sDe srid P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal. But a short time later he died in Shiratala in 1635. That Blo bzañ rgya mts'o's date is correct, is proved non only by the manuscript of the code but also by a letter of Cabral's (WESSEL, p. 334) according to which the King of Tibet, whose guests he and Cacella were in 1628, was 22 years old. The king's name according to Cabral was De bu Camba, i. e. sDe pa gTsañ pa.

454. See SP, transl., p. 654.

455. ñi mai dkyil ak'or señ ge moi bui mgrin par c'ud. Sinhika's son is Rāhu, called for this reason Sainhikeya.

456. I. e. Gu śri khan.

457. On this see aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, who follows our Chronicles very closely, p. 43 (transl. p. 63) and p. 156 (transl. p. 248). For general references on this king, see: COURANT, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles*, Paris, 1912 (*Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, N. S., II, fasc. 26), p. 18 ff.; HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, I, pp. 517-518; GROUSSET, *L'Empire des steppes*, p. 602 ff.

458. 1582, not 1581 as in Huth.

459. mGo dkar, viz. the Čahar. Legs ldan was called "bald head,, by the Mongols (cf. MOSTAERT, *Textes oraux ordos*, p. VIII). However mGo dkar or mGo gar designates Muslims (DESGODINS s. v.); but mGo dkar is also an appellative given to Westerners (see, for instance, GEORGI, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 654, and DESIDERI, *An Account of Tibet*, ed. DE FILIPPI, p. 221).

460. At this point the author recalls the first introduction of Buddhism in the times of bSod nams rgya mts'o and Altan khan's conversion. The passage is reproduced, almost literally, by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 157 (transl. pp. 249 and 250).

461. Year 1606.

462. Nirupalambakarūṇā: everything being empty, created beings, the object of compassion, are considered non-existent.

463. Considering himself as an enemy and one giving offence, with the purpose of taking upon himself the evil done by others.

464. I. e. the sTon ak'or Qutuqtu of Kūke Hoto.

465. T'ai kuo sbib.

466. Follows the prophecy made by bSod nams rgya mts'o on the approaching diffusion of Buddhism in Mongolia, almost literally reproduced by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 250.

467. I. e. Čahar, Halha and Uriangqan, who formed the Western wing, and Ordos, Tūmāt and Iungčiyebū who formed the Eastern wing. Dayan khan had assembled them under his rule; the first three depended directly from the Qaghan and the others from a jinong, chosen out of the Qaghan's sons or brothers.

468. Legs ldan (or Lingdan), concerning whom see Sayan Sācān, pp. 281, 287, 410, 411; HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, I, p. 379; COURANT, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and above, p. 60.

469. Kōkō-nor.

470. I. e. as a presage of approaching misfortunes. An allusion to the destruction of Roruka see above, p. 482. On these events see aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, pp. 51, 250 and 251.

471. In a moral sense, unjust, the opposite of dkar: white, good.

472. Year 1637.

473. Always Rāmaṇa instead of Rāma, as in the Tibetan fragments of Turkestan (see THOMAS, *A Rāmāyaṇa Story in Tibetan from Chinese Turkestan*, in *Indian Studies in honour of Ch. R. Lanman*, p. 193).

474. I. e. the king who dispels the darkness of heresy.

475. In Lhasa.

476. bgrad byed.

477. The same in aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 251, almost literally copied.

478. Year 1637.

479. The Buddha.

480. Year 1639, not 1638, as in Huth.

481. Year 1640.

482. I. e. of their karma.

483. K'rims keyi dor c'en par yonś su bcug; but immediately afterwards: k'rims doñ, which is the correct form: doñ means hole, pit. aJigs med rig pai rdo rje (p. 158): k'ri mon dur: in the mÑon brjod bstan bcos (p. 54): k'rims mun, like SP, po, p. 164.

484. Quotations of some prophecies follow.

485. Year 1642.

486. Bod šin sgo can must be understood as meaning Tibet, i. e. dBus and gTsañ, of which P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal of gTsañ considered himself the king. To make this sentence clear I will quote, for instance, the following passage of Kloñ rdol bla ma, which is to be found immediately after his account of the division of Tibet into three C'ol k'a, in the times of Qubilai Khan (cf. n. 52): "Bod šin sgo can t'ams cad keyi dpon dan bla ma zuñ ābrel du bskos,,: "He elected together both the dpon (c'en) and the Lama of the Bod šin sgo can,, (vol. 'a, p. 13 b).

In the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography, p. 106 b: "C'os keyi rgyal poi mna' 'og tu bod šin sgo can rnamś c'ud pai gnaś ts'ul,,: "The manner by which the Bod šin sgo can came under the saintly king's power,,.

The meaning of šin sgo can may be determined by a passage of Kloñ rdol bla ma (bsTan pai sbyin bāg byuñ ts'ul gyi miñ gi grañś, complete works, vol. 'a, p. 4 b), already translated above, in which, quoting a conversation between aBrom ston and the king Sa yi sañ ga, a summary of Tibetan geography is contained: "In Tibet.... there are 105,000 šin sgo, 2,400,000 felt tents, communities, monasteries or temples,,. Above, n. 52, I have translated šin sgo as house. It is indeed clear from the context that šin sgo of the Tibetans is opposed to the aBrogs' tents; šin sgo, literally translated, means: wooden door, i. e. house, because only a house can have a wooden door, not the nomads' huts. For this reason Bod šin sgo can means that part of Tibet where the population lives in villages, as distinct from the aBrog pa. Probably the expression šin sgo is imitated from the Chinese ch'ai men 柴門: poor house, hut. The sentence is to be found also in aDsam bu glin rgyas bñad: my lama glossed k'an pa (WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 26).

Hence it is a mistake to say that the fifth Dalai Lama was born in (Bod) šin sgo can, as we read in SCHULEMANN's *Geschichte der Dalai Lamas*, p. 129. The fifth Dalai Lama, as we have seen, came from aP'yoñ rgyas.

487. Caitrapūrṇimā, day of the full moon in the month Caitra (March/April).

488. Yambu is Kathmandu (LEVI, *Le Népal*, I, p. 54). Ra ko šin is not identifiable; the king of mNa' ris is perhaps Señ ge rnam rgyal, king of Ladakh (on whom see PETECH, *A study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 137).

489. Or Dharmapālarakṣita.

490. bZañ po dpal.

491. Nam mk'a' legs pai blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po.

492. bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po.

493. Son of the Ti śri Kun dga' rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po; in the woodcut, erroneously: Ta dpon instead of Ta dben.

494. In the woodcut: "of dBus and gTsañ,, and this is a mistake; first he conquered most of dBus and then only in 1354, he conquered gTsañ, i. e. he defeated Sa skya and its dpon c'en. All this corresponds to the dates of Sum pa mk'an po's Re'u mig, keeping in mind that they must always be checked and corrected (Re'u mig, p. 60).

495. This calculation is erroneous: from 1435 to 1565, there is a period of 130, not 105, years.

496. no bltas... te so sor c'ad pas: as in the Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama.

497. In the text almost constantly aBri goñ, instead of the usual aBri guñ or aBri k'uñ.

498. On this passage see the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 27. The form Hu lū hu, followed by SP, for Külük Qa'an = Qaiśan, although more correct, differs from the usual Tibetan transcription Hu la gu.

499. In the text dpon instead of dbon.

500. lam ābras, i. e. practising the rules, and the realizations derived therefrom.



501. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 630. Instead of *aGyur* it will be well to read *sKyū ra*.
502. Sum pa mk'an po is not clear. In the times of the rGyal ba rin po c'e Grags pa brtson agrus, command of the myriarchy was conferred upon rDo rje dpal, who was not from P'ag mo gru (see fifth Dalai Lama, p. 634 f.).
503. In the text: Don rta.
504. Sog c'u; see S. CH. DAS, s. v.
505. *glin log*, on which see note 134 to the fifth Dalai Lama's text.
506. Unknown. See above, p. 631.
507. The text is corrupt: *p'o bran' nām nag ste*; I believe it should be corrected; *p'o bran' la po nā minags te* "they sent messengers to the palace,"
508. I. e. sPyan sīa Grags pa abyūn gnas. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 634 and note 176.
509. In the text: *dpon* instead of *dbon*.
510. In the text: *c'ol k'a*.
511. In the text: *Lbo abrug*.
512. I. e. aP'ags pa and bDag nīd c'en po bZaṅ po dpal.
513. In the text: *sgad dkar ba*.
514. In the text: *Yan loṅ*.
515. On this date see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 85. It is also confirmed by the list in the *Vai ḍu rya dkar po*, given by Csoma de Kőrös. But in 1253, according to the fifth Dalai Lama, he received the title of Gu śri. The investiture of the 13 K'ri skor took place when he imparted to Qubilai the sacred initiations. Hence both the author of the *Vai ḍu rya dkar po* and Sum pa mk'an po have placed the date of the investiture at that earlier date, in which he received the first title of Gu śri. On the other hand we know from the DT po that the year in which he became Qubilai's bla ma, i. e. in which he imparted the sacred instructions to him, was the year *lcags spreu*, when he was twenty six, i. e. 1260. Cfr. n. 44.
516. *C'e mo*.
517. In the text: *bud rdor*.
518. The text has: *abri goṅ pa dan' at'ab pai ran' gžan bstan agro kun la gnod cin*, where something is lacking: after *at'ab pai*, perhaps, *skabs dus*.
519. I. e.: sKu abum c'en po, the mc'od rten sKu abum, mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 629.
520. Fifth Dalai Lama, p. 629: Dar ma gžon nu.
521. In the text: Sa c'en.
522. Fifth Dalai Lama, p. 630.
523. Fifth Dalai Lama, p. 630: Tre pos. See note 123.
524. I. e. aBri gun t'el. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 37.
525. The fifth Dalai Lama has Byan še; he is Byan c'ub še rab.
526. In the text rJod. On this sGom pa see fifth Dalai Lama, p. 631.
527. I. e. Rin c'en dpal bzaṅ po. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 631.
528. In the text: *sde*. For this passage see fifth Dalai Lama, p. 631 b.
529. Thus in the text, but perhaps it should be corrected: *Mi āg sen ge*, as in the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 631.
530. In the text, erroneously, *Dan ma rin*.
531. In the text, here and elsewhere: Rin rgyan (*rgyan* is an abbreviation, usual in mss., for rgyal mts'an).
532. Here and elsewhere in the text: *Tii si tu*.
533. But in the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 46: *Srii ji dre bos*.
534. I. e.: P'ag mo gru pa.
535. I. e. sNeu gdon' rtes.
536. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 640.
537. In the text: *sduḡ*.
538. If some words have not been left out, the passage is ambiguous: Grags pa rin c'en is the younger brother of Grags pa ye šes, etc. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 635.
539. In the text: *lba sīa* instead of *lba sde*.
540. I. e.: rGyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po.
541. In the text: *gyam*.
542. In the text: *blan* for *blon*.
543. In the text: *bsdor* for *bsdod*.
544. That Nag gi dbaṅ was the son of Grags pa byūn gnas, was not admitted by all, as we saw. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 640.
545. In the text: *māsdod*.
546. I do not know the value of the sentence: *sil bur gyur pai p'yi lor*; one would expect the designation of a year of the Brhaspati cycle, but 1240 *lcags byi* is a *pramoda* year, i. e. *rab myos*.
547. See *aJigs med rig pai rdo rje*, pp. 85/86 (Huth transl., pp. 136/137).
548. I. e. there was continual strife between them. On the *Kākolukanyāya* see, for instance, *Laukikanyāyāñjali*, by C. A. JACOB, II, p. 19.
549. Instead of "Don grub rdo rje bsam grub rtse bsrūn te," correct: *... rdo rjes bzuṅ te*. These vicissitudes are summed up rather inaccurately by S. CH. DAS: *Tibet under her last kings*, JRASB, 1905, vol. I, n. 6, p. 165.
550. I. e. as the glosses to SP say, between P'ag gru (South) and sNeu gdon (North). P'ag gru is the ancient seat of the family and of the abbots in T'el.
551. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 642.
552. Kar ma pa is the epithet that the Rin spuṅs princes sometimes, and then the chiefs of gTsaṅ always, used before their names. But in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, p. 41 b, it is said that Don yod rdo rje, instigated by Kar ma pa C'os grags rgya mts'o, founded the monastery mentioned below, after having taken possession of sNel.
553. But in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, p. 41 b: Sa nag mar, the name of the convent, from the place where it was built. Was the name Nag [d]mar given as an allusion to the sects of the black and red caps?
554. The festival of the sMon lam, which takes place in the Ts'o ap'ul zla ba.
555. In the text: rDsoṅ p'yi. S. CH. DAS, article just quoted, translates: "the outer dsong," but rDsoṅ p'yi is a well known place in the 'Ol ka territory. *Chronology*, p. 71. Almost all dates given by S. Ch. Das are faulty.
556. In the text and in the article by S. Ch. Das it is written: dGe ḍadun rgyas ts'o, but this is evidently a mistake.
557. Thus the text, but in the fifth Dalai Lama's works always: bZu k'ar.
558. S. CH. DAS understands Žva dmar nag, but from the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, p. 41 b, it is clear that Zo dkar nag is a family name derived from a place name. About this time in fact there was strife between the sde pa of sKyid šod and P'ag mo gru pa.
559. In the text: sKyid zoṅ.
560. Answering the one from dGe legs lhun grub: correct *nan brtson* instead of *nan brtsom*.
561. sNan žal; in the life of Yon t'an rgya mts'o, p. 41 a: *sīan dar gyi k'a yig*. *K'a yig* is an envelope, or wrapper, of woven material or paper, containing a letter or an object for delivery to another person. The meaning of the words is clear, from the sentence that follows in the *Zur t'ams cad mk'yen pa c'os dbyiṅs ran grol gyi rnam t'ar t'eg mc'og bstan pai šīn rta*, p. 87: *mc'od k'an nan du p'ebbs dus steṅ gi dar lcog dan' sīan žal rnam gyō šīn dbu t'og tu snaṅ dar žig babs*. They are those strips of Chinese silk hung up in temples. These verses are also quoted in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, written by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 41. S. CH. DAS did not recognize that they begin with: *brag ti žag*.
562. Thus in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, instead of *Bran ti žag*; in the last line, instead of *de me abyūn* we must read: *de mi abyūn*.
563. The translation of this verse is rather hypothetical: the city of Brag ti (*brag ti* is, perhaps, rock) of the three vapours (*žag* in the present instance cannot mean day, but: vapour, smoke) was understood by the dGe lugs pa as an allusion to their monasteries dGa' ldan, aBras spuṅs and Se ra. S. CH. DAS' gloss: dGon, aBras, Se ra, should be corrected in: dGe, aBras, Se ra, as in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, where we read that the dGe lugs were compared, in these verses, to the yak, and the Kar ma pa to the gazelles (in S. CH. DAS' gloss we must read: kar instead of dkar, and instead of *gya ka dge lugs*: *gyag dge lugs pa*; *rva rno* and *ru rnon* = "yak,").
564. *p'yag pa* for *jag pa*; in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, p. 41 b: *p'yags*. S. CH. DAS: 1609.
565. S. CH. DAS calls him: Karma hierarch, but in reality he is the chief of gTsaṅ (see note 453 to the fifth Dalai Lama).
566. Read: *log te* for *log ŋe*.
567. Read *bzuṅ* for *bzur*.
568. This seems to me the meaning which should be given to *bcad gra* (not *grva*, as in S. CH. DAS). In Yon tan rgya mts'o's biography; p. 42 a: *sa c'a rdsoṅ kyī bcad gras dan' c'ad las byūn*.
569. The passage that follows alludes to a contest of magic between the representatives of the two rival schools. But the text is corrupt in several places, and some words, if not some lines, have been left out by the editor.

570. Correct *dgon* instead of *mgon*.

From the fifth Dalai Lama's, *Biography*, pp. 26, 26 b: "In the year iron-bird (1621) while Lha btsun Blo bzän bstan adsin rgya mts'o and Guru Hun t'ai ji, at the head of more than two thousand soldiers, were fighting against the troops of the king of gTsan, the Pan c'en Rin po c'e of bKra sis lhun po bLo bzän rgyal mts'an and the K'ri rin po c'e of dGa' ldan Ts'ul k'rim c'os ap'el and the Žabs druñ of gLin smad, together with the uncle's and nephew's representative (of the fifth Dalai Lama's house) acted as peacemakers and ordered that the territories should be established anew, beginning with the temple of Lhasa, subject to the dGa' ldan palace, that the feuds (for the upkeep) of Se ra and aBras spuñs should be donated, that the temples of dGe lugs pa in dBus and in gTsan, which had changed their sect or had passed (to the Kar ma pa school) should be handed back, and that the sde pa of sKyid šod, instead of bDe c'en, should support ap'an yul, together with mk'ar rtse,,"

571. Instead of *m'to bas*, correct *at'on pas*, as in the quotation of this same sentence, in S. CH. DAS' dictionary, s. v. *ke ya*.

572. Correct *šin p'ag lo la* instead of *šin p'ag ma*. These events are related at length in the fifth Dalai Lama's *Biography*, p. 79 a.

573. On Arsalān's death see the fifth Dalai Lama's *Biography*, p. 79 a. It is the source from which aJigs med rig pai rdo rje directly draws his information concerning these events.

574. Correct Ar sa lin instead of Yar sa lin.

575. Instead of "to the East of the blue lake,," it should read "to the North,," as in aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 36. *sar* perhaps stands for *ži ra*. See SCHMIDT, *Die Volkstämme der Mongolen*, *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, II, 1854, p. 454, and HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, I, p. 380. In the text of SP Du t'ug tu for K'u t'ug tu.

576. Fifth Dalai Lama's *Chronicles*, p. 16 b: T'o ral pai bur.

577. Read: *so linai* instead of *san linai*.

578. In the fifth Dalai Lama's *Biography*, p. 84: 10.000. The first diplomas given by Gu šri khan to the various Tibetan princes, or rather to those who sided with the Yellow Sect, go back to this year 1637 (*Biography*, p. 85 b). To the Žal no he gave a diploma (c'o lo) of P'yag mdsod of the Dalai, and to the prince of Groñ smad the diploma of Jai sañ sde pa, to bKra sis p'un ts'ogs of Byañ that of Ul c'in sde pa, to the prince of gŽon pa the diploma of Mar gan o to c'i and to the prince of sTar sdoñ that of Jo rig t'u dar k'an (*Biography*, p. 85 b).

579. As in the fifth Dalai Lama's *Chronicles*.

580. The constellation dBo corresponds to the *nakṣatra* Uttaraṣṭhā. The fifth Dalai Lama says "second month,,"

581. Read: *ma bžed* instead of *bžed*.

582. "He who overthrows bKra sis' majesty,," a name which must have sounded as an insult and a threat to the dGe lugs pa and their monastery.

583. The text is corrupt.

584. Something is lacking in the text: *de rjes mts'o šñon dan rgya nag gi dpon dan dmag gis*.

585. This is a mistake: both the biography of the seventh Dalai Lama, p. 334 b and Klon rdol bla ma, 'a, p. 16 a, put his death in the year *me yos*, 1747.

586. *Sa mer gyis bžu ba*.

On Ža lu and its abbots, who from Bu ston's times considered themselves as the successive incarnations of this great doctor of Lamaism, the following works may be particularly consulted:

dPal ldan Ža lu pai bstan pa la bka' drin c'e bai skyes bu dam pa rñams kyi rnam t'ar lo rgyus no mts'ar dad pai ajugs dogs, quoted in the present notes as ZNT;

Life of bSod nams mc'og grub bstan pai rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po, written by the fifth Dalai Lama (see above, p. 106).

587. In the mss. this time: *gan*, but in ZNT, p. 12, *Lba gen rtse*.

588. It is known that ancient Tibetan legends speak of an original communication between the sky and the earth, by means of a rope or a ladder. See Appendix two.

589. *Dar gan*: officers. See LAUFER, *Loan words*, p. 158; BARTHOLD, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, p. 385.

590. *Za gon* may also be the name of a place; see on p. 11 *Za skon po*, one of the Ža lu pa's chief feuds; *skon* and *gon* get mixed up in the wavering spelling of inexperienced copyists, always undecided as to the transcription of place names.

591. Guge.

592. I. e. the shepherdess of gYu sa and the shepherdess of Ne mar.

593. dNul mk'ar is a place celebrated in Bon po tradition, because it gave birth to Bon gŠen rab (see TUCCI, *Santi e briganti*, p. 135).

594. *gYu yi ge*, like *gser yi ge*, imperial investiture of some office, perhaps the same as the *kök tamya*, the blue seal vouchsafed only on rare occasions among the Turks (see BARTHOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 387 and n. 4; PELLIOU, *T'oung pao*, 1930, vol. XXVII, p. 35).

595. Li is Khotan; Hor are Mongols. Bran bu is unknown to me; something seems to be missing.

596. Is *rog bu* the same as *grog sbu*: beetle, scarab?

597. *Yöñs lcags*, *k'a lcags*.

598. But, below: *te re nu mda*.

599. See *bsTan agyur*, mDo, CXXIV, I, p. 5.

600. This alludes to the opposition of Ma žañ grom pa skye (see BUSTON, OBERMILLER, pp. 187-188). On this story cfr. Buston's letter to Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an, vol. *La*, p. 98 translated below.

The bodhisattva is Śāntirakṣita. But here the author is mistaken, because Jñānasiddhi is mentioned among the messengers sent to invite Padmasambhava, but he has nothing to do with the preceding mission sent to Śāntirakṣita headed by Jñānendra.

601. Literally, "golden letters,,"

602. But the spelling of the ms. varies between *sTo re* and *sTo ru*.

603. *Bya dga' brñan pa*.

604. Mss.: *gzan*.

605. Mss.: *rma legs*.

606. On these places see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 57, n. 1, and p. 48. In the MC: *ba'o* for *ba'u*.

607. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 142.

608. Biñ, perhaps mGon po Beñ, concerning whom see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 96.

609. Unknown

610. *bka' blon*.

611. This means that the three brothers had one wife between them.

612. Bya k'ri is also the name of one of Tibet's mythical kings; see PETECH, *Chronicles*, pp. 23-24.

613. *yo log* = *no log*, as in ZNT, p. 278, which corresponds literally to our text.

614. *btsun pa la*.

615. *ñe gnas* (*upāsaka*), assistant.

616. I. e. 997, but according to the most common calculations, and also according to ZNT, p. 278, the year of the new introduction of the faith was *c'u bya*, i. e. 973, as in Csoma de Kőrös' tables. According to ZNT, p. 178, in the year *c'u bya*, 973, when Lo ston made a survey of the earth to build the temple of rGyan goñ, lCe btsun was born. As our chronicles say that, when this temple was built, he was about 30, they place his birth long before 973.

617. Near Ža lu. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 70.

618. I. e. 1039, if we read *sa yos*, a date corresponding to the one recorded in the *Reu mig* (ed. S. CH. DAS, p. 40). But according to ZNT, p. 178, this year should be *c'u yos*, i. e. 1003.

619. I. e. central upper floor.

620. I. e. to the *Prajñāpāramitā*; see above.

621. *rgyun lam*.

622. Leaving aGo ba ye šes gyuñ druñ to care for the temple. See ZNT, p. 278 a.

623. *gNas rñin*.

624. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 67.

625. *bka' bži*: but it should be corrected according to ZNT, p. 178 b: *ka ba bži*, "the four pillars,," namely the four castles or territories over which the family exercised its authority, *las ka: las mña'og gi yul sde c'en po ka ba bžir grags rñams kyi bya ba* (on the four *Ka ba* see note 631).

The DT, *ga*, p. 8 b, speaking of the disciples of the lama rñin ma pa rGya po (Šes rab grags pa) refers to the same classification: they too are divided into *ka ba bži*, *gduñ brgyad*, *p'yam bcu drug*, *dral ma* (= *gral ma*) *bcu rtsa gñis*, eight pillars, eight beams, 16 rafters, 32 lesser rafters. Thus a master's school is compared to a house.

Many lamas are called *ka bži pa*; this means they were among the four chief disciples of some master. Cfr. SP, p. 179. The title of *ka bži pa* is also attributed to the Goñ ma of P'ag mo gru (see *Chronicles* of Blo bzän rgya mts'o, n. 285).

626. *rtsad po btsan po*, v. JÄSCHKE, s. v. In ZNT, p. 278 b: "because his patrons were kings (*rtsad pa*), like the king of Nepal, etc.,,"

627. 'A žva is well known as the name of a people out of place here: from page 23, b it appears that the A žva where bordering Ža lu: so A žva probably refers to gNas gsar whose chiefs were said to be of A žva descent.

628. On C'u mig see above.

629. In the text: Žal = Ža lu.

630. A hermitage near Žva lu, in a mountain gorge; the spelling wavers between Ri spug and Ri p'ug. (In ZNT *passim*). So down below in the text rGyan ri is for rGyan rgoñ and Žal ri for the mountain of Ža lu, viz. Ri p'ug.

631. This rather obscure passage will become clearer when we recall what has been said above on the census of Tibet ordered by the Mongols and the rules followed on that occasion. We have seen that a group of six persons, called *pillars*, was taken as the census unit. From this passage it seems that the same term was also applied to the nobility's property, when a census was taken of it: the family's whole property was represented as a house, and each single piece of property, or castle, or feud, or the various branches, according to their importance, took the name of pillars, beams or rafters.

632. C'u mig pa la bstun šes kyi 'og nas (?).

633. The Sa skya Chronicles do not mention this marriage; it took place when P'yag rdor, at the age of 23, returned home. "He of C'u mig," is perhaps the same P'yag rdor, to whom the feud of C'u mig had been assigned.

634. I. e. the country under a centurion's command.

635. Šab dge ldiñ is a monastery and a fortress in the valley of Shekar lung, on the right of the road P'un ts'ogs glin K'ro pu Tashilunpo.

636. nor skal.

637. Qubilai?

638. I. e. to have offspring.

639. sGo gsum, a symbol of the three *vimokṣamukha*, on which see *Mahāvīyutpatti*, p. 1341 ff.; *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 167.

640. The two forms alternate.

641. On him see above.

642. Two Ts'al pa brothers: sMon lam is perhaps sMon lam rdo rje mentioned in the fifth Dalai Lama's *Chronicles*, p. 33. The other is unknown to me.

643. I. e. six instead of seven as they are enounced: dPon ma dpal ldan is missing, on which see fol. 40 a.

644. Öljaidü.

645. 'on c'e; in the MC (p. 256): 'on rtse.

646. rMa bya ma. This story is reproduced, almost literally, in the MC, p. 256.

647. Instead of the more regular form: gu šri = kuo shih.

648. dGe ru.

649. Some of these places are mentioned in the letters I have discovered in Ža lu: sMon gro = sMon gro, Ra srog = Ra šog, Ru c'a perhaps = Ru mts'ams, rGya mts'o = rGya mts'o gñis (S. CH. DAS, *Journey*, ed. Rockhill, p. 72).

650. T'on ji du dben ša: it recurs in the present and other passages (Ža lu, pp. 22, 23). Du dben ša I have already explained: t'ong ji corresponds to 同知 t'ung chih. The T'ung chih was one of the officers depending from the Hsüan wei shih and from the tu yüan shuai's office (see Yüan shih, chap. 86, p. 10 and above, p. 33).

651. I. e. 萬戶 wan hu, myriarch.

652. blo bur mig in the sense of arch, frame in relief, also called mc'od rten. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 150.

653. gyu c'u ba sgam: these frames in the shape of a lion's mouth still exist in Ža lu.

654. leb rgan: see rdo leb, šin leb.

655. rgya p'ugs: see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 66.

656. bza' btsum: the expression is not registered in dictionaries.

657. t'us btsum.

658. srañ.

659. 1320.

660. On which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, pp. 70, 71. These inscriptions are collected in a booklet by BUSTON, on which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 71, n. 1.

661. On the temple of the bsTan agyur see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 71.

662. bor k'oñ (koñs) bsab = mts'an ba rnams k'a skoñs nas mdsad pa.

663. skya bzo.

664. Nañ poi bDe ldan, or the chapel of bDe ldan which is in the interior.

665. lag brtags.

666. mt'un gon: see note 786.

667. mc'ed zla.

668. Above the archaic form k'yed with da drag.

669. On Si tu Kun dga' rdo rje see *Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama*, p. 630.

670. Above mGon.

671. I. e. a high Sa skya dignitary.

672. On 'Od zer señ ge, one of the Sa skya pa dPon c'en, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 90 f. and above, p. 629.

673. So complete according to the list on fol. 39 a.

674. The name is too common to allow of an identification; perhaps he is the son of the dPon c'en rGyal ba bzañ po (see note 106 to the fifth Dalai Lama).

675. Go t'o ji is obscure.

676. That is, of the kings of Gyantse's family.

677. Son of the sKu žañ mGon po dpal.

678. t'abs su bžes pa, i. e. like upāya: namely, here, in the sense of mudrā.

679. He was really his cousin.

680. I. e. four and not five are enumerated in reality.

681. On mNon pa pa see ZNT, p. 189.

682. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

683. I. e. Grags pa brtson agrus, *ibid.*, pp. 189 and 191. In his time Šākyaśrī came to Tibet. With him ends the series of the mK'an po rñiñ ma, i. e. of the ancient abbots, preceding Bu ston.

684. Lotsāva Rin c'en rnam rgyal dpal bzañ po, whose life is in ZNT, pp. 22 and 180.

685. His life *ibid.*, p. 51.

686. *Ibid.*, p. 51 b.

687. lcags-stag, 1290.

688. lcags-spreu, 1320.

689. sa rta, 1318.

690. me spre'u, 1356.

691. šin abrug, 1364.

692. c'u stod, purvāśāḍha.

693. sa abrug, 1388.

694. šin sbrul, 1365 (ZNT, p. 186).

695. Viz. in another serpent year: sa sbrul, 1389.

696. ZNT, p. 197. An incarnation of Mi la ras pa, the author of songs, but illiterate. He ascended the abbatial seat in 1404, šin spreu. Born 1376, me abrug, died 1422, c'u abrug.

697. His life in ZNT, pp. 70 a and 191.

698. sa abrug, 1448.

699. Kartika.

700. sa yos, 1399 (ZNT, p. 191).

701. lcags spreu, 1440.

702. Tisya.

703. In ZNT: c'u k'yi; but the year must be c'u sbrul, 1473 (1399 + 75).

704. Life in ZNT, p. 82.

705. šin rta, 1414 (see ZNT, p. 191).

706. me k'yi, 1466.

707. c'u stag, 1482.

708. Aśvinī.

709. šin rta, 1414 (see ZNT, p. 192).

710. c'u yos, 1483.

711. c'u glañ, 1493.

712. ZNT, pp. 109 and 192.

713. me sbrul, 1437.

714. šin stag, 1494; at the age of 58, as it is said in ZNT, p. 192.

715. Viśākhā.

716. I. e. up to the year lcags rta, 1510.

717. I. e. šin glañ, 1445. On him and on this date see ZNT, p. 192.

718. me yos, 1507.

719. Up to the year šin k'yi, 1514. Between him and bSod nams rgyal mts'an ZNT placed Lotsāva Dharmapāla, the famous grammarian, born in the year lcags bya of the seventh cycle, 1441, who died in the year sa byi, 1528, at the age of eighty-eight.

720. c'u glañ, 1493.

721. This is perhaps a mistake; it should read (as in ZNT, p. 192): at the age of 32, in the year šin spreu, 1524.

722. I. e. up to the year me bya, 1537.

723. If the date of his assumption to the abbatial seat, 1537, is correct and if he was then sixty-seven, the date of his birth must be *lcags* *yo*s, 1471, and not *me* *yo*s; actually *lcags* *yo*s is the date we find in ZNT. The mistake is due to the fact that copyists left out *lcags* in the sentence *lcags* *mo* *yo*s, and wrote *me* instead of *mo*.

724. *me* *bya*, 1537.

725. *Jyestba*.

726. The other *mk'an* *pos* are ignored, up to the Rin *c'en* *mk'yen* *rab* *mc'og* *grub* *dpal* *bzan* *po*, mentioned immediately after.

727. I. e. in the guide of the *Ža* *lu* temple, where *Avalokiteśvara*'s image, mentioned above, is worshipped.

728. Buston.

729. About whom see ZNT, p. 201. He ascended the abbatial throne of *Ža* *lu*, as the 23rd abbot, after *rDo* *rje* *ač'an* *Rin* *c'en* *bsod* *nams* *mc'og* *grub* (*ibid.*), who died in 1671.

This is the *terminus a quo* of the present chronicle.

730. In the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles: *dGra* *rgod* *ldan* *btsan*: *rGod* *gdon* *btsan* means "the *rGod*-faced *btsan*,". On the *bTsan* see Appendix two.

731. On *Grag* *pa* 'od *zer* see note 78 to the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles.

732. *gŽis* = *gŽis* *ka*.

733. The *Ža* *lu* *pa* ought to be one of the *bDag* *ñid* *c'en* *po*'s sons, by his wife *gŽon* *nu* *abum*.

734. In the fifth Dalai Lama: *Lha* *gcig* *Lha* *sman*. There is no contradiction: *Lha* *sman* or *Lha* *mo* *sman* is the name she assumed after her meeting with *dPyal* *aP'ags* *rgyal* *ba*.

735. *Dus* *kyi* *p'o* *ña* = *kālayukta*.

736. The name of *dPal* *ldan* *bzan* *po* he assumed later.

737. *Vaiśravaṇa*, king of riches.

738. In the fifth Dalai Lama: *Ma* *zañs* *dar* *po*.

739. According to the fifth Dalai Lama, *Lhan* *yul*, near *dNul* *c'u*, in *Nañ* *stod* = *Dolchu*, on which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 67.

740. *T'ugs* *soñ* *bas* = *t'ugs* *su* *gro* *ba*.

741. *Rigs* *la* *ago* *bai* *lba*: i. e. one of the five *ago* *bai* *lba*, on which see S. CH. DAS, s. v., and WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 374. The most important of them is the *dGra* *lha*.

742. Note *adi* *pai* for *adii*; *sgos* *mi*: employee, officer, holder of public office.

743. *sGrog* *dgos*, i. e. that he should have an official appointment with proper credentials and that he should be assigned to the *Sa* *skya* *pa* royal palace in that capacity.

744. Mentioned above. On this meeting and the change of name see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 83.

745. *ñe* = *ñe* *ba* = *ñe* *gnas*: he who stands by, the disciple; *ñe* *ba* is also a kinsman, but not in the present case. However the princes of *Gyantse* did become the *Sa* *skya* *pa*'s kinsmen through the marriages both contracted with the house of *Ža* *lu*.

746. Such is the fifth Dalai Lama's spelling. In the mss. we find the forms: *Lho* *duñ*, *Lho* *du*, *Lho* *dur*. From p. 8 we may desume that these were *Lho* *brag* tribes; the *Šar* *duñ* should be other tribes of the same region and precisely of its Eastern portion.

747. *skya* *grogs*.

748. *skad* *pa* is not in the dictionaries, but the context seems to impose the meaning "enemies, rebels,".

749. *gšegs* means both to go away and to die, hence the expression is ambiguous: in the sense of "to die," *sku* is generally premitted. But *skal* is not necessarily an offering for a dead person: see, immediately after, the same form used for living persons.

750. *bskon* *c'a*: clothes in the sense of uniform, a sign of the rank received. The fifth Dalai Lama uses the same expression.

751. *bca'* *bu*, *bca'* *tse*. On *bca'* *bu* see note 206 to the fifth Dalai Lama; *bca'* *tse* is its synonym.

752. On offices among the *Sa* *skya* see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 83 and above, p. 35.

753. A title which has remained to the family of the chiefs of *Gyantse*, often simply called *šar* *k'a* *pa*.

754. *duñ* *reñ* = *lbo* *duñ*?

755. *t'ugs* *rtsis* *šin* *tu* *c'e* *bar* *byuñ*.

756. The monastery of *C'os* *luñ* *ts'ogs* *pa* was founded in 1255. See *Csoma de Kőrös*' list.

757. *bskal* *dgos* *bzan* *po*. The *dBus* *pa* is *Byañ* *c'ub* *rgyal* *mts'an*, who had begun his movement against the *Sa* *skya* *pa* dominion.

758. *gñer*, *gñer* *pa*.

759. Now *Kampa* *dsong*.

760. *Šākyaśrī*.

761. See above, n. 754.

762. Probably: *dNul* *c'u*.

763. *Hemalamba*.

764. *Kun* *dga'* *dpal* *ba* was from *lCan* *ra*, but he belonged to the house of *Mig*: hence his name *Mig* *pa*.

765. I. e. *Se* *c'en*. On *Karma* *bakši* see *aJigs* *med* *rig* *pai* *rdo* *rje*, p. 100 (p. 167 of the translation) and above, p. 61.

766. *C'os* *kyi* 'od *zer*? Not the creator of the mongol script (the last *mise au point* regarding this personage is by ROERICH, JRASB, 1945, p. 53) but an abbot of *aTs'ur* *p'u*, DT, na, p. 52, b.

767. *T'ugs* *k'ur* *mt'il* *bsñams* *pas*.

768. *Grag* *pa* is therefore his son by his second wife.

769. I. e. to the *P'ag* *mo* *gru* *pas*, whose capital was precisely *sNeu* *gdon*. This means that the family, without betraying the *Sa* *skya* *pas*, tried to gain the favour of this new power, which had arisen in the *dBus* territory.

770. The three personages mentioned here: *Nam* *mk'a'* *rgyal* *mts'an*, *Šes* *rab* *bzan* *po* and *dKon* *mc'og*, are not known to me from other sources. However on p. 7, b we find that in the tenth month of 1364, when a *dBus* army, led by *rDo* *rje* *rin* *c'en*, besieged *lCan* *ra*, the *dPag* *si* (*ba* *kši*) *dKon* *mc'og* was struck by an arrow on his forehead and died. So there was a war between *Gyantse* and the *P'ag* *mo* *gru* *pas*.

771. *Byañ* *c'ub* *rgyal* *mts'an*.

772. *sku* *k'ams* *bsñel*: it is to be excluded that here *bsñel* means "to forget,". Below (p. 40, n. 923) *bsñel* is used in the sense of "to take to one's bed,". i. e. for *snal* or *ñel*: to fall ill. *sku* *k'ams* means the physical person, and is used in polite conversation, to ask people about their health. That *bsñel* has this meaning is shown by the following passage in *Tsoñ* *k'a* *pa*'s biography, p. 222: *đguñ* *lo* *na* *bdun* *par* *sku* *k'ams* *bsñel* *ts'ul* *bstan* *pa*. His enemies, telling him that *Byañ* *c'ub* *rgyal* *mts'an* was ill, prevent him from meeting the latter. One of his rivals, as we have seen, having been killed by the *P'ag* *mo* *grus*, it is not unlikely that the *Sa* *skya* *pa* officers disagreed: some, like the prince of *Gyantse*, being disposed to come to an agreement with the *P'ag* *mo* *grus*, others being hostile: the latter tried to prevent a meeting between *aP'ags* *pa* and *Byañ* *c'ub* *rgyal* *mts'an*, and afterwards slandered him to the *Sa* *skya* generals.

All this covertly hints at *aP'ags* *pa*'s attempt to pass over to the new power.

773. *bden* *med* *du* *btan*.

774. On *dpon* *sa* see above n. 307; she was a *Ža* *lu* princess, then in good relations with the *Sa* *skya* *pas*.

775. *dpon* *žen*: attachment to their chief?

776. *bu* *rta*?

777. I. e. quickly; an allusion to the letting down of ropes, still practised in *Lhasa* and once a custom also on the Indian frontier. See MOORCROFT, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, I, p. 17; WADDELL, *Lhasa and its mysteries*, p. 389; FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part I, p. 4.

778. See above, n. 766.

779. *Viśvavasu*.

780. *dkar* for *mk'ar* is evidently a mistake.

781. *mNa'* *bdag* *c'en* *po* is usually *Ral* *pa* *can*. *Gyantse* was considered by tradition *dPal* *ak'or* *btsan*'s residence. See MC, p. 74 a.

782. *lcog* = *k'añ* *t'og* *tu* *k'añ* *c'uñ*.

783. This title: *Tai* *bsvi* *tu* *gyuñ* *lo* *ta* *bo* (above: *gYuñ* *lo* *ta* *ho*) corresponds to the Chinese *Yung* *lu* *tai* *fu* 榮祿太夫, a military title of the first rank (*Ming* *shih*, chap. 72, p. 15); on *Situ* and *T'ai* *situ* which is a title, often honorific, see RATCHENEVSKY, *Un code des Yuan*, p. 186, n. 2 and above, p. 34.

784. *gser* *byañ* *sgor* *mo*: *byañ*, *byañ* *bu*, *byañ* *mo*, means inscription written on wood or metal, but *gser* may also mean "imperial,". See LAUFER, *Loan words*, p. 445, n. 4. On *byañ*, *byañ* *bu*, in military use in the documents of *Turkistan*, see THOMAS, JRAS, 1933, p. 391.

785. *P'iñ* is lacking in the dictionaries: it corresponds to *abin* and *ja* *abin*, from the Chinese *p'ing* 瓶 "vase, flask,". See LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 216.

786. On *T'u* *gon* (in the MC: *T'ugs* *dkon*), see also *Ža* *lu*, p. 659: *mt'un* *gon*. It is not *T'u* *kuan* 土官 of *Yüan* *shih*, chap. 29, p. 17, but *Tu* *kang* 都綱, head of the office for the affairs of the Buddhist monks in a district. It was an office of the ninth rank. See *Ming* *shih*, chap. 75, p. 17.



787. On Gañs ba bzañ po see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 57; *Ibid.* for aBri mts'ams.

788. *sde adsugs pai rta sga qbogs pa la*: for the same sentence see *Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama*, n. 106.

789. *i c'e*: from the Chinese I chih 胰脂 in BELL, *yi rtse* = | 子.

790. *shel ka*, perhaps = *ber*, "cloak",

791. *zam dkon*: *zam* in Tibetan is a velvet cushion; *dkon* means rare, of the finest quality.

792. Although mNa'ris was practically independent, the Mongols, as may be seen, did not renounce their nominal sovereignty over those regions. See above, n. 111.

793. For whom see the genealogical list.

794. On Hor bSod nams dpal see fifth Dalai Lama, p. 644.

795. Kun dga' dpal is not the ña dpon of rTse c'en, see n. 798, but Kun dga' bkra šis rgyal mts'an, who later became T'eg c'en (see n. 73).

796. *jed skyed*.

797. *t'o ltas*, perhaps for *t'o le*.

798. Ña dpon is a title corresponding to mk'an po. That lama's complete name is Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an. See MC, p. 142. Tsoñ k'a pa, when still young, was also at his school (see *Biography of Tsoñ k'a pa*, p. 75).

799. Here some masters, whom he honoured, are named: Šes rab ap'ags pa of Bye rdsin and C'os dpal ngon po, who were elected c'en po, bSod nams bzañ po of gÑag p'u, Kun dga' rin c'en of Šaṅ, 'Od zer of Šeb, Blo gros yañs pa, gŽon nu blo gros of Re zla (for Re mda', birthplace of the master of Tsoñ k'a pa; see above, p. 118), Blo bzañ grags pa of bTsoñ k'a (i. e. Tsoñ k'a pa).

800. *agruñ c'en mdsad*.

801. The four Sa skya palaces, already mentioned.

802. *dam rtags*. Note the various orthography of *Si tu*, *bsi tu*, *bsvi tu*.

803. Who had been married by his elder brother, and was now left to him.

804. *p'ye gsal*: in the fifth Dalai Lama's *Chronicles* we have found *p'ye gsal* in the sense of inspection, investigation, pp. 76 b, 77 a. The transition is easy from this meaning to the one the word has here: a census, whose returns, as may be seen, were recorded in a book.

805. *bza' pa*: married person.

806. I. e. "the black book (*deb t'er*) useful for future generations, which records reports on tables"; here *leb* corresponds to *šin leb* "wooden tables". Compare with the *Kökö dābtār* on which were written the partitions of the population among the noblemen. See PELLIOU, *T'oung pao*, 1930, vol. XXVII, p. 39.

807. *gzugs adsin dbaṅ*, "organ which perceives forms",

808. Sarvadhārin.

809. *ston mo žu ba*, to beg to be present at a spectacle.

810. This "Saintly king of the Holy Vehicle", can be no other than the T'eg c'en c'os kyi rgyal po Kun dga' bkra šis rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po, born in 1349, died 1425. On these events see MC, p. 109.

811. Which, as we have said, was garrisoned by the P'ag mo gru pas' troops. It was then a question of recovering it and regaining possession of it.

812. sKu žaṅ c'os rje, is Nam mk'a' mc'og grub dpal, mentioned on p. 660. He cannot be mc'og grub bzañ po (1414-1482) on whom see Ža lu chronicles, p. 661.

813. Vijaya.

814. On C'os gži (*ka*) see above, n. 183.

815. Lhai dbaṅ po from Byaṅ and dGe legs dpal are at present unknown to me. Hon du c'en po seems a title of the chiefs of the aBrog pa of Yar abrog: a Hyen du Kun dga' rgyal mts'an of Yar aBrog is quoted in DT, t'a, p. 31.

816. C'os dpon.

817. Of the Emperor of China.

818. Ha ho ta bžin and gSun ta bžin, perhaps names of ambassadors sent from China to Tibet; in 1403 and 1413, as may be inferred from the *Ming shih*, chap. 231 various ambassadors were sent to Tibet.

819. On Śāriputra, or Śāriputrasvāmin, or Sākyaśrīśāriputra I found no information: except that he was the master of Nam mk'a' grags bzañ of Byaṅ. See *Chron.* of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 632. A little after him Pañdit Nags kyi rin c'en, Vanaratna, came to Tibet

in the year 1426: since he did not find many disciples he went back to Nepal: then he was invited by the Si tu Rab bstan and therefore he went to rGyañ rtse. It is possible that here the DT, t'a, p. 22, is mistaken and that we should read Si tu Rab brtan of rGyal rtse.

From the same text we gather that he was then invited by the C'os rgyal Grags pa abyūñ gnas, so that he spent his time partly in rTse t'aṅ and partly in sNeu gdoñ. Among his pupils the DT mentions the prince of Byaṅ who, as we saw, is said to have also been the disciple of Śāriputra. It is probable that Nags rin c'en and Śāriputra are the one and same person. The only difficulty concerns the date of his arrival which as we saw, is 1413 for the *Chronicles of Gyantse* and 1426 for DT. It is not impossible that DT instead of Grags pa abyūñ gnas meant Grags pa rgyal mts'an, who in fact is usually known as c'os rgyal; a title which the author of DT attributes in this passage to Grags pa abyūñ gnas. This pañdit was born in Groñ k'yer dam pa in Eastern India.

820. I. e. Kun dga' bkra šis rgyal mts'an who received from Ch'eng Tsu of the Ming dynasty the title of T'eg c'en c'os kyi rgyal po, mentioned above, p. 628.

821. I. e. De bžin grags pa. See n. 61.

822. A famous monastery of the Kar ma bKa' brgyud pa sect, to the NW of Lhasa. See S. CH. DAS-ROCKHILL, *Journey to Lhasa*, p. 145 (Tsor pu).

823. The bDag pa of gŽi t'og is not the same lama Kun dga' bkra šis, because, as we have seen, the Sa skya pa family had been divided between four palaces. Kun dga' bkra šis belonged to the Bla brañ of Lha k'aṅ. His contemporary, as the head of the gŽi t'og branch, was Gu šri Blo gros rgyal mts'an.

824. bDag po Nam mk'a' legs (1399-1444), mentioned on n. 593; the Sa skya chronicles say that the Ming Emperor appointed him Kya ho wan, i. e. Chiao wang 教王. Probably the Wang pu mentioned in the *Ming shih* is his son (see *ibid.*).

825. This mc'od rten must be the same Šin k'un of Nepal alluded to above (Svayambhūnāth).

826. I. e. the handing over to the P'ag mo gru pas of the greatest Sa skya temple.

827. *P'o brañ rtse*, i. e. to his residence to receive the Chinese officials. Ts'ön adus is near Ža lu.

828. On this title see above.

829. The *bre* is a unit of capacity, subject to variations from one region to the other, on which see BELL, *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan*, p. 138.

830. *P'yag dam*, honorific, instead of the more common *t'am k'a*.

831. I. e. Śāriputra; see n. 819.

832. *mig*.

833. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 65, where "he seems to be a contemporary of Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa", must be corrected: "he was a contemporary". Hence the Emperor is Ch'eng Tsu.

834. *ser ap'reñ*.

835. *c'e sa*. Cfr. *c'en po*, *c'e gñan* the upper and lower palace refers to two of the palaces of Sa skya. The uncle and nephew are the relatives of the Sa skya dignitary.

836. *c'ags p'ab*, for *p'yag p'ab*, which is the precise honorific form (see *p'yag btegs* "to start", life of Tsoñ k'a pa, p. 71); *c'ag* and *c'ags* are false spellings for *p'yag*, derived by homophony. In Kun dga' rin c'en's life: *c'ag p'eb*, pp. 66 b-67 a; cfr. *c'ag p'yi* for *p'yag p'yi* "servant", *ibid.*, p. 100 a.

837. rGyan goñ is not the locality of the same name, near Ža lu, which at that time had already lost its importance: it is rGyan dkar goñ ma, i. e. the convent on the gŽi bdag mountain, East of Gyantse. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 61.

838. *Gan gos gser ma* = *gan dar gser ma*.

839. C'en po, which in this case must be the equivalent of rdson dpön.

840. *P'yag t'egs pa gñan*, honorific. Compare: n. 836.

841. This means that as that time, on the occasion of strife which had broken out with Grags po rgyal mts'an of the P'ag mo gru pas, the Sa skya pa had escaped the yoke of the Goñ ma of dBus and had once more taken possession of the Lha k'aṅ c'en mo, or more simply they were preparing to regain possession of it and did not renounce their rights over that temple.

842. Of Gyantse. For this consecration he invited mk'as grub rje, thus establishing relations with the dGe lugs pa.

843. *gZu qdom*: the measure of a bow *gZu*, *dbanu*, which corresponds to 4 cubits *k'ru*, *basta*, and every cubit to 24 fingers, *so mo*, *anguli*. See LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, III, pp. 86, 87.

844. The constellations *rgyal* is *Puṣya*; *p'ur bu* is *Bṛhaspati*.

845. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 286.

846. Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, i. e. Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an, son, as we have seen above (p. 664) of aP'ags pa dpal bzai po, born in 1365.

847. *sa ga* = *viśākha*, fourth month.

848. P'yogs las rnam rgyal of Bo doñ. See *Chronicles of Blo bzai rgya mts'o*, p. 632, n. 54. He was one of the masters of Tsoñ k'a pa, who met him in Jo nañ. See Tsoñ k'a pa's biography, p. 74.

849. I. e. Byañ sems bzai po dpal, Rab brtan's mother.

850. Rab brtan kun bzai ap'ags pai žal śna nas dguñ lo etc. Notice the affix *žal śna nas*, added on to the names of lamas and other officials, like "his Lordship, his Holiness,," Cfr. on p. 28 b, *Žal śna nas kyi gsuñ gis*. On this expression see also HUTH, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 240, n. 2.

851. *don grub*, *siddhārthin*.

852. *gtsug lag rnam* *bžugs pai k'an pa* = *gtsug lag k'an*.

853. *k'ral rigs sogs mi abad pai da rgan*. *Da rgan* (in S. Ch. Das' dictionary, *dar han*): "A Mongol word signifying a man who is exempt from the duty of furnishing labour etc. to those who travel under official authority,," But see LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 158. The Tibetan text is given in appendix.

854. I. e. the Mongol Emperor recognized as the supreme sovereign, with whose command and approval orders were issued. See for this initial formula the *Ža lu* letters.

855. *drag btsan*: but the most common formula is *drag žan*. See n. 184 to the fifth Dalai Lama: on *bza' pa* see above, n. 805. It is clear from the context that *mi sde* denotes the countrymen (cfr. *mi ser*), husbandmen, between them and the monks the officials then being the *drag žan*.

856. *mk'ar las*.

857. *t'es* from *t'e ba*, to look after something, to appear: *bya ba*.

858. *sgo ñal* "those who sleep on the threshold,," tax collectors.

859. *dbu main* is not in the dictionaries: refers to those buildings called in English mani-walls. "Clothes,," are the pieces of stuff hung there on sticks.

860. *sku dkar gsol ba*.

861. *dkar me*, lamp.

862. The first, the fifteenth and the eighth day of the month *zla ba byuñ no cog* = in all the sacred occasions recurring. Cfr. WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 501.

863. *dmār k'ye*.

864. *rñon pa pa*, for the simple *rñon pa*.

865. 'og ajal, tax payers.

866. *spug seb?* See n. 895: 'on seb?

867. *rTsa zug qbebs c'un*: *zug* for *gzug*. *gzug* is the tenth part of a slaughtered sheep; I should take *rtsa* as the total revenue, what is subject to taxation: *qbebs*, *qbab* tax. On *dus kyi g'yim ts'e* cfr. *g'yim ts'e* record, register, n. 937.

868. *ja sđor* = *mar*, butter to be used with tea, but is also said of condiments.

869. *rtse nas kyi lo dus* etc.: notice the use of *nas*, in this and other similar sentences, after the name of a place or a palace: 'Ol k'a nas sde pa, Life of bSod nams rgya mts'o, by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 24 b; "sNeu gdon rtse nas,," Life of the Zur pa Tams cad mk'yen, by the same author, p. 22 b; see above; that *lo dus* means tribute, annual tribute, seems to be clear in the context: but *dus* may be a mistake for *sduđ*, taxes.

870. *sTeñ mdsod*.

871. *sProg ris* cfr. *sprog ma*; *sprog ris* is the name of the leather bag in which butter is generally kept in Tibet.

872. *dkon mar*.

873. *rTse zil gnom*: i. e. "the palace which humbled (the enemies)" splendour,," this is the epithet of a part of the royal palace. But the translation is doubtful.

874. *ñag*: I believe that after *srañ* the numeral must have been omitted: so many *ñag* of butter for so many *srañ* of wool. *ñag* is a measure used for butter. See S. CH. DAS, p. 954.

875. *ñin bu* = *byañ bu*, *byañ ma*.

876. *yig ñin*: *bskul* in the sense of escort, corvée is not in the dictionaries.

877. I. e. the stable servants, addicted to postal services, hence under government supervision.

It must be kept in mind that at this time the Goñ ma, favouring Ming policy, was particularly careful of the roads. See *Ming shih*, translated above, n. 255. *K'or yug* = *samantatas*; MVP 6494, used as plural.

878. *Mi rkañ gñis kyi sa žin p'ye*; *rkañ pa gñis pa* means man: *duipada*, but here the *mi* that precedes excludes this meaning; *rkañ* is used as a numerative; the word has already been met with in this sense by THOMAS, in the Turkestan documents. See JRAS, 1927, p. 808.

879. *gNam t'ebś nas ma bskul*. *gnam* for *nam*?; whenever it happens.

880. *rTa gđan*.

881. *rañ śes*: cfr. the expression *śes su gtsug pa*: (on which see above note 117) to be invested with an office.

882. *sPo ril* = *spo re*, down below: *spo bril*, to change residence, stages; the meaning here should be: to oblige the countries one passes through to furnish forced labour up to the next stage of the journey. In Central-Asian documents *spo ba* = to be relieved THOMAS, JRAS, 1937, p. 387, but *so res* is: relay, *ibid.*, p. 391.

883. *bsDud*, on this term see also the *Ža lu* letters.

884. Here the administrator is not the government's but the officer's: it is well known that every lama or layman enjoying some prestige travels in Tibet accompanied by his servants, among whom the *gñer pa*.

885. *sKya rkañ*, perhaps from *skya ba*, to carry elsewhere. The use of *rkañ* in similar expressions is doubtful. See THOMAS, *Tibetan documents*, JRAS, 1927, p. 66.

886. "Let it be placed on record,," Cfr. *t'or c'ags*. *t'ob* is the imperative of *qdebs*; *la* is a final particle.

887. *za rkañ*: also *rgyen za ba*. See BELL, *Colloquial Dict.*, p. 56.

888. *drag žan*: see above; but in this case, all officers being listed, the sense of "official,," would seem preferable.

889. *t'el ts'e* = *t'e ts'e* = *t'el se* = *t'am ka*. See KOWALEWSKY, *Dict. Mongol*, p. 1730.

890. *qDod no žor ajus*.

891. To prevent people from coming near the source.

892. *qDi nas kyi yi ge*, cfr. above: *rtse nas*.

893. *c'ag c'u*: *c'ag tse*.

894. *qDur* is flour prepared for horses: S. CH. DAS: *qdur p'ye drag pa*.

895. *on seb* = *gseb lam*.

896. *sPor bril* = stages, above, *spo ril*. I. e. let them not make any more stops than are necessary.

897. *žon nañ* = Shomang of the maps; see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 63.

898. *mT'il qbebs*, means the claim of the state on property of families without heirs.

899. *rTsar byed pa* = *tsa ra*. The Mongol law, as may be gathered from the fifth Dalai Lama, was a law of retaliation.

900. I. e. of the wheat advanced to cultivators. On how large an area it is not said.

901. I. e. according to justice.

902. *mig ñe*.

903. *IKog srañ* = *lkog rñan*.

904. *qDod no k'a srol*, cfr. n. 890.

905. *mi žul*.

906. But it could also be: bribe.

907. *K'ral mi gros qđsom ma son ba rnamś*.

908. *c'ud zos*.

909. Here too *drag žan* (text: *gžan*).

910. Literally: camp asses.

911. *drag žan*.

912. These women were perhaps aunts or sisters, who had died. Byañ sems bzai pa is perhaps the same as Byañ sems bzai mo dpal.

913. *rin mar*.

914. On *gYe dmar*, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 135.

915. To be collected in the country bordering Sikkim and Bhutan.

916. The feast established by such endowments is celebrated in Gyantse to this day.

917. This is evidently a quotation from another ordinance.

918. *p'o mo*, literally male and female.

919. Kalatso of the maps.

920. In the gloss: Bre t'uñ. The gloss adds: "Up to this day five measures of wheat are offered to the keepers of the embankments for the protection of the Ban steñ fishes,," So these embankments were a refuge for fishes, protected there by the prohibition to angle for them and placed in a *gñer pa*'s keeping. On the contrary their construction was forbidden in the Kalatso because there people perhaps used the embankment to collect the fishes rather than to protect them.



921. *Na k'a bslu ba*. It is well known that in Tibet it is a meritorious act to ransom with money or presents the lives of animals otherwise destined to be killed. See WADDELL, *Lamaism*, pp. 265, 248. DAS (ed. ROCKHILL), *Journey to Lhasa*, p. 134.

922. *rGya* might also be India, but given its relations with Yüan, China is probably meant here.

923. *bsñel* (for *sñal* or *ñel*: to fall ill; see above, n. 772). These expressions: "he showed the manner of taking to one's bed", "he showed the manner of falling ill, of dying", are typical of the Mahāyāna and are particularly used for Bodhisattvas: the latter, although they have transcended the various contingencies of phenomenal existence, nevertheless apparently submit to them, to teach and move others to *uduega*, the feeling which arises on experiencing that all things are transitory.

924. *Hasta*.

925. Gloss: "Byañ sems bzañ mo dpal's younger sister",

926. Thus the name of this younger brother of Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa's is alluded to; his name was then: bKra šis ap'ags (p. 175 b).

927. I. e. (bKra šis) Rab brtan dpal abyor bzañ po.

928. *Žogs nas 'ur la k'ad par gyur*; see *bžugs 'ur byed pa*, DESGODINS, p. 896: s. v. 'ur. This is the story related by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 648.

929. *gyel bñes*: it is not in dictionaries; *gyel* for *gel*.

930. *sPeu dmar* in Samada, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 104.

931. *P'ye gsal*. See above n. 804.

932. *dMag a'en*.

933. Protector of the world (*sa skyon*) is the epithet given both to him and to his father: *yum*, as we already saw, means not so much mother, as wife (cfr. *yab yum*): in any case here the allusion is to Byañ sems c'en mo Ņi ma k'ye dren, bKra šis rab brtan's mother.

Ņi ma k'ye dren is often mentioned in the inscriptions of the upper chapel of the sKu abum, in Gyantse. So we know now the epoch in which she lived (IInd half of the XVth century); hence the frescoes of those chapels must be assigned to this period. From this information we also deduce that the sKu abum begun by Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa was not completed during his lifetime; work was continued on it for some scores of years after his death. On Ņi ma k'ye dren see particularly *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, pp. 246, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272.

934. This is the Sa skya lama mT'u stobs kyi dbaṅ p'yug Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an, the son of mT'u stobs kyi dbaṅ p'yug bSod nams rgyal mts'an, who lived from 1450 to 1495. His frequent relations with bKra šis rab brtan of rGyal mk'ar rtse are mentioned in the Sa skya pa Chronicles, p. 145.

935. I. e. the paintings: on this expression *šin, šin k'ams* see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, and above, p. 305.

936. So his entire name is given: bKra šis rab brtan dpal abyor bzañ po.

937. *gyin tse* = *gyin šin*; this word is given in S. CH. DAS, s. v., only as an equivalent for "musical instrument". *K'unis* = *k'unis btsum*.

938. These documents were handed over to me for a few hours by the abbot and Ža lu: I made a copy of them and took a photo: the Mongolian doc. has been published above by Pelliot. *Ye šes rin c'en* is included in the list of the Tštri of the Yüan shih (see above, p. 15) which places his tenure of office between 1286 and 1295.

939. *rGan po*, elder.

940. *ajus k'or* = servant taken by force. This means that to escape mGon po dpal's government they made an act of vassalage to other persons.

941. mGon po dpal is mentioned also in letter n. II together with Ag Len. He was the father of rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug; this year of the tiger must be 1290, *leags stag*. Šaṅ to is Shang tu.

942. On Grags pa 'od zer see p. 15 and note 78 on the Chronicle of Blo bzañ rgya mts'o.

943. Ra sog and Bye lin are two localities near gNas gsar, on the Gyantse-Shigatse road. On these localities cfr. letter VI and above n. 649.

944. In the sense not of space, but of kinship or friendship.

945. Ya vas 'o k'ol is unknown to me: he is not a Tibetan; probably a Nestorian?

946. Grags pa 'od zer, as we saw, is a contemporary of the bDag űid c'en po, whom he helped to return to Sa skya, and of Ag len; the year of the sheep must be 1295 (*šin lug*).

947. On this Ti shih see above, p. 15, n. 6.

948. *Gho luṅ pa* most probably as *rgan po*, the head of a village: *gho* is for *ago*, *mgo*.

949. Ru dpon. Evidently here *ru* does not refer to the three Ru and to the Ru lag into which dBus and gTsaṅ had been divided; perhaps it means the commander of a wing of the army. The difference between Ru dpon and Ru pa is that the former is the chief and the latter any officer, in a general sense: however it is not excluded that they may refer to a territorial division of Ža lu and its district, according to the models of traditional Tibetan partitions.

950. *Drat po snad gtags*.

951. *Brel*.

952. The year of the dragon is 1304, *šin brug*.

953. This Saṅs rgyas dpal seems to be the eight Ti shih of my list, p. 15. According to the Yüan shih he held the office for one year only, 1314, but the year of the sheep is 1307 or 1319. If the identity of this abbot with the Ti shih of the Yüan shih is admitted we must conclude that this source is inaccurate in this case too. Perhaps instead of first year *Jé yu* we should read: sixth year, 1319.

954. Interpreters appear in the list of officials. See above p. 33.

955. gNam mc'od, heavenly sacrifice, sacrifice to heaven. I do not think it should be understood literally, as if the Buddhist community sacrificed to the Mongols' heaven. Then, either *gnam* is understood as *gnam bskos* (he who is exalted by heaven's command), the Emperor, or this sentence refers to Mongol communities, settled in Ža lu territory and holding shamanic beliefs.

956. *dMag k'ral*.

957. *Ts'an dam ka*. On these expression see above, PELLIOU's article, n. 23.

958. *ats'er*. It has this meaning today too: inn, hotel.

959. *bdal po*. Cfr.: *dal tson*, *dal btson*, to oblige people to buy by compulsion.

960. I. e. in Western Ža lu.

961. *Svo* = *sogs*.

962. Born in 1299, died in 1327; but see the note on the list of the Ti shih.

963. *qGrim agrul*. See the corresponding expression in the Mongol letter and the note 7 by Pelliot. *Sdud* = *sdud len*.

964. *aJa mo c'en*; *aJa mo* = *aJa sa* = a diploma, i. e. to those who have a diploma.

965. He is the XII Sa skya pa dpon c'en, on whom see also note 672. I. e. according to the two methods: *c'os* and *k'rims*, religious and civil law.

966. *dbaṅ c'e še mon ma gtson*; *gtson* = *mts'an*, *ats'an*.

967. On the prohibition of hunting and fishing see also rGyal rtse's document; to fatten "yaks and horses", in order to save them from requisitions and transports.

968. *rTsar byed du ajug pa*; *rtad geod byed pa*, to investigate.

969. This letter, written in Peking, is earlier than the Ti šri return to Tibet, which took place in 1322. The year of the dragon can only be the year fire-dragon, 1316. The Ti šri's early age can be no objection, the authority of these Sa skya chiefs, as we have seen, being purely nominal.

970. *snad bdags pai adod c'u*. *adod c'u* = *k'a mc'u*, to open a lawsuit.

971. *qBrel* for *brel*.

972. *sKyab gab*, protection-hidden, insidious; for *ajus ak'or* see note 940.

973. See letter V where we read: *dbaṅ c'e še mon ma gtson*.

974. From: *ats'er*.

975. I. e. in the year *leags bya*, 1321.

976. For the same reasons stated above, this letter must have been written in the year wood-ox, 1325. On rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug of Ža lu see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, tables on p. 90 and genealogical tables down below.

977. 1310-1358, but he is not in the list of the Ti šri. See above p. 253, n. 53.

978. I. e. from the four chief palaces of the Sa skya pa family.

979. I. e. *chao tao shih*; see above p. 33 and Chronicles of Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, note 52.

980. Da ru k'a c'e is darugaci.

981. *K'rims geod* = *k'rims dpon*.

982. Great monastery on the South-West of Ža lu.

983. Years 1336 or 1348, if the person, as it seems, is the one I have stated.

984. The beginning of this letter is illegible.

985. I. e. *Kriyā*, *caryā*, *yoga*, *anuttara*. See above p. 220.

986. *Blo p'ob*.

987. It is difficult to establish the date of this letter; 1319, earth-sheep, is excluded, because at that time Buston would have been too young to

have reached such fame, and we must confine ourselves to 1331, iron/sheep, or rather to 1343, water/sheep, or 1355, wood/sheep. I would incline to this last date, because in the biography of Buston and of his successive incarnations, referred to above n. 586, there is an allusion to an invitation to go to China, which he received from T'o gan t'e mur after 1351: "above all the king of China T'o gan t'e mur sent ambassadors to him to invite him to go to China; however, considering the time had not yet come to convert the people of that country, he did not go... Mention of the same fact is in the biography by Rin c'en nam rgyal, p. 23. Another prince who invited him was Punyamalla of India (*ibid.*). This biography is inserted in the complete works of Buston, vol. 3a.

988. This is C'os dpal, mong. Čosbal prince of Chen hsi Wu ching 鎮西武靖 transcribed in our document as C'in svi 'u tsin. See HAMBIS, pp. 120, 122, n. 8 and p. 159 and PELLIER, *ibid.*, n. 145.

989. On Kun dga' don grub see genealogical tables.

990. 1321 or 1333? If the reading Nan ro is exact the prince was in Tibet at that time.

991. I find no trace of him in the list of *kuo shib* mentioned in the *Ming shih*, nor in the Tibetan documents.

992. I. e. 1460. The *nien bao* is transcribed in Tibetan T'en sun.

993. I. e. to the T'ai si tu P'ag mo gru pa. The letter is contained in Buston's works, vol. 4a, p. 98.

994. On whom see above.

995. On this term see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 71. Though *žan* in *žan blon*, a name for minister since the royal times, may be based on Ch. *shang* 尚 (LAUFER, *Loan words*, p. 105), the meaning of uncle on the mother's side is supported by the fact that even in royal times ministers were often chosen from the mother's clan. This is the case with *sku žan* for instance, in a passage of the biography of Kun dga' bzañ po', the founder of Nor, p. 3, stating that Klu rgyal mts'an of C'og ro was *sku žan* of the rGyal po c'en po. (The Sa skya - Ža lu intermarriages are known). Cfr. BUSTON, *bsTan agyur gyi dkar c'ag yid bžin nor bu dba' gi rgyal poi p'reñ*, p. 5 a: dPal ldan sa skya pai gduñ rgyud dri ma med pa pa rnam kyī skui žan par agyur pa. Later it was changed into a mere title.

sku žan is not a title belonging exclusively to Ža lu princes, see above p. 43. We know, for instance, *sku žan rin po c'e* Kun bzañ rtse pa, C'os kyī dba'ñ p'yug. Kun bzañ rtse is the name of the rTse t'añ palace. (*Tse t'añ gi kun bzañ rtser bžugs pa*. Biogr. the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 47 b; *ibid.*, p. 66 b).

996. rGyal poi blo t'ub tu byas nas.

997. gNen dod.

998. sDe in the sense of territorial division.

999. K'yuñ Grags pa señ ge is the master alluded to above, p. 658.

1000. gNen dod byas.

1001. See above.

1002. Sided with, *k'a bltas adug*.

1003. This refers to the events mentioned f. i. by the fifth Dalai Lama.

1004. Šes pa can yod par adug.

1005. Mentioned in the Ža lu letters, VI and VII.

1006. Viz. the war between gTsañ (Sa skya) and dBus (Pag mo gru).

1007. Xylogr: gži.

1008. On this person see Blo bzañ rgya mts'o's Chronicles, p. 636.

1009. Lag riñ.

1010. K'añ sar la sogs kyī gros la ye t'e reg don gsum med: don gsum i. e. words, body, spirit.

K'añ gzar was a branch of the Sa skya pa; as we see in Blo bzañ rgya mts'o's Chronicles, they killed a dPon c'en.

1011. Ka sañ de dus na; k'a sañ for k'a sin.

1012. Unknown.

1013. Blo t'ub byas nas.

1014. One of the Sa skya pa branches. See p. 628.

1015. *Mo dben bral brul ts'an gcig bsags yod pa*. *mo dben* is not in the dictionaries. But cfr. *mo yan* (pr. *mo yen*) = tenant = *mi ser* in BELL, *English-Tibetan Colloquial dictionary*, and B. GOULD and H. E. RICHARDSON, *Tibetan-Word Book*. *Hrul* is: ragged: troops badly equipped.

1016. *rDsi bri* doubtful. The meaning seems to be that everybody was ready to talk but nobody to act.

1017. Ne tso is a place-name or a personal name; see, for instance, DT, ja, p. 11.

1018. *Druñ pa*; the T'ai situ can be no other than Dar ma rgyal mts'an.

1019. *Na te dan te te med par gtsañ*.

1020. Probably 1354, the date of the conquest of gTsañ by Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an.

1021. See above p. 188.

1022. Viz. the consecration took place by adding dhāraṇīs to the relics of the Saint.

1023. In these verses the author employs the rhetorical figure called by Indian treatises *tattvāpahnavaṇīpaka*. See DAÑPIN, *Kavyādarśa*, II, p. 95.

1024. Moral and intellectual merit, action and gnosis.

1025. Vaiśravaṇa

1026. I. e. that of the mC'ims.

1027. A list of eight gifts is also known. Cfr. *Abhidharmakośa*, transl. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, Ch. IV, p. 239.

1028. *mc'od sdon* is the bodhi tree.

1029. Probably: water, clothes, lamp, incense, flowers, *naivedya*.

1030. The 16 hills are the 16 arhat.

1031. For the most common mNon dga' ba = Abhirati, Akṣobhya's paradise?

1032. In this case also the poet draws his inspiration from painting, as in the preceding poem.

1033. sNon po, like the Sanskrit *nīla*, means: dark blue, almost black.

1034. But in the first inscription: *zer dpon*.

1035. Śaḍābhāraṇa. Viz. Nāgārjuna, Aśaṅga, Āryadeva and other mahāyāna masters.

1036. *gYu c'u can*, literally with "turquoise water",

1037. *acacia catechu*.

1038. The inscription is on a heavy club which, according to tradition, was used by the Kro p'u lotsāva.

1039. Erroneous, for *gBre*, the name of a gTsañ family?

1040. For *gtañ rag*.

1041. The formula which follows in the text is a mantra.

1042. Viz. the painted walls.

1043. I. e. Kri sroñ lde btsaṅ; the Bodhisattva is Śāntirakṣita.

1044. See below Appendix two.

1045. Doubtful: perhaps Don bzañ?

1046. Pir t'og. On this word see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 31.

1047. aBroñ t'og, perhaps prince of aBroñ rtse.

1048. I. e. the monastery.

1049. This alludes to the patron and donor.

1050. I. e. the artist.

1051. Šar pa Šes rab abyuñ gnas was in charge of Sa skya monastery, while Sa skya paṇḍita had gone to meet Godan. So this lamp was brought to Nor from Sa skya and therefore the year *sa sbrul* is probably 1269. But how can this agree with the date of foundation of Nor? Is the first part of the inscription a later addition?

1052. This should be the silver casing of the shell, but the meaning of the word is unknown to me; *c'u c'in* is probably a mistake for *c'u srin t'og*; this word is not to be found in dictionaries, which as a synonym of shell, give, beside *žan k'a* and *gduñ*, also *c'u srin gžed*.

1053. *Lba agar* for *lba mgar*; *pun mo ts'a* for *dpon mo c'e*, on which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 140.



GENEALOGICAL TABLES

TABLE II - TS'AL PA

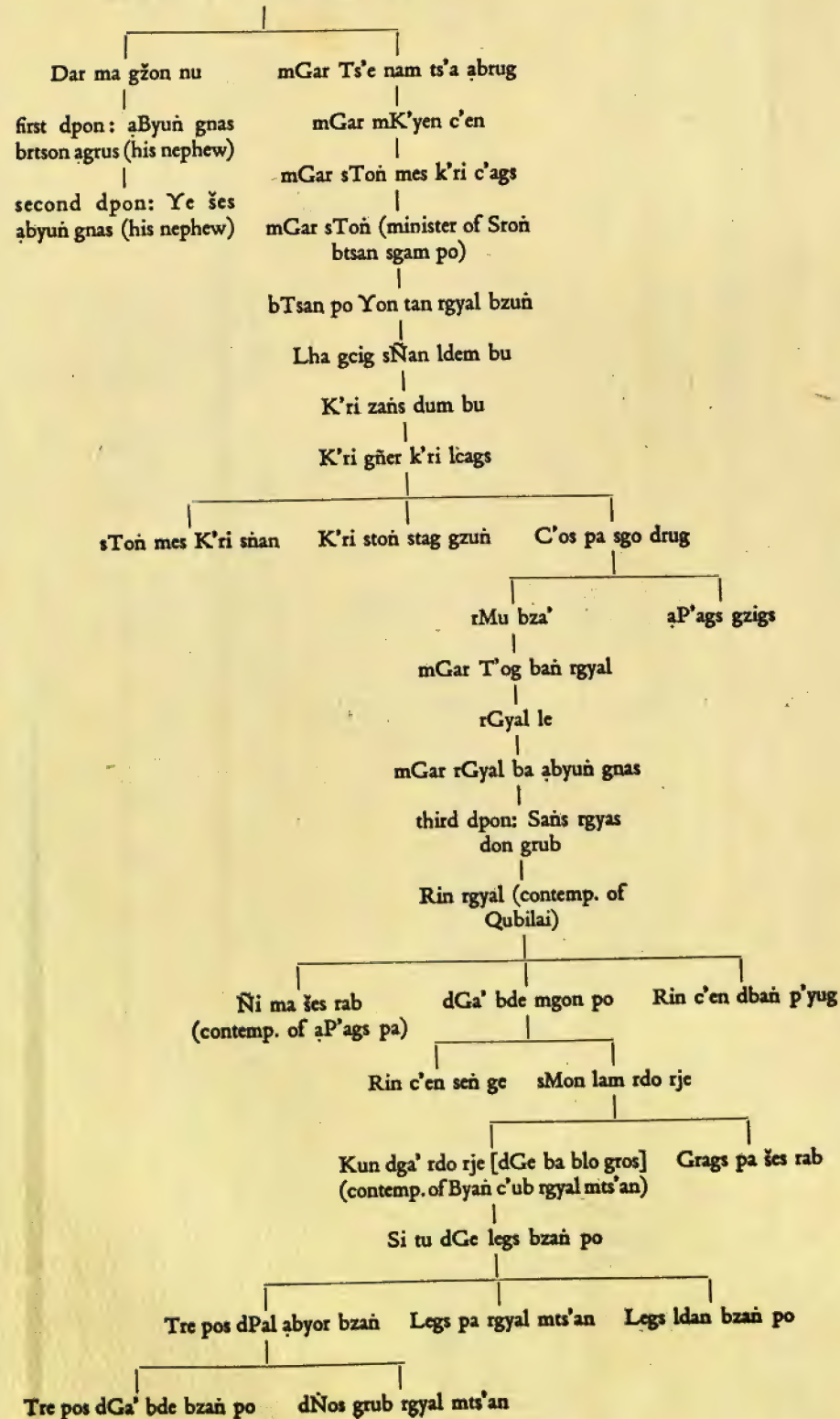
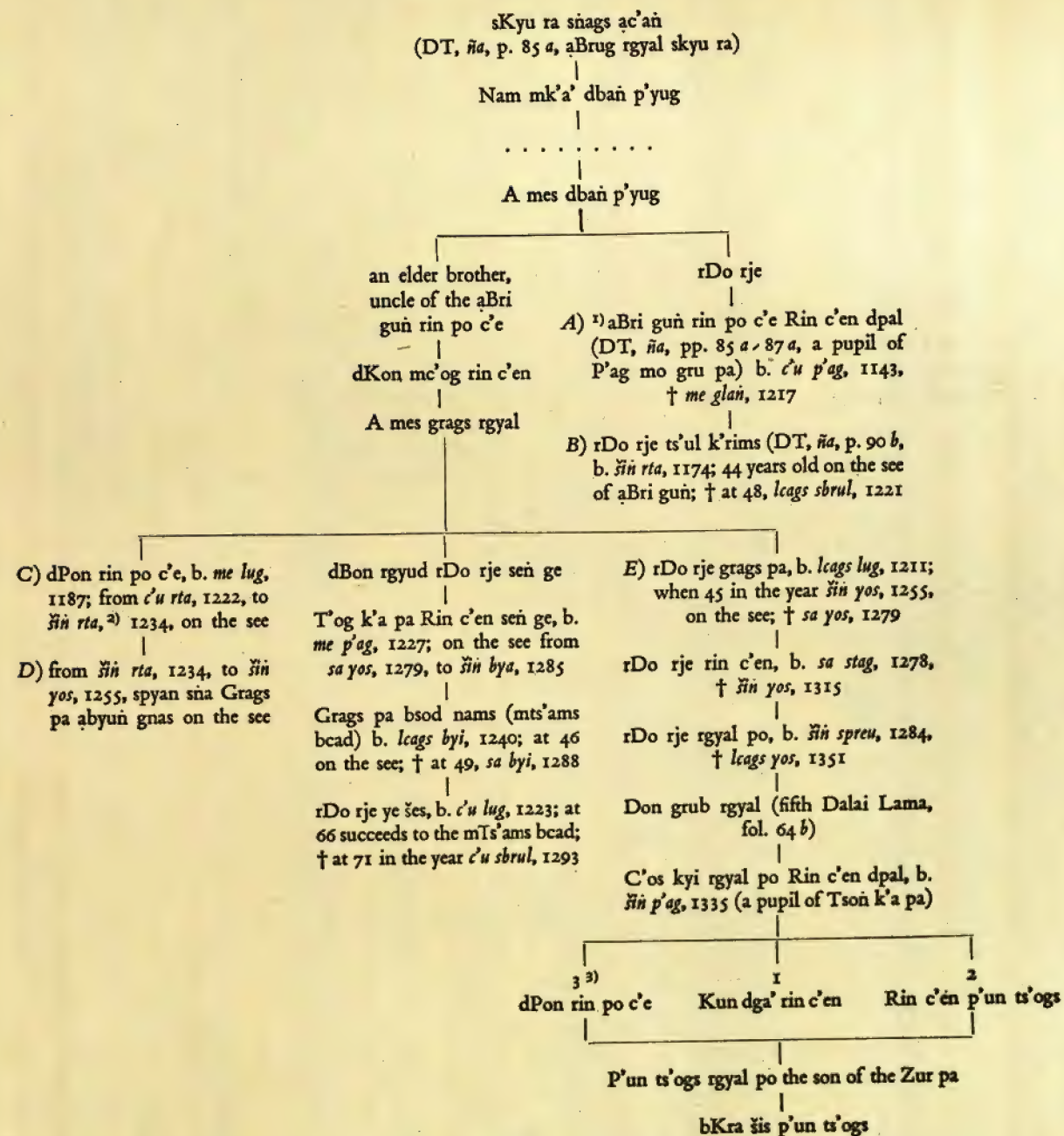


TABLE III - ABRI GUÑ PA



1. Letters indicate order of succession. - 2. šin k'yi of the text seems to be a mistake. - 3. The numbers show the order of succession.

TABLE IV – BYAN

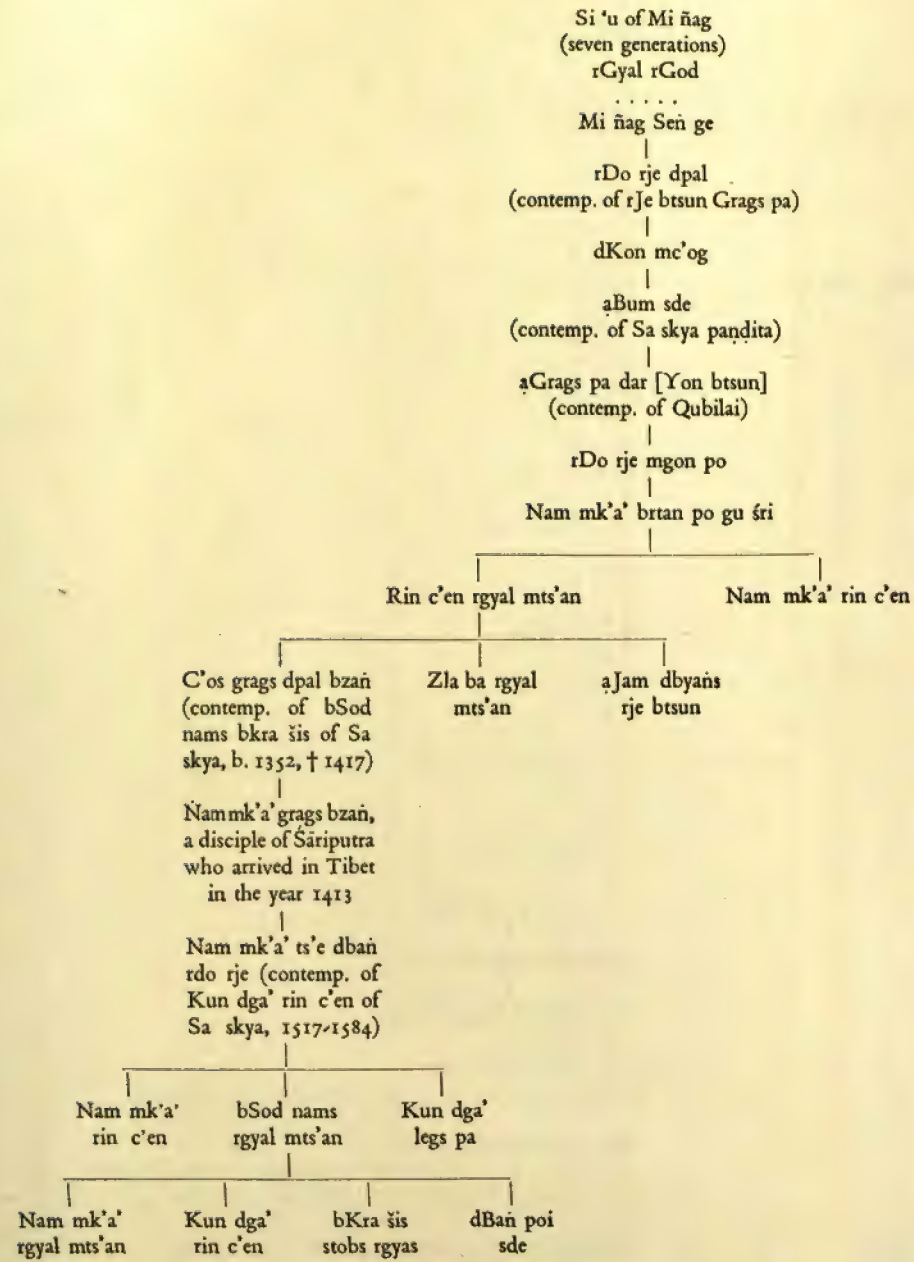


TABLE V – RIN SPUNŚ

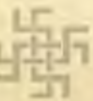
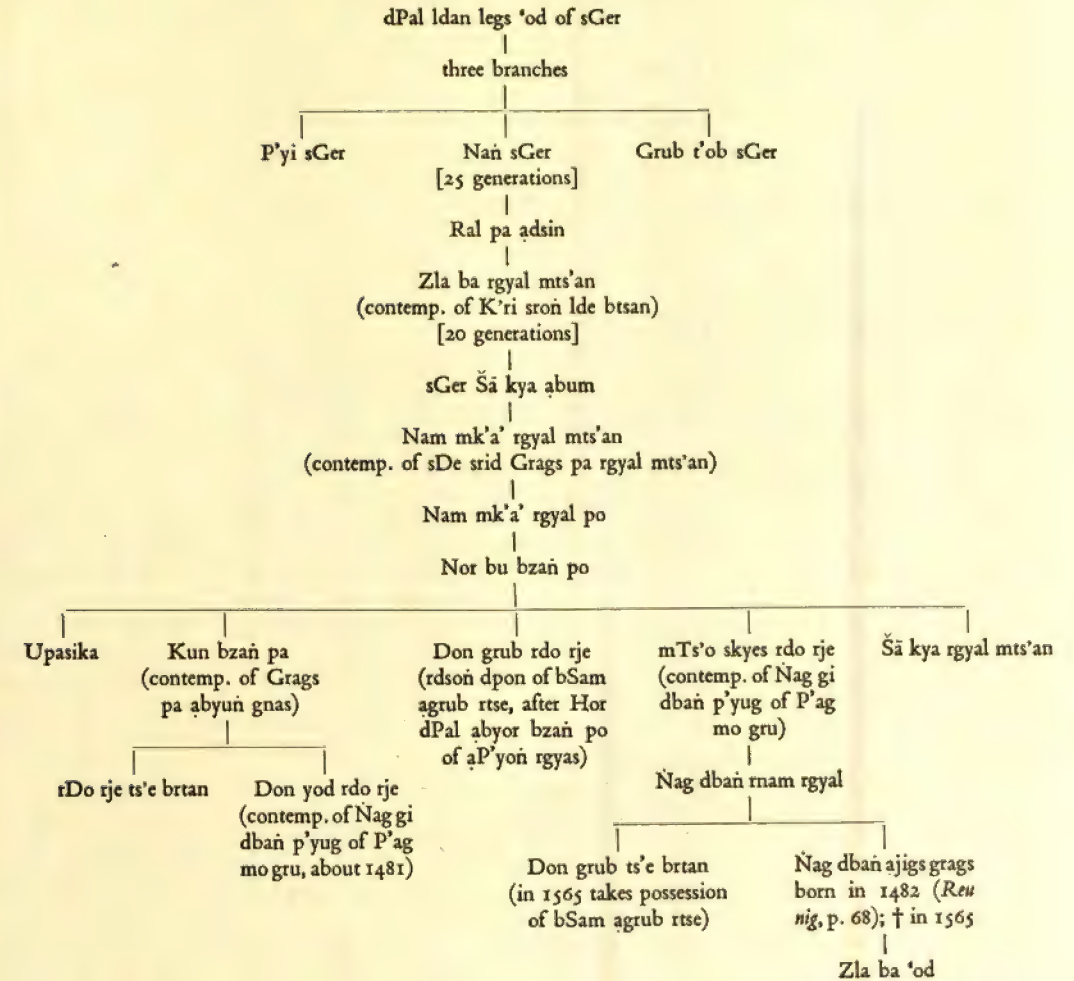
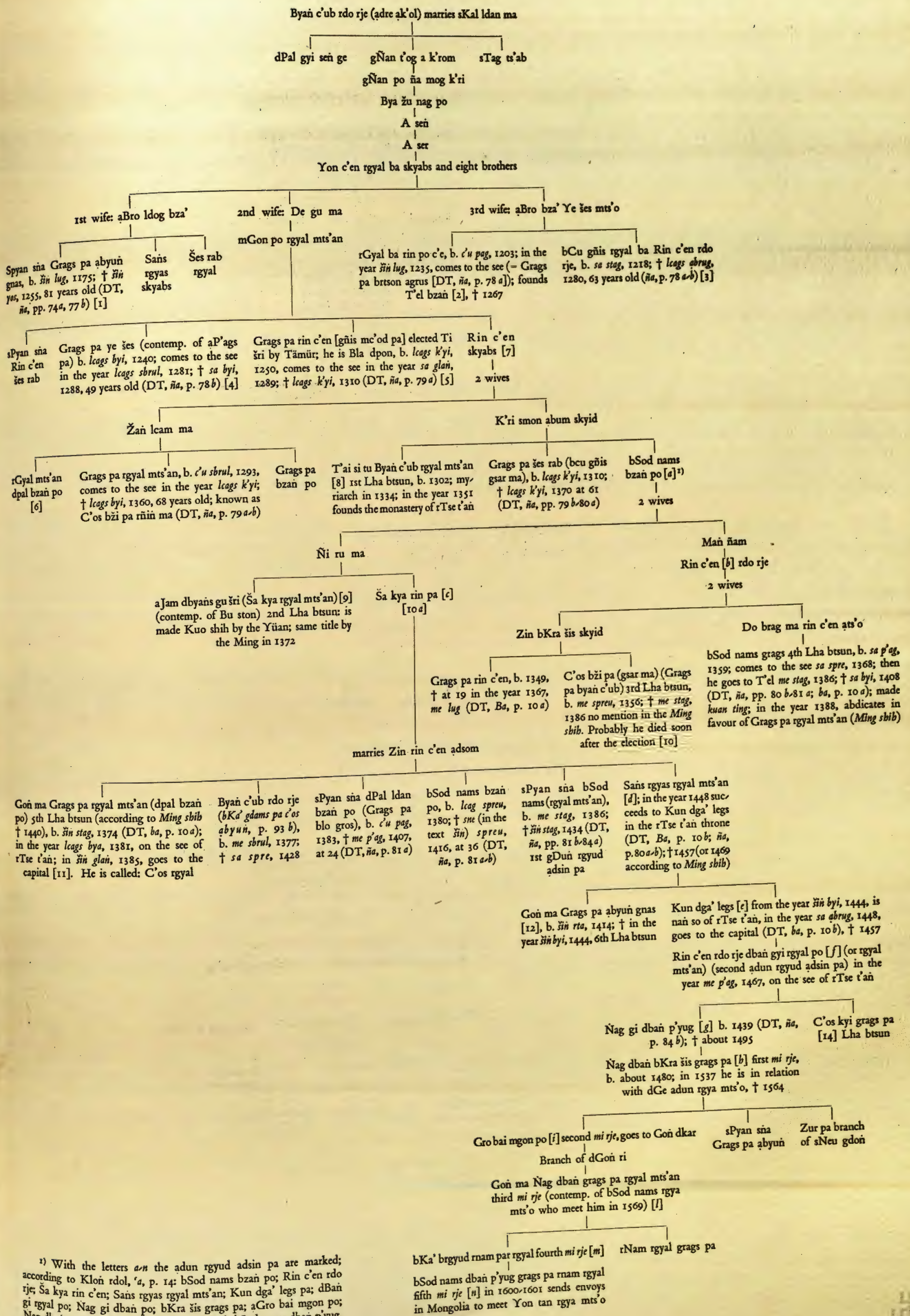


TABLE VI - P'AG MO GRU PA



¹⁾ With the letters *a-n* the aṅsin rgyud aṅsin pa are marked; according to Klon rdol, 'a, p. 14: bSod nams bzaṅ po; Rin c'en rdo rje; Ša kya rin c'en; Saṅs rgyas rgyal mts'an; Kun dga' legs pa; dbaṅ gyi rgyal po; Nag gi dbaṅ po; bkra šis grags pa; aGro bai mgon po; Nag dbaṅ grags pa; bKa' brgyud rnam rgyal; bSod nams dbaṅ p'yug.

TABLE VII - AP'YON' RGYAS

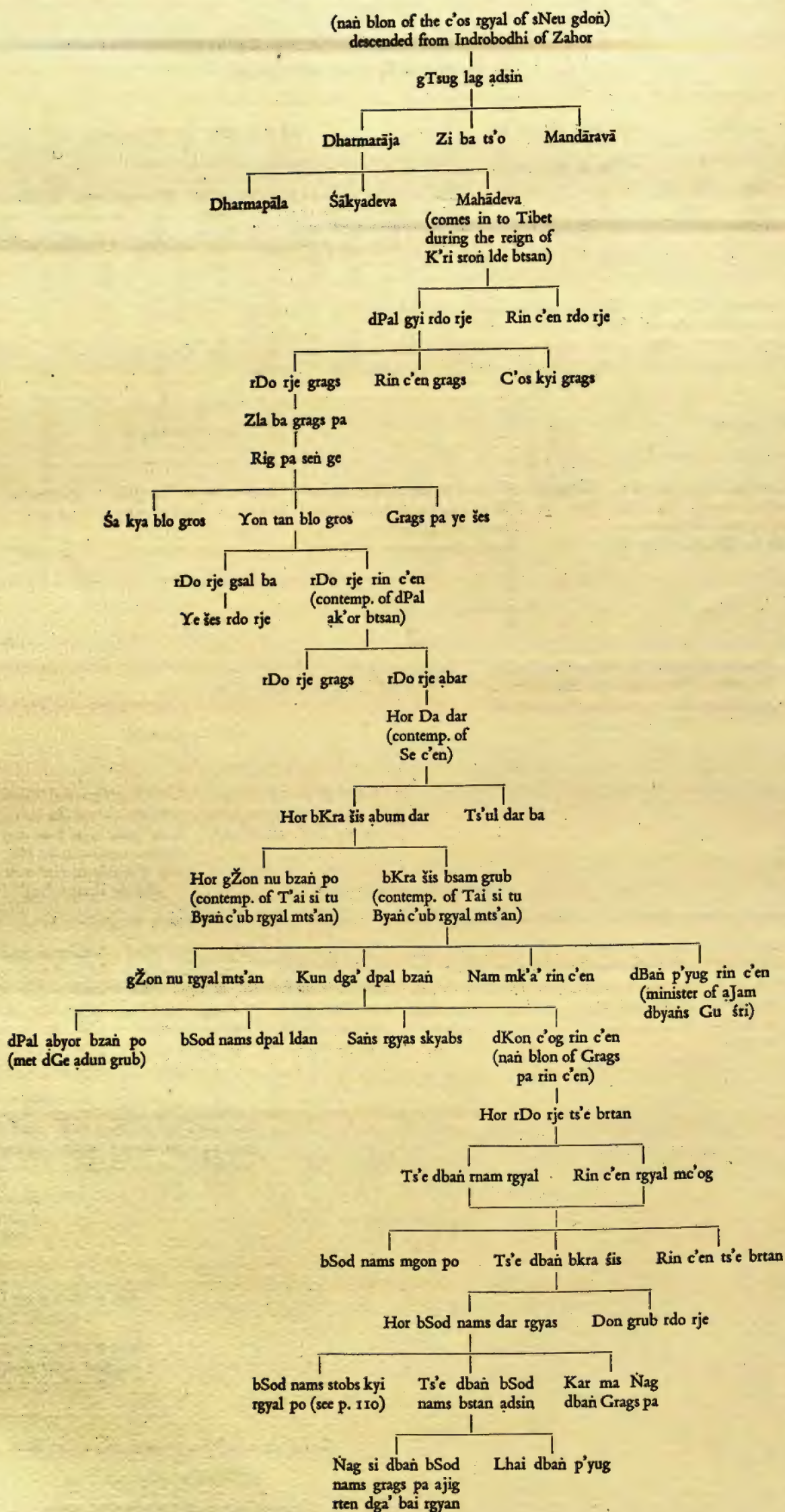


TABLE VIII - BRAG DKAR

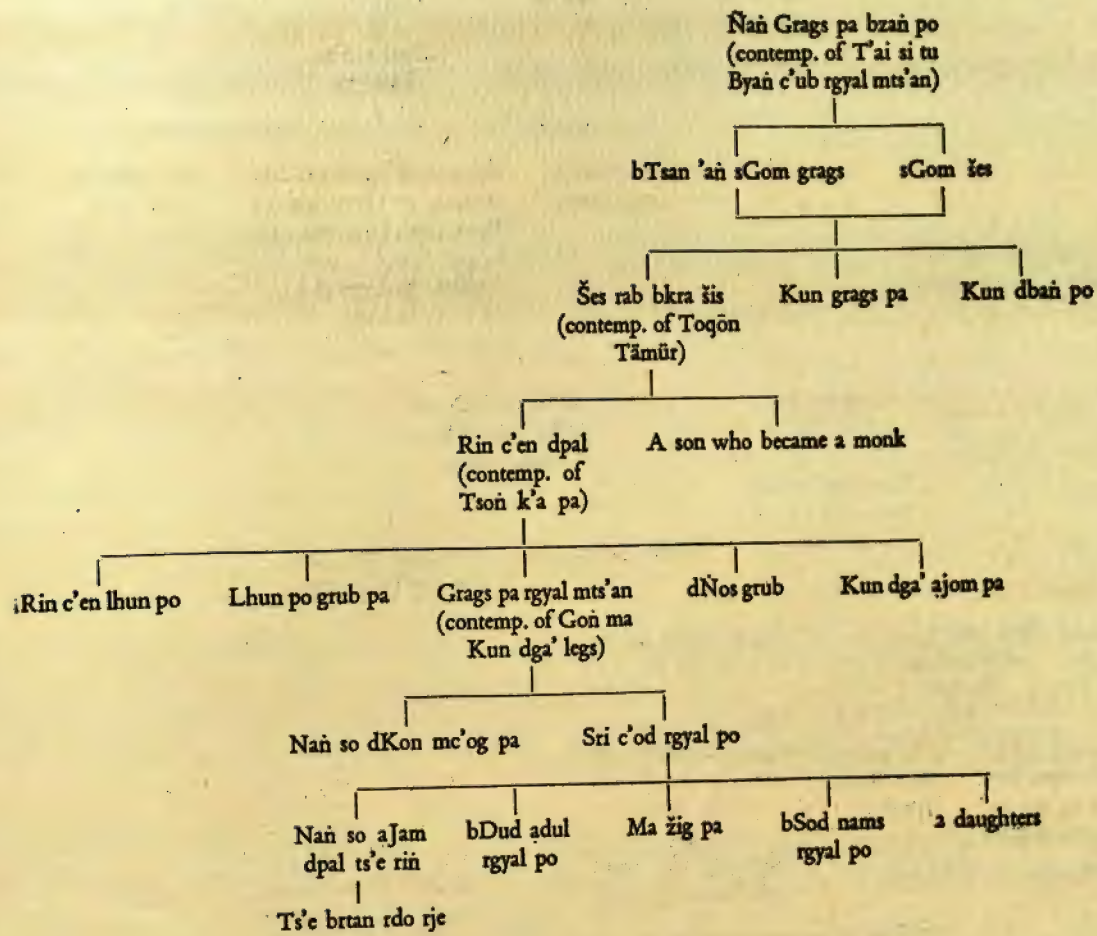


TABLE IX - SNEL

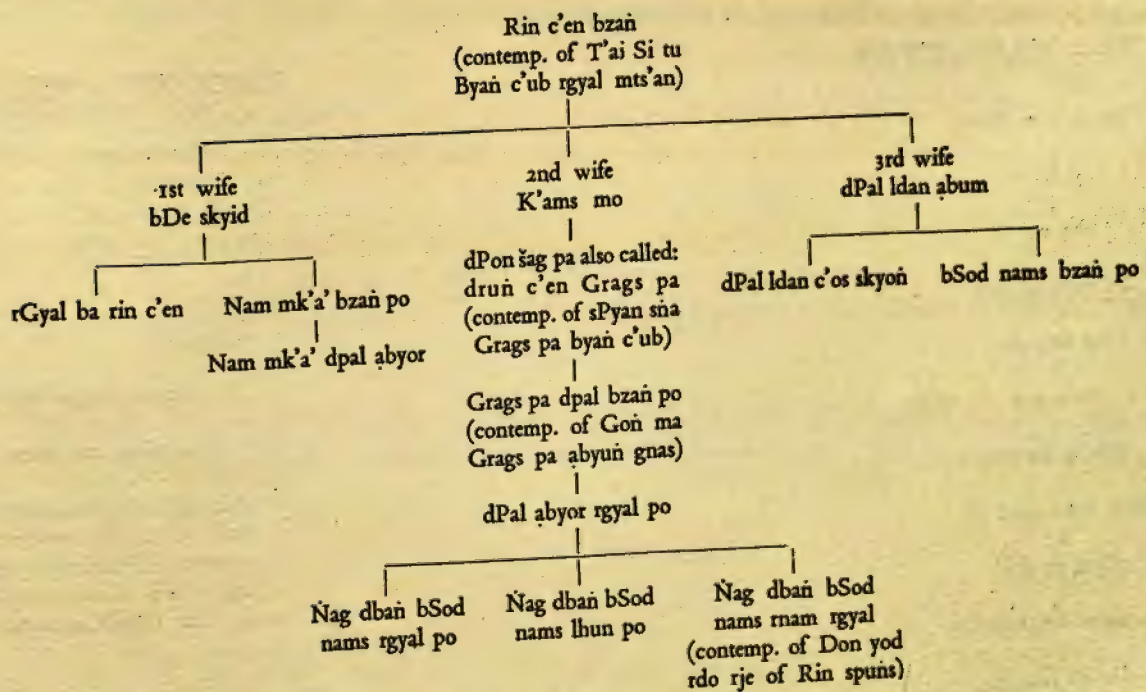
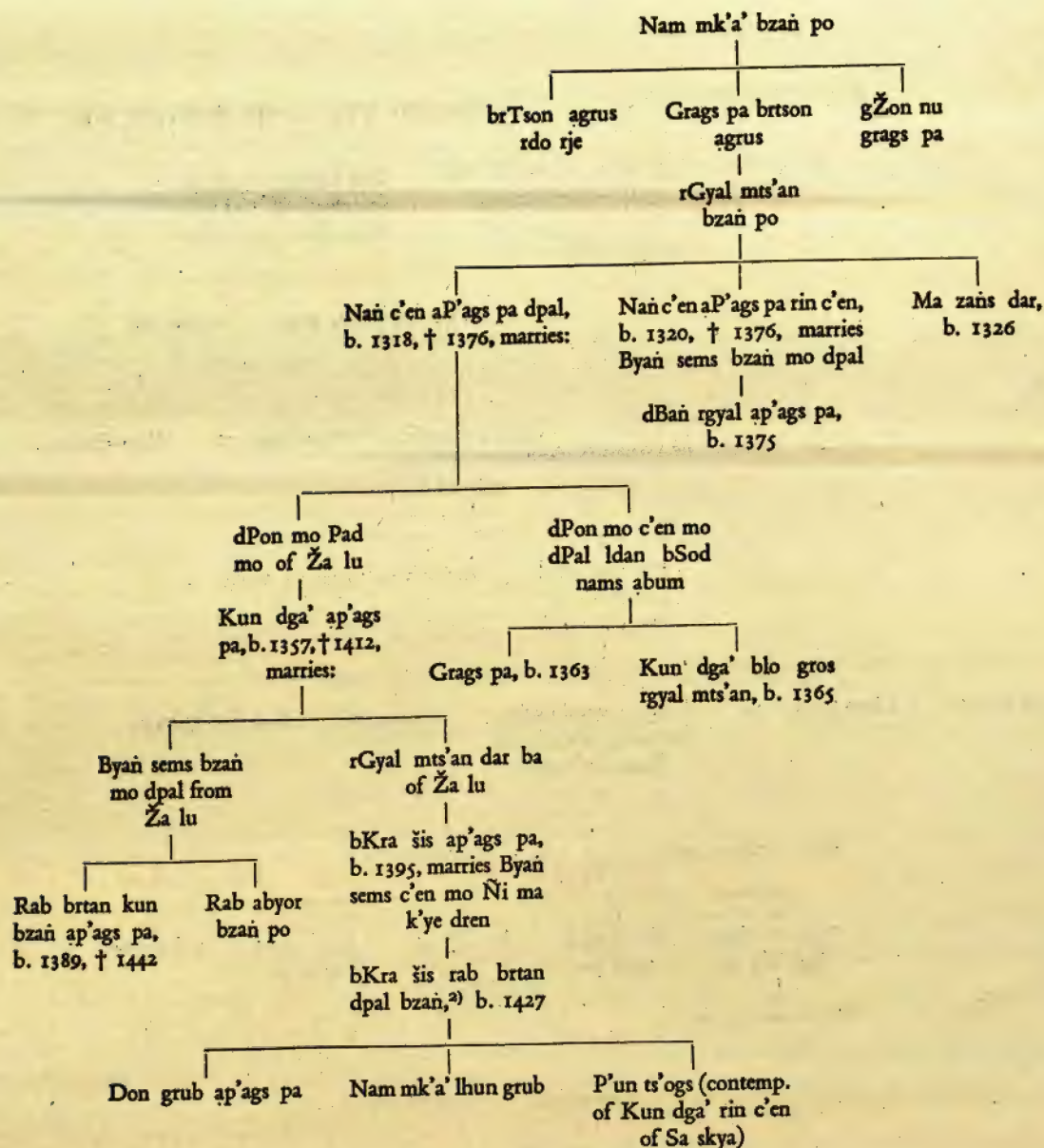


TABLE X - GYANTSE¹⁾

1. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 79. — 2. See note 414 on Part IV.

TABLE XI - YAR RGYAB

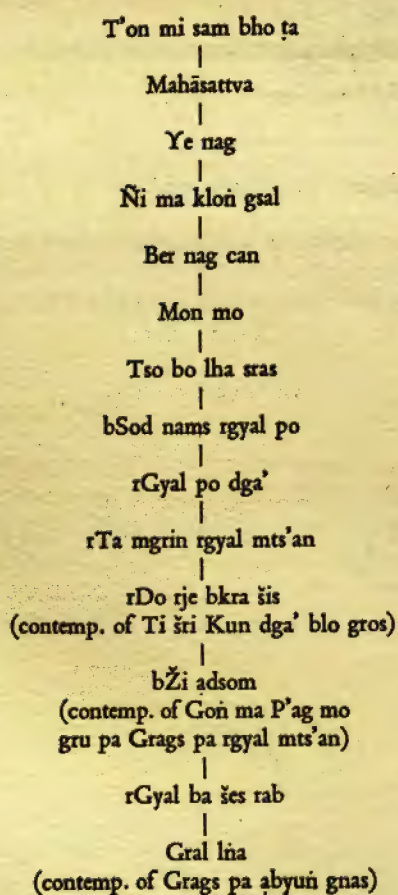
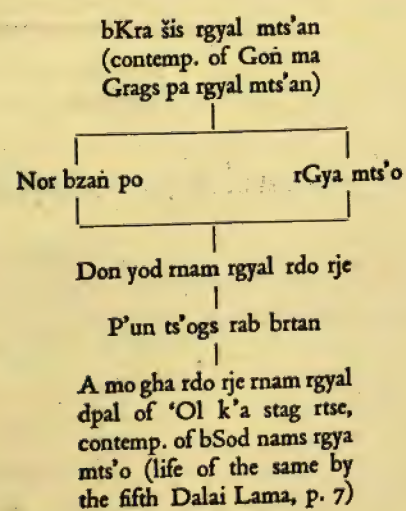


TABLE XII - 'OL K'A



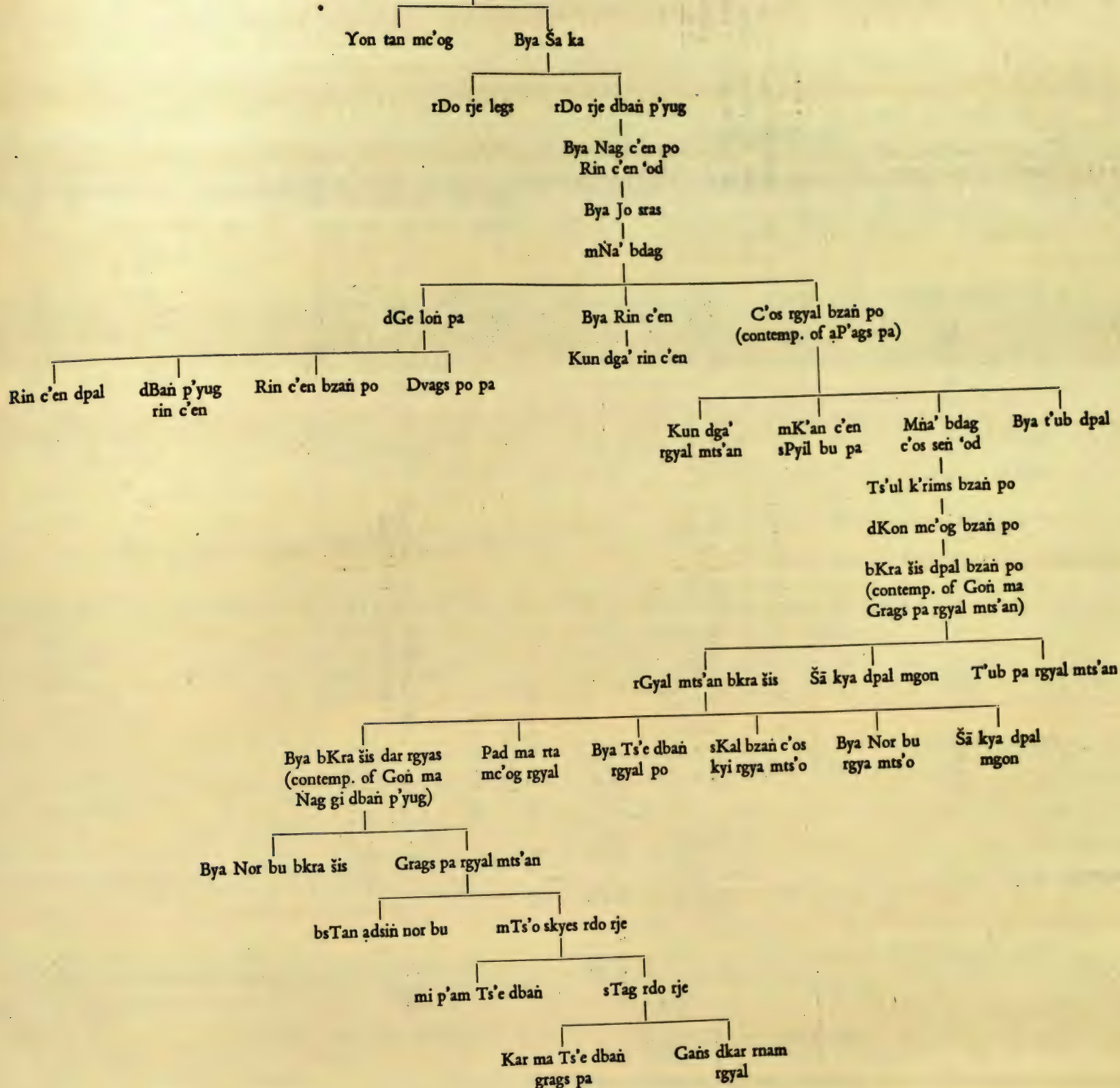


TABLE XIV – DGA' LDAN

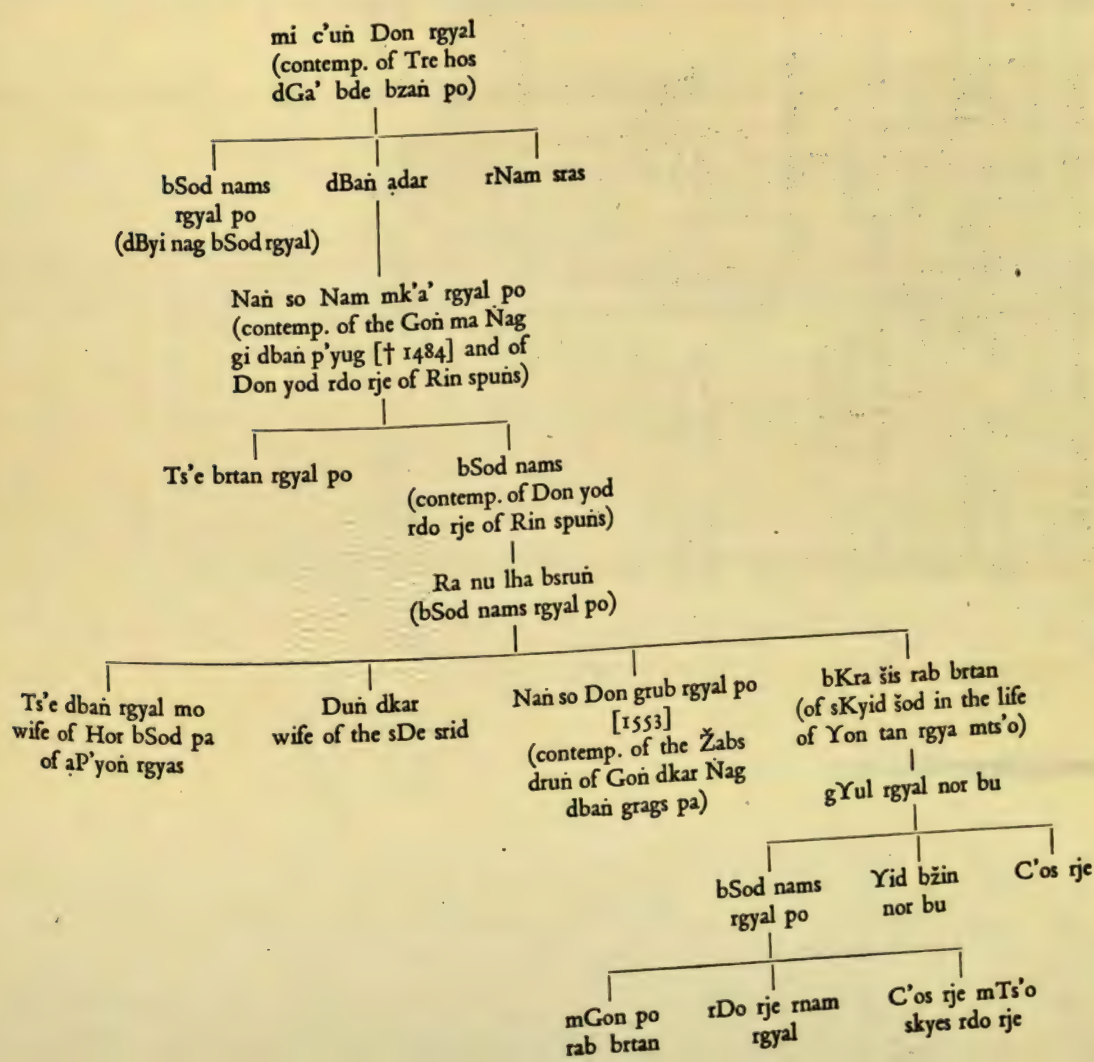


TABLE XV – LHA RGYA

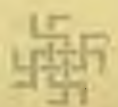
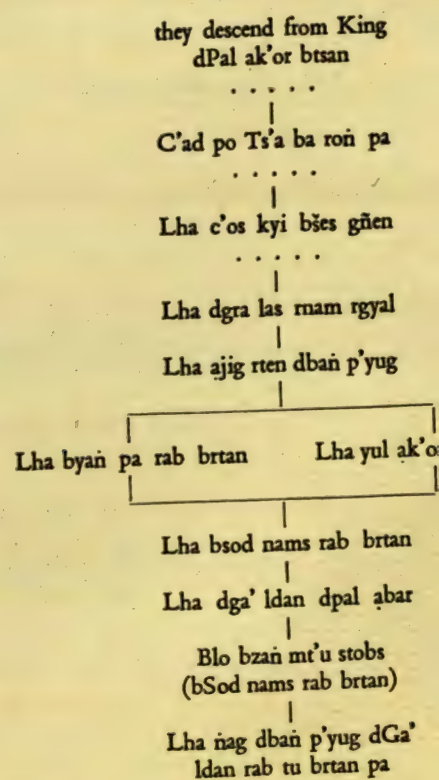
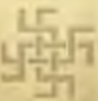
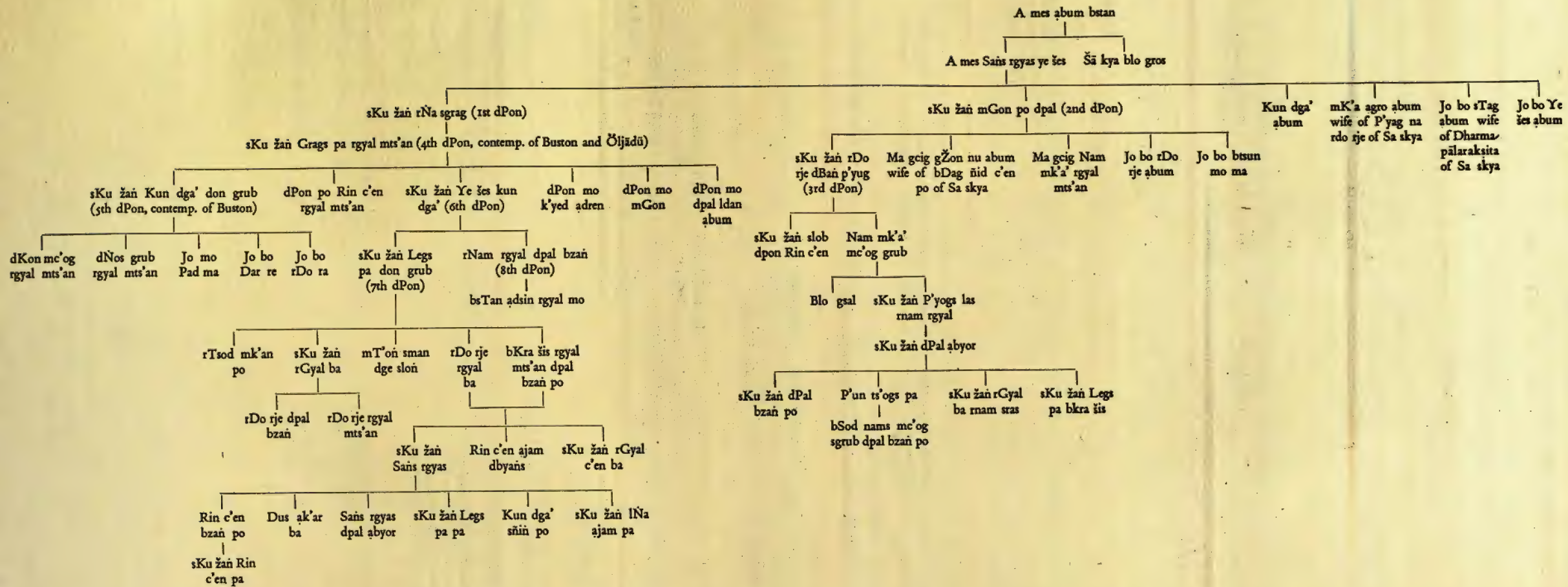


TABLE XVI - GENEALOGY OF ŽA LU



A) DPON C'EN SA SKYA PA

Ša kya bzañ po	Yon btsun
Kun dga' bzañ po	'Od zer señ ge
Žañ btsun	rGyal ba bzañ po (Yüan shib,
P'yug po sgañ (fifth Dalai Lama:	chap. 32, year 1333 elected
dBañ) dkar po	Hsüan wei shib)
Byañ c'ub rin c'en	dBañ p'yug dpal
Kun dga' g'zon nu	bSod nams dpal
g'Zon dbañ	rGyal ba bzañ
Byañ c'ub rin c'en	po again
Ag len	dBañ brtson
g'Zon dbañ again	Nam mk'a' rab brtan
Legs pa dpal	Grags pa rgyal mts'an
Señ ge dpal	dPal abum
'Od zer señ ge	Blo c'en
Kun dga' rin c'en	Grags pa dbañ po
Don yod dpal	

B) THE SGOM C'EN OF ABRI GUÑ

rDo rje señ ge	Ša kya dar
Ša kya rin c'en	Rin c'en grags
Byañ še	Ye šes dpal
Byañ c'ub	Rin c'en rdo rje
sPañ ras	Kun dga' rin c'en
C'os señ ge	Ša kya bzañ po
Rin c'en señ ge	

C) ABBOTS ON THE SEE OF RTSE T'AN (cfr. DT, ba, pp. 9b-10b)

1351, the monastery is founded. aJam pai dbyaṅs Ša kya rgyal mts'an at 13 on the see, at 26 goes to the palace of sNeu gdoñ.
 1365 (šin sbrul), Grags pa rin c'en at 17 on the see.
 1367 (me lug), he dies.
 1368 (sa spre), sLob dpon aJam sñon pa.
 1368 (about the end), bSod nams grags pa, at 10 on the see.
 1381 (lcags bya), he goes to the palace. Grags pa rgyal mts'an at 8 on the see.
 1385 (šin glañ), he goes to the palace. Byañ c'ub rdo rje on the see.
 1428, Grags pa abyun gnas at 15 on the see.
 1432 (c'u byi), he goes to the palace.
 1444 (šin bya), Kun dga' legs abyun gnas becomes nañ so of rTse t'añ.
 1448 (sa abrug), he passes to the palace. Sañs rgyas rgyal mts'an, as nañ so, rules on rTse t'añ.
 1457 (me glañ), he dies.
 1467, rDo rje rin c'en dbañ gi rgyal mts'an on the see.

D) ABBOTS OF DGA' LDAN (from Vai dñ rya ser po, p. 58 ff.)

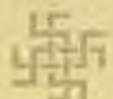
1. Tsoñ k'a pa.
2. Dar ma rin c'en, rGyal ts'ab, b. šin abrug, 1364, on the throne in year sa p'ag of the seventh cycle, 1419, † c'u byi, 1432.
3. dGe legs dpal bzañ po, b. šin glañ of sixth cycle, 1385, † sa rta, 1438.
4. Ža lu pa Legs pa rgyal mts'an, b. šin yos, 1375, † lcags rta, 1450.
5. Blo gros c'os skor, b. sa sbrul, 1389, † c'u lug, 1463.
6. C'os kyi rgyal mts'an, b. c'u rta, 1402, † c'u sbrul, 1473.
7. Blo gros brtan pa, b. c'u rta, 1402, † sa k'yi, 1474.
8. sMon lam dpal, b. šin rta, 1414, opposes Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs, † lcags p'ag, 1491.
9. Blo bzañ ŋi ma, b. sa lug, 1439, † c'u byi, 1492.
10. C'os rje Ye šes bzañ po, b. šin lug, 1415, † sa rta, 1498.
11. aDar ston Blo bzañ grags, b. sa bya, 1429, † lcags lug, 1511.
12. aJam dbyaṅs šes rab dañ legs pai blo gros, b. lcags rta, 1450, in the year lcags lug of the ninth cycle, 1511, on the see, † lcags stag, 1530.

13. C'os rje C'os kyi bšes gñen, b. c'u bya, 1453, † lcags byi, 1540, zur bžug viz. as supplementary abbot.
14. Rin c'en 'od zer, b. c'u bya, 1453, † lcags byi, 1540, zur bžug.
15. Pañ c'en bSod nams grags pa, b. sa k'yi, 1478, † šin stag, 1554, zur bžug.
16. C'os skyon rgya mts'o, b. c'u sbrul, 1473, † sa p'ag, 1539.
17. rDo rje bzañ po, b. lcags p'ag, 1511, in the year me rta, 1546, on the throne, † šin stag, 1554.
18. rGyal mts'an bzañ po, † sa spreu, 1548.
19. Nañ dbañ c'os grags, b. lcags bya, 1501, in sa spreu, 1548, on the see, † lcags p'ag, 1551.
20. C'os grags bzañ po, † sa lug, 1559.
21. 'Ol dga' Gyañ gsar dGe legs dpal bzañ, b. šin glañ, 1505, † me yos, 1567.
22. dGe adun bstan pa dar rgyas, b. c'u glañ, 1493, † sa abrug, 1568.
23. Ts'e brtan rgya mts'o, b. lcags abrug, 1520, † me bya, 1576.
24. Byams pa rgya mts'o, b. me byi, 1516 on the see in the year šin p'ag, 1575, † lcags stag, 1590.
25. dPal abyor rgya mts'o, b. me k'yi, 1526, in sa glañ, 1589, zur bžug, in rGyal mk'ar rtse, † sa p'ag, 1599.
26. Dam c'os dpal abar, b. c'u lug, 1523, in the year sa glañ, 1589, on the see, † sa p'ag, 1599.
27. Sañs rgyas rin c'en, b. lcags byi, 1540, † c'u byi, 1612.
28. dGe adun rgyal mts'an, b. c'u abrug, 1532, † me lug, 1607, zur bžug.
29. bŠes gñen grags pa, b. me rta, 1546, † sa rta, 1618.
30. Blo gros rgya mts'o, b. me rta, 1546, † sa rta 1618.
31. Dam c'os dpal, b. me rta, 1546, † lcags spre, 1620.
32. Ts'ul k'rims c'os ap'el, b. lcags bya, 1561, † c'u p'ag, 1623.
33. Grags pa rgya mts'o, b. šin yos, 1555, † me yos, 1627.
34. Nañ dbañ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an, b. šin p'ag, 1575, on the see in me yos of 11th cycle, 1627, † sa sbrul, 1629.
35. aJam dbyaṅs dkon mc'og c'os ap'el, b. c'u bya, 1573, † me k'yi, 1646.
36. Koñ po bstañ adsin legs, † šin abrug, 1664.
37. dGe adun rin c'en.
38. bsTan pa rgyal mts'an.
39. dKon mc'og c'os bzañ.
40. dPal ldan rgyal mts'an.
41. Blo bzañ rgyal mts'an.
42. Blo bzañ dar, † sa rta, 1678.
43. Byams pa bkra šis, b. rta, † šin byi, 1684.
44. Blo gros rgya mts'o, b. šin pag, 1635.
45. aJam dbyaṅs ts'ul k'rims dar rgyas, b. c'u spre, 1632, in the year šin glañ on the thone, 1685.
46. bSam blo sbyin pa rgya mts'o, b. spre.

1. In the text wrongly seventh cycle.
2. Evidently there is a mistake, the dates of C'os kyi bšes gñen being attributed to Rin c'en 'od zer.

E) ABBOTS OF ABRAS SPUNŠ (Vai dñ rya ser po, p. 85)

1. aJam dbyaṅs c'os rje bkra šis, b. sa lug of sixth cycle, 1379, † sa sbrul, 1449.
2. dPal ldan señ ge.
3. Rin c'en byañ c'ub.
4. Blo bzañ ŋi ma.
5. Blo bzañ grags pa.
6. Ša kya rin c'en.
7. Smon lam dpal legs pai blo gros.
8. Les pa c'os abyor.
9. Yon tan rgya mts'o, b. c'u p'ag, 1443, † at 79.
10. dByaṅs can bzad pa dGe adun rgya mts'o dpal bzañ, b. šin lug, 1475, † c'u stag, 1542.
11. bSod nams grags pa, the same as n. 15 of dGa' ldan.
12. bSod nams rgya mts'o.
13. Yon tan rgya mts'o.
14. Blo bzañ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an, b. lcags rta, 1570, † c'u stag of the eleventh cycle, 1662.
15. 'Od zer kem ap'ags dpal brtogs rgyal po (fifth Dalai Lama).
16. Ts'añs dbyaṅs rgya mts'o (sixth Dalai Lama).



F) ABBOTS OF SE RA

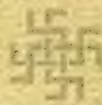
(*Vai dū rya ser po*, p. 112)

1. Byams c'en c'os rje Ša kya ye še.
2. Ša kya ts'ul k'rims.
3. C'os rje rgyal mts'an bzan po, b. *c'u p'ag*, † *lcags rta*.
4. bKra šis rgya mts'o.
5. Rin c'en blo gros señ ge.
6. C'os rje adul adsin pa.
7. Lha p'u c'os rje.
8. dPal abyor lhun grub, b. *me lug*, † *šin k'yi*.
9. Mañ t'os dPal ldan blo gros, b. *lcags glañ*, 1421, on the sec, † *šin byi*, 1444.
10. aJam dbyaṅs don yod dPal ldan, b. *šin glañ*, 1445, † *šin spre*, 1524.
11. dGe adun rgya mts'o.
12. C'os kyi rgyal mts'an.
13. bSod nams grags pa (dGa' ldan).
14. C'os grags bzan po.

15. bSod nams rgya mts'o.
16. sTon ak'or c'os rje.
17. Yon tan rgya mts'o.
18. dBen sa pan c'en Blo bzan c'os kyi rgyal mts'an.
19. Bla ma lña pa.
20. Tsañ dbyaṅs rgya mts'o.

G) DALAI LAMAS

1. dGe adun grub pa, 1391-1474.
2. dGe adun rgya mts'o, 1475-1542.
3. bSod nams rgya mts'o, 1543-1588.
4. Yon tan rgya mts'o, 1589-1616.
5. Nag dbaṅ blo bzan rgya mts'o, 1617-1682.
6. Ts'aṅs dbyaṅs rgya mts'o, 1683-1706.
7. sKal bzan rgya mts'o, 1708-1757.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

BYAN C'UB RGYAL MTS'AN'S PREDECESSORS

The P'ag mo gru pa myriarchy was one of the largest in Tibet and moreover it ruled over those places which had been the cradle of Tibetan history. According to the census contained in the *rGya bod yig ts'an*, the P'ag mo gru myriarchy comprised 2438 families; according to S. CH. DAS (*A short history of the House 'Phagdu*, JRASB, 1905, p. 202) it included also Taglung and the land North of the environs of Tengri nor. I am not in a condition to verify the accuracy of S. Ch. Das, but it is certain that sTag lun appears as an independent *k'ri skor*, although the small number of families it contained (500 in all) may have induced the Chinese administration to incorporate it with P'ag mo gru. S. Ch. Das's information is perhaps taken from the *rGya bod yig ts'an*, or from some source which followed that text very closely; as this information is quite confused, it must be put in order in the light of the sources I have collected.

First of all those relations, as between colleagues, which for a long time closely bound the aBri guñ abbots to those of P'ag mo gru, clearly appear: both were the heads of great monasteries hailing back to the same mystical currents; united by the same spiritual descent, they left political power respectively in the hands of the sGom pa and of the myriarchs.

The religious supremacy of the aBri guñ convent over that of the P'ag mo gru also stood, in an early period, for political superiority. While the P'ag mo gru abbots followed one another, beginning with Grags pa abyun gnas, according to the succession mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama, political power was entrusted to various myriarchs who, like the dPon c'en Sa skya pa and the sGom pa of the aBri guñ pa, were elected anew every time, chosen among the local aristocracy or the families related to it, under influences it is not easy to identify now.

The first myriarch whose memory has come down to us is the one elected, with the consent of Tibetan lay and religious communities, by the sGom pa Ša kya rin c'en (S. Ch. Das: Gompa Shagrin); he is sGom brTson, that is sGom pa brTson agrus (S. Ch. Das: Gom tson); hence it is clear that the first P'ag mo gru myriarchs had the same title as those of aBri guñ.

sGom pa brTson agrus, with the Mongols' favour, would have built the myriarchal house (*k'ri k'an*) of Ts'on adus brag k'a (S. Ch. Das: Tshongdu-tāgkhar); but his administration having proved unsatisfactory, rGyal ba rin c'en had him discharged and elected in his place rDo rje dpal, a native of rKañ bži in K'ams. According to Das, rDo rje dpal was sent to China by the abbot before being appointed a myriarch; indeed he is said to have taken

advantage of his journey to China to obtain the Mongol court's favour and receive his diplomas of investiture. According to S. Ch. Das, in the year wood-tiger he returned from his Chinese mission, we do not know which (according to the fifth Dalai Lama rDo rje dpal went to China three times). Perhaps this was the mission during which he received his official investiture. What is the date corresponding to that year? S. Ch. Das says that the year wood-tiger corresponds to 1192, but this is a double error: in the first place the year wood-tiger falls in 1194, not 1192, and moreover the event is later than rDo rta's invasion in 1240 which took place when Grags pa abyun gnas, the uncle of rGyal ba rin po c'e, was sitting on the abbatial throne of P'ag mo gru. Therefore the year wood-tiger can only be 1254, while Grags pa abyun gnas was still ruling the P'ag mo gru monastery. rDo rje dpal built the myriarchal palaces of Yar klun and established twelve feuds.

As S. Ch. Das's transcription is often arbitrary, I think it useful to compare his list of those feuds with the fifth Dalai Lama's list:

<i>fifth Dalai Lama</i>	<i>S. Ch. Das</i>
P'o brañ sgañ	Zangri (Zaṅs ri) Pho-dang-gang
Ts'on adus brag k'a	Tshong-ḍui-tag-kha
sNeu gdon	Ne dong-tse
sNa mo	Namo
Ha la sgañ	Halayang
gLiñ smad in T'an po c'e	Thangpo-chin-ling-me
P'yos (gži ka)	Choi Slukka
bKra šis gdon in sMon	Monkhar, Tashi-dong (considered as two places)
mk'ar	
rGyal t'an	Gyathang
lCags rtse gri gu	Chag-tse-tugu
mC'od rten gliñ	Khortog-cha?
C'ad dkar	Kardo?

When rDorje dpal died, the bCu gñis pa Rin c'en rdo rje appointed to the office of myriarch the former's brother, gŽon nu rgyal mts'an, who governed against the P'ag mo gru's interests and was deposed; in his place the office was conferred, pending the imperial approval, to Rin c'en rgyal mts'an, the abbot of gSon sde in Lho brag; this is Khampo Ringyal, according to S. Ch. Das, who places him, however, after sGom brtson; I do not know whether this transposition is in the source used by Das or must be attributed to an error on his part, as seems more probable; after two myriarchs had turned out badly, it is logical to think that the chief



of P'ag mo gru tried to confer that office on a new person who, to judge from his title of mk'an po was already at the head of a monastery. After a few years the latter was succeeded by Byañ (c'ub) gžon nu (of the Kya-ya dag-cu, family according to Das). During his administration friction between the aBri guñ pa and the Sa skya pa became sharper, and it was in his times that aBri guñ was destroyed by the dPon c'en Sa skya pa, Ag len. What the P'ag mo gru pa's attitude may have been in this circumstance is not known. According to S. Ch. Das's source, it would appear that Byañ c'ub gžon nu did not side with the Sa skya, but he probably did not keep up this attitude long, if Ag len condemned him to be burnt alive. The sentence, however, was not carried out.

Byañ c'ub gžon nu was succeeded by gžon nu yon tan (Shon-nu Yontan according to S. Ch. Das), a nephew of gžon nu rgyal mts'an. He did not turn out to be any better than his predecessors, and after holding office six years he was deposed, as a consequence of complaints made to the abbot's brother by a Mongol prince, a pilgrim in Tibet. S. Ch. Das transcribes this prince's name as Thumer Bukhoi; he is no other than Tämür Buqa, commander of the Mongol army which Ag len had called to his aid to defeat aBri guñ, as we have seen above (see above p. 16). And perhaps the pilgrimage alluded to by Das is nothing but this military expedition.

gžon nu yon tan's deposition implied a new beginning: the myriarch was replaced by a regency council. The situation was evidently very difficult, not only because of the myriarchs' misrule, but also because the abbots had already cast their eyes on the myriarchies. But as the aBri guñ pa were, for the time being, weakened, and old ties with that monastery had become slacker, the ambitions of both sects being in contrast, the Sa skya pa did not wish to give up control over this part of Tibet. Hence in this regency council we see: a Sa skya pa abbot, Rin c'en bkra šis (S. Ch. Das: Rin chen Tashi), brTson agrus dpal (? Tson dui Pal according to S. Ch. Das) a kinsman of the abbot of P'ag mo gru, Jo bo Grags pa rin c'en (S. Ch. Das: Jo bo Tagpa Rin) and a second cousin of gžon nu Yon tan, whom S. Ch. Das calls Tagpa Pho zer; the latter is perhaps Grags pa 'od zer or Ti šri Grags pa 'od zer, who was in China at the Mongol court and whom we have seen interceding that the Sa skya pa prince bDag ñid c'en po bZaṅ po dpal might be sent home from exile. From this point S. Ch. Das becomes inextricably confused:

"In the meantime, with the sanction of the Emperor of China, Taišri Tagpa-hod pa became governor. By bringing Gyavo, the brother of Chyan ña Rin-poche over to his side, he also assumed spiritual power... On the death of Gyavo, the elder brother of Chyan ña Rin-poche, named Gyal Shonpal, proceeded to Peking and with the sanction of Lhaje Phagmodu (Phag-du hierarch) assumed the office of *t'hi pon*. Shortly after he was deposed by the Saskya authorities, who placed his

younger brother in charge of the government. From him the office descended to Gyal-tshan Kyab, the son of Shon-nu Gyal-tshan. When Disri Kun tob-pa proceeded to China, Gyal-tshan Kyab was discharged from the governorship. Ritsi Wang Gyal po then became *t'hipon* and received the title of Tai Situ. He was succeeded by Sonam Gyal tshan, the grandson of Gyal-tshan Kyab, who performed the duties of *T'hipon*. He was very popular with his subjects. He was so very resolute that no one could oppose his views or outdo him in anything. He brought all Tibet under his sway. Situ Chyan tshan from his early age, became skillful in war, literature and religion...."

This summary of S. Ch. Das's contains not a few inaccurate statements. To begin with, I doubt that he has interpreted his sources correctly, when he states that the Tišri Grags pa 'od zer (which he transcribes once Tagpa Phozer and once Taisi Tagpa-hod-pa) became governor, and next assumed also spiritual power. Evidently here he means to recall the same event alluded to by the fifth Dalai Lama, namely the union of temporal and religious power in the hands of Grags pa rin c'en, who became bla dpon and was invested with political authority through the intercession of prince Tämür and of Grags pa 'od zer.

Grags pa rin c'en is thus the same person whom he calls Gya bo, at whose death power passed not into the hands of Gyal shonpal, as S. Ch. Das states, but into those of rGyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po, who was precisely the elder brother of the C'os bži pa Grags pa rgyal mts'an, and went to China on a mission to the imperial Court (as the fifth Dalai Lama records on p. 635). Nevertheless he was no luckier than his predecessors, and giving way to Sa skya pa intrigues, he retired from his function. The myriarch's office was then assumed by rGyal mts'an skyabs (Gyal-tshan Kyab, according to S. Ch. Das), a son of gžon nu rgyal mts'an. But he occupied office for a short time, being unable to hold out against the open ambitions of young Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an. The latter in the meantime had succeeded in getting himself appointed myriarch by the Emperor of China, obtaining an official investiture from Kun blo, i. e. Kun dga' blo gros, a Sa skya pa lama, the son of bDag ñid c'en po bZaṅ po dpal, who was coming back to Tibet to receive his ordination, but also as a bearer of imperial orders. He is the Disri Kun tob pa mentioned by S. Ch. Das; his Ritsi Wang Gyalpo, who received the title of Tai situ, can be no other than Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an.

To sum up this long discussion, it is now clear that the P'ag mo gru's political history was, in the beginning, greatly troubled by strife between the heads of the monastery and the political authorities, who, as it had already been the case in Sa skya with the dPon c'en and in aBri guñ with the sGom pa, sought not only to become independent, but to overrule ecclesiastical authority.



APPENDIX TWO

ON THE GENEALOGIES OF THE TIBETAN NOBILITY

1. THE COSMIC EGG

In another part of this work we have shown that the aristocracy of Tibet seems to have possessed family records, not very different, in their scheme, from the *vamśavalis* of India. In these records pedigrees were handed over to posterity and the principal events of the families magnified. Some of the most important historical works of Tibet are but chronicles of the leading families fighting for supremacy when, Tibet being under the rule of the Yüan empire, each one of them tried to have some appointment from the Mongol emperors and then, after the collapse of that dynasty, to get the upper hand over their rivals. The importance of these documents for the history of Tibet has been discussed in Part one. In this appendix I want to investigate the mythic contents of the family records of the P'ag mo gru pa which boasted of being Lha rigs, viz. of divine descent; these records are summarized in the Chronicles of Blo bzai rgya mts'o, translated above.

This section of the work of the fifth Dalai Lama was chiefly based upon the *Rus mdsod po ti se ru* or better the *rLañs kyi po ti bse ru p'ag mo gru pai sde srid byuñ ts'ul*¹⁾ of which I could not find any trace in Tibet.

It is not my purpose to solve all the questions which are laid before us by the investigation of the family records of Tibetan aristocracy, but rather to point out their importance as sources of information about prebuddhistic Tibet. In fact though these Chronicles are late and compiled in Buddhist times, they preserve many a tradition which has nothing in common with Buddhism and rather betrays Bonpo ideas. In other words in these records we can get glimpses of an ancient world which little by little gave way to the new religion and left small traces in classical literature.

First of all it appears that they have handed down to us fragments of ancient and forlorn cosmogonies: as evidenced, for instance, by those passages dealing with the creation of the world from the cosmic egg. The cosmic egg appears frequently in the prebuddhistic legends of Tibet and the old cosmogonic myths which have been inserted in later Bon scriptures, for instance in the largest redaction of "the 100.000 klu". This is a huge compilation which has nothing to do with the text published by Schiefner or Laufer. Its title runs thus: *gTsañ ma klu abum* and it is divided into three sections: *Klu abum dkar po*, *Klu abum nag po*, *Klu abum k'ra bo*.²⁾ The compilation is late and shows a great influence of Māhāyāna dogmatics; in fact it contains long lists of the *bon*, viz. *dharmas*³⁾ of the qualities of the *gyuñ druñ sems dpa'* (corresponding to *byañ c'ub sems dpa'* of Buddhism), of

the virtues of the *gŠen rab* analogous to those of the Buddha; all these things are literally taken from the manuals of Buddhism. But at the same time the text has handed down to us a great many ancient legends which go back to prebuddhistic traditions, as the following summary of the most important passages concerned with the origin of the world will easily show.

(117 b) From the uncreated being a white light originated and from the essence of that very light a perfect egg came out: outside it was luminous, it was all good; it had no parts, no hands and no feet, but it was possessed of the power of motion; it had no wings but could fly, it had neither head, nor mouth, nor eyes, still a voice came out of it. After five months this miraculous egg broke and a man came out. This man gave himself a name. He called himself in Žaṇ žuñ language: *Mig can bu ts'a rdsu ap'ruñ can*; in Sum pa language: *bsKos mk'an*, in Tibetan: *Srid pai mk'yen*, in Bon language *Klu*. His abode was in a continent in the middle of a great ocean. He sat on a golden throne. The *klu* came to pay homage to him and he ordered the universe, regulated the course of time, invited gods to the protection of created beings and overcame demons. Once he jumped into the sea and he was caught in a net by a fisherman; thence great calamities befell men. *gŠen rab* suggests the appropriate expiation. It is clear that Mig can born from the cosmic egg is a demiurge: it is he who disposes everything in order: therefore he is called *bskos mk'an* "he who arranges and appoints charges". He is the same as the *bsKos* of the Bonpo text published by Laufer:⁴⁾ it is from him that civilization begins.

(126 a) In the beginning there was naught; from the void *sToñ pai gyuñ druñ sems dpa'* abiding in the *gyuñ druñ* originated; from him a light of all colours permeating the universe emanated. Then a wind called *yos* (sic, for *gyos*) *kyi du ba tsam*, and in succession one above the other, the wind *rdo rje rgya gram*, the circle of fire: from fire and wind water and wind, then the sea; from this a kind of tent of foam; from this a tortoise was derived; it was all of gold; it begot six eggs: one white, of rock crystal, one yellow of gold, one blue of turquoise, one red of copper, one dark of bronze, one black of iron. From each egg a special family of *klu* derived:

from the golden one: *rgyal rigs* = royal family;
from that of turquoise: *dman rigs* = low caste;
from that of iron: *bram ze rigs* = brahmanic caste;
from that of bronze: *gdol rigs* = untouchable caste;
from that of copper: *byol soñ* = animals;

there is no word about the rock-crystal egg.

(132b) From the void a blue light was derived; from this the three worlds were covered: a rainbow came out of it and from it a vapour: from this vapour a subtle splendour emanated; then a wonderful egg; from the vapour of this egg vapour and heat; from its skin seven golden mountains; from the cream (*spris*) space, from its heat fire, from the watery element in it water and the ocean; from the interior of this egg a *klu* was born:

(138 a) *lha dbal mt'ön gi rgya mts'o bdag med* turned into the void; from this, through gradual mutations, the wheel of vacuum emanated; successively the wheels of wind, fire and heat were derived; and then wind again; the nine continents situated in the ocean were formed from the cold; from the vapour of the ocean a kind of foam emanated, from this an egg was born; this broke and a being came out of it with numberless limbs and nine heads. This was called in Žaiñ žuiñ language: *Bye ba sa ya*, in Sum pa language: *las dbai* "the master of action,,, in Tibetan *Srid pai klu mo ngo dgu*, "the Klu mo of the world with nine heads,,, in the middle of her nine heads there was a head of crystal upon which a hood grew; from this a light emanated which permeated space; from the left eye the sun was born; from the right eye the moon, from the nose the wind and the four seasons; from his eyelids the rays of the sun and of the moon; from the teeth the eight planets and the constellations, from the viscous matter of the eyes ambrosia.

These passages of the *Klu abum* which I have chosen contain therefore different modulations of the same myth concerning the origin of world. Four ways of the cosmic creation are here alluded to:

1. white light / egg / primeval man who arranges the Universe;
2. void: primeval being / light / elements / tortoise / eggs as the origin of different classes of *klu*;
3. void / blue light / egg / the Universe;
4. a primeval being / elements (water) / egg / a monster from whose limbs the world is created.

So, in all cases the egg represents an intermediate stage, and, except n. 3, it is the cause of a particular creation, either of men, or of Klu or of special parts of the world.

In some cases, as in n. 4, the real cause of the Universe is the primeval being from whose limbs the world and its parts are derived.

The same story is also preserved in other sections of the same work (*k'a*, p. 341 b).

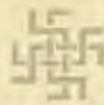
There we read of a Klu mo born from the vacuum: she was called *Klu rgyal mo srid pa gtan la p'ab pa* "the queen of the klu who arrayed existence,,,: from the top of her head sky (*gnam*) emanated, from the light of her right eye the moon, from the light of the left eye the sun, from the upper teeth four planets. When the Klu mo opened her eyes it was day, when she shut them it was night, from the other 12 lower and upper teeth the lunar mansions (*skar ma*) arose. From her voice thunder came out, from her tongue lightning, from her breath clouds, from her tears rain, from the fat of her tongue hailstorm; from the holes of her nose wind, from her blood the five oceans, from her veins rivers, from her flesh earth, from her bones mountains and so on.

Though the redaction contained in the *Klu abum* does not mention any sacrifice of the Klu as the cause of the universe, as in the case of the Indian *puruṣa* or the Chinese Panku, Western Tibetan legends are more explicit on this point. These narrate how a hero named Doñ gsum mi la sñon mo killed a monster with nine heads, just like the klu already referred to; with his body he built the castle of *Glin* and all the *Glin* country, with his head, bones, ribs and arms the castle; with the lungs the golden mountain, that is the Sumeru, with his stomach the valley of Go ma, with the intestines rGyu ma; with the eyes the spring Ts'an ya and so on.⁵⁾ We are therefore confronted with cosmogonic legends, probably connected with ancient vegetation rites in which the victim offered to the gods was cut into pieces.

In the same way, the Manasarovar and the lakes bordering it are derived, according to the ancient Bonpo mythology, from four eggs: the lake Gur rgyal lha mo from an egg white as a conch-shell, the lake Ma p'am gyu mts'o (Manasarovar), from an egg blue as turquoise; the La ñag bsil mo (Rākastal) from a golden egg, the lake *Gün c'u diñul mo* from a white egg.⁶⁾

Other Bonpo legends, contained in the *Dra ba nag poi bsgrub t'abs drag po gnam lcags t'og abebs* (p. 2), relate how there was in the beginning 'Od gsal lha from whom all creation derived: Lha, Gar, bsTen; dMu, bDud, gTs'ams; P'ya, Srod, sKos; aDre, Srin, Byur; Mi, sMra, gSen. From gNam gsas dbyiñs, gYui byel 'u lug rdsi mo was born, who came down from heaven upon earth; from the syllables *ba* and *bu* uttered by that god the essence of the five elements was emanated, from these the rainbow *gža'* (= *gža' ts'on*) and the existence, *srid*; from the very essence of this, an egg which begot Srid pa abyuiñ ba srid pai rgyal po; from his spirit four emissions of seed flowed out, from which four syllables derived; these were again absorbed in those four emissions of seed and were therefore condensed into four eggs: from the first, dMu srid pai rgyal po was born, from the second sTag adud ge ta, from the third Rin po c'ei kyed srid rgyal po, from the fourth bTsan gyi rgyal po Hur pa gsod rkyen.

A similar tradition as regards the cosmic eggs is preserved in the nuptial songs of Western Tibet which mention the world tree.⁷⁾ It has three points (*rtse mo*) and six branches; on each branch there is a bird with a corresponding egg: 1) a *k'yuiñ* and a golden egg; the *k'yuiñ* is called *bya c'en*, the great bird; 2) the king of the birds, *rgod po*, the vulture, and a turquoise egg; 3) the vulture *go po* with white head (*ldad dkar* [*ldad = glad*]), and an egg of the colour of the conch-shell; 4) an eagle (*glag*) with a white neck and a silver egg; 5) a divine bird, the white grouse, and a coral egg; 6) a white falcon (*k'ra skya*) and an iron egg. This tree evidently signifies the *axis mundi* and the birds upon it are the guardians of the six points of the compass, viz. the four cardinal points and the centre which is double: the one ideally placed on the top and the other at the bottom, the conjunction of the two points by a line being the world axis.⁸⁾ The correspondence of the four cardinal points with four of these eggs



is also proved by the fact that the colours of the eggs agree with the colours of the four quarters. In fact in another song, where the doors of heaven are mentioned, the colour of each of them is thus given:

East: king of the birds, vulture *bya rgyal rgod po*, conch-shell, white;

South: gold, golden *shal*, frog, yellow;

West: turquoise, *rma bya*, peacock, blue;

North: iron, *p'o rog nag po*, black raven, black.

These few quotations from old Tibetan traditions show that these legends on the origin of the world are far from being simple; this complexity seems to indicate that they have not been preserved in their primitive shape, but that they underwent a long process of elaboration by which elements of various origin and age were blended together. In fact, little by little, to the myth of a cosmic egg other speculations were added; they postulated, for instance, the existence of a primeval vacuum which seems to betray Buddhist or generally Indian influences; other legends contain a hint at the primeval light in which we are perhaps justified in seeing a reminiscence of Manichaeism: the hypothesis will not appear so far-fetched when we recall a set of stories of Iranian origin to which we shall refer in the course of this study. In other places the tortoise is considered as a kind of intermediate stage between the primeval being or the vacuum and the universe; in a few myths, as we saw, the worlds are said to have derived from the limbs of a primeval being.⁸⁾

It is worthy of notice that these cosmic legends introduce as a rule the expiation revealed by *gSen rab mi bo* and meant to appease the wrath of the *klu* offended, at the very beginning of civilization, by some mythic being, who taught men to build houses, to construct bridges, to cross rivers and seas, thus violating the abode of the *klu* and of the *sa bdag*. It is also interesting to see how in these legends the ocean (*rgya mts'o*) plays a prominent part: we are never confronted with rivers but rather with big seas in which continents are situated.

The general outlook of these legends does not betray any Buddhist origin, though occasionally some names of *klu* or *klu mo* (*k'a*, p. 56, *ago ri ma* = *gau ri ma* = *Keurimā*) may even appear as a corruption of Indian names; they rather point to some other source, to be traced out most probably in the direction of Indochina in the proximity of big seas. These mythologies migrated therefore into Tibet as the cosmologic lore of some tribes: but were later combined with stories of different derivation.

2. THE SIX OR FOUR ORIGINAL TRIBES OF TIBET

The same variety of legends we find as regards the origin of the Tibetan people and of its tribes. A well defined set of legends speaks of a certain number of tribes from which the inhabitants of Tibet came

successively into being. The different clans are said in fact to have descended from the four or six tribes which, at the dawn of human life, populated the country or rather from their respective primeval ancestors. It is out of place to refer here to the orthodox tradition according to which the forefathers of the Tibetan people were a monkey and an ogre. The legend is related with many a detail in the *Ma ni bka' abum*, chap. 34⁹⁾ and in the *rGyal rabs*, chap. 7. But it can also be found in the *Pad mai bka' t'añ sde lha* (*blon poi bka' t'añ*, p. 4), where this account of the origin of the Tibetan people is said to be the orthodox one (*c'os lugs*) as opposed to the heterodox, viz. Bon po (*bon lugs*), according to which Tibetans are stated to have been derived from the *Klu*.

This statement of the ancient and authoritative text *rÑin ma pa* therefore clearly shows that as regards the origin of the Tibetan race two traditions prevailed in Tibet: one was peculiar to the Buddhist schools, the other to the Bon po communities. This is true for older times, because in later times, when a great intercourse between the two religions took place, the Bonpos did not hesitate to accept many a story from the rival sect, as documented for instance by the *rGyal rabs bon gyi abyun gnas*.

But the fact that the descent of the Tibetans from the monkey is generally accepted by Lamaist tradition, and that the monkey plays a great role in Indian mythology and folklore, cannot be considered as a proof that this legend was introduced into Tibet from India along with Buddhism, as Köppen was inclined to believe. First of all, as shown by Laufer, it is no reason to bring forward in this particular case the non-existence of monkeys in Tibet as an argument in favour of the Indian origin of this myth, because in Tibet and chiefly in South and South-East Tibet monkeys are well known; we may add that some tribes between Tibet and China, for instance the Chiang, ethnically related to the K'iang, boasted to be descended from a monkey;¹⁰⁾ so did the Chiao yao of South West of the Chiang who equally considered the monkey as their ancestor.¹¹⁾ A *gser byi spreu* "golden monkey," is included also among the *gNan*, aboriginal gods of Tibet that will later be discussed.

There is therefore no ground for supposing that the Tibetans borrowed from India this story of their ancestry, though Buddhism, speaking of previous incarnations of Śākyamuni as a monkey or of a monkey as a devotee of the Teacher and the acquaintance that, through Buddhism, Tibetans acquired of the Rāmāic legends¹²⁾ may have given a wider popularity to this mythic ancestor of some tribes.

Anyhow, though orthodox tradition generally admits of this descent of the Tibetan folk from *sPyan ras gzigs* incarnated as a monkey, still there is a great diversity as regards the names of the tribes said to have derived from him and their number as well; in some cases we hear of four fundamental tribes, in others of six.¹³⁾ *Sum pa mk'an po* has written a resumé of all these traditions and since many of the texts which he quotes appear to be lost or, at least, are

at present of difficult access, it is necessary to start from the lists given by him. According to one theory the six sons of the primeval monkey and implicitly the forefathers of the Tibetan clans were: Se, rMu (dMu) lDoñ, sToñ, Gra, Bru or according to the *Bod mi k'ri t'o c'en po*:¹⁴ dGra aBru, lDoñ, aGa' (in the text: lag), Nu bo, dPa' mda' (in the text: dPal mña'). On the other side, the *bKa' c'ems ka k'ol ma* commonly attributed to Sroñ btsan sgam po, states that the ancestors of the Tibetans were only four: Se, rMu, lDoñ, sToñ. Their father gave each a territory to rule over, where they and their sons settled; each clan was thereafter divided into twelve branches.

A close investigation of the names of these six or four tribes shows that they are most probably related to the names of gods or demons; this implies that these tribes claimed to have a special deity as their particular ancestor, whose cult was reserved to the members of the tribe itself and who was consequently worshiped as the presiding god of the group. dMu is the name of a tribe and of a class of gods as well. The dMu are malignant; they are placed between the bDud and the bTsan; in the *gZer myig* (*Asia Major*, III, p. 333; I, p. 338) is said that dMu and bDud from heaven and all the bTsan are inclined to harass and frighten men. On earth, the clan rMu and dMu rules over Šam po lha rtse in 'Ol mo luñ riñs and their king is dMu rgyal lan gyi t'em pa skas. So also in the Bon po manual quoted above, (p. 2): dMu, bDud, mTs'ams (where mTs'ams is one of the thirteen classes of gods).

The *Po ti bse ru* includes the dMu, (sMu) among the gÑañ and the Klu; so also the *Bar do t'os grol bon po* called *lTuñ bšags dri med mc'og byañ bžugs pai dbu p'yogs* (p. 158 b).

A special teacher is allotted to them by the Bon po tradition: lJib duñ p'yur, while K'a ste agreñ yug was the one reserved for the bDud, dByar sñe grim bu for the Klu and T'añ t'añ k'rol pa for the gÑañ (*sNañ srid mdsod p'ugs keyi gžun dan agreñ pa ap'rul gyi sgron me*, p. 66 a).

The dMu are said to dwell in the K'ro c'u dMu lug mk'ar¹⁵ which is located in the dMu yul brañ lcags apran; their king is dMu dbud kam po ša zan (flesh eater). In a Bonpo hymn, in which the favour of the terrific deities is invoked, he is said to be the son of Mi bdud abyams po and of dMu lcam mGrin sñon ma the daughter of Mu rje btsan po. Iconographically he is represented with a dragon's head and a human body: from his mouth he vomits hailstones. T'añ ña dMu mo t'añ is one of the eight messengers (*p'o ña mo*) of gŠen rab; she rules over the armies of the dMu; the other goddesses of this group are: T'añ ña lha mo t'añ, T'añ ña dog mo t'añ, T'añ ña bdud mo t'añ, T'añ ña dmu mo t'añ, T'añ ña klu mo t'añ, T'añ ña gñañ mo t'añ, T'añ ña srin mo t'añ, T'añ ña p'ya mo t'añ, T'añ ña bged mo t'añ, (*dPal gśas rñam pa sku gsuñ t'ugs keyi sgrub gžun*, p. 50 ff.). According to the *Ri rab brtsegs mds* they are divided into two groups: rMu rje and dMu btsan and are equally considered as bTsan.

As demons the dMu are included in the eight classes of the *lha srin sde brgyad* (see down below). Perhaps some diseases like dropsy were considered to be caused by the dMu and in fact dropsy is called dMu c'u "the water of the dMu". Even drought is caused by them (*rGyal mds dkar drug mds keyi bca' t'abs ldem bskyed*, RC, p'i, p. 4). These traditions show therefore that the dMu were a class of beings who may be noxious to men. They did not reside in the subterranean world, but in some heaven; they in fact belong to the *steñ*-class of beings, viz. to those who stay in high spheres (*Asia Major*, III, p. 33); in their place there was a lake of molten metal; this was the abode where the deceased went after death with the help of a ladder or a rope. Upon earth there was a class of priests who boasted of having the power to lead the deceased there because they held the ladder or the rope; these were the dMu, who perhaps claimed a descent from dMu rgya lan t'em skas, one of the ancestors of gŠen rab.

Se, bSe is, in the same way, the name of a tribe as well as of a class of demons: Se ap'añ nag po is in fact the name of Mal gro gzi can, one of the most famous *klu* of Tibetan demology; he is also called Srog dkar rgyal po (*bKa' t'añ sde lña, ca*, p. 39). He is represented with the head of a dragon, the trunk of a man and the lower part of the body interlaced like a snake. Under him are placed: Ts'on dpon nag po, white, with five heads of snakes, the leader of the right wing, K'ams kyu bya t'ul, yellow with two dragon heads, the leader of the left wing; the other attendants were Giñ, sPa gro skyer, the god of the waters, K'a rgyal žva 'od, with a bull's head and so on, from which it appears that the army of these demons led by Mal gro gzi can is conceived on the pattern of the Turco-mongol army divided into two wings.

The *Vai dū rya dkar po*, the great astrological work by the sDe srid Sañs rgyas rgya mts'o contains a long list of *Sa bdag* and demons connected with the various months, days and the periods of the year. Some of these *sa bdag* belong to the class of the "Se", as the following examples will show.

(p. 444) Se ba bla mk'yen rtsi mk'an; (p. 445) rgyal poi nor sruñ (viz. custodian of the treasure of the king of the year T'e se) se byi; sKu sruñ mi gsod se šar; Se ba rañ, the horse of the king; (p. 446) Se bu rta k'rid; Dus ađsin se bya; (p. 462) T'ab lha se šar; (p. 466) Se bdud; and so on.

Some of them, according to the theriomorphism prevalent in Bonpo iconography, are represented like monsters with animal heads. This name "Se", can hardly be separated from the names of other gods which are to be met with in old mythology or in the Bonpo tradition; such are for instance the names of Ti se-Kailāsa (where *ti* is probably Kanawri: *ti* water), and of Gyu bse the ancestor from whom the aK'on, viz. the Sa skya pa claimed to have descended. If the information of S. CH. DAS, that *se bya* is the name of a sorcerer connected with the cult of the *Sa bdag*, were true we should find here the same relation as in the case of the dMu, between a God, a tribe and certain



priests; but probably the statement of S. CH. DAS is wrong, being based on a false interpretation of the passage of the *Vai dū rya dkar po* already referred to.

The existence of *bSve* as a class of wizards *snags pa nag po*, real black exorcists (the distinction between white and black Bon po is well known and reminds us of the white and black shamans, concerning whom see B. HARVA, *Religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*, p. 482) is proved by our sources, for instance by the *gSañ bdag dregs pa gdul byed las ts'ogs dam srii glud mdos*, which mentions a *bsve žva*, a hat of the *bSve*. Probably the name of these *Se*, *bSe*, *bSve*, should be linked with the Hsi hia word: *szü* 斯 which, according to the Chinese sources, corresponds to *Æ wu*, wizard, shaman.¹⁶⁾ (LAUFER, *The Si-bia language*, TP, 1916, p. 68, n. 138).

According to the biography of *mK'as grub rje*, *Se* was also the name of a clan of *lCañ ra* in *Li*, viz. *Khotan*. This is perhaps due to the fact that in *Li yul*, called in the Bonpo books *bTsan gyi gnas mc'og* "supreme place of the *bTsan* ,, the castle *bSve* 'od *abar* abode of *Yañ ni ver*, a king of the *bTsan* was located (*Dam can rgya mts'oi mk'a' la rañ bžiñ gyi mñā' gsol*, p. 3). In the chronicles of *Ladakh* the *Se* are put together with the *Ha ža*; Francke wrongly considers *Se ha ža* as the name of a single people which he locates in *Lahul*.

As to *lDoñ I* know a mountain of this name and a demon who is supposed to dwell there (S. CH. DAS s. v.). In the chronicles of *Ladakh* they are a class of ministers. The name of another tribe, that is *dGra*, reminds us of one of the most popular Gods of Tibet, *dGra lha* (sometimes wrongly spellt *dGra bla*): according to some texts (*Apology rNin ma pa*, p. 34) he is the *btsan* of *Žañ žuñ*.

We come to the same conclusion examining the legends concerning the origin of the four leading clans said to be descended from these six or four tribes. These four clans are:

Ye sañs dkar po, *Ye smon nag po*, *sPyan k'rig ye šes*: *Mon rdsu nag po* or according to the chronicles of the fifth *Dalai Lama* (p. 10): *Ye sañs dkar po gnam aju t'ag can*; *Ye smon nag mo k'ro c'ui p'a boñ adra ba*; *sPyan k'rig ye šes lhai sgron me*; *Mon rdsu nag po k'yi rña ljañ can*. There are reasons for assuming that this divisions into four clans, which recalls that of the Bon po gods into four *ru* "wings ,, had a sacral character.¹⁷⁾

We may surmise that these four tribes correspond to four different classes of priests, each class being specialised in a particular method of liturgy connected with certain categories of gods and therefore each exercising a special function. This suggestion is confirmed by two passages of the *gZer myig*; in the first four classes of Bonpo are enumerated: *sna mc'og pai bon*, *gyañ ldon bai bon*, *dmu t'ag dogs pai bon*, *žal srod pai bon*; in the second passage, when narrating the events of the marriage of the parents of *gSen rab*, it is said that the gods chanted *smom lam*, the *klu* did the *žal bsro*, the *dMu* plan ed the *dmu t'ag*, the *p'ya* made the *p'ya gyāñ*.¹⁸⁾

From these two passages it is clear that there existed four classes of Bon priests each related to a certain class of gods and implicitly specialized in the appropriate ritual.

Gods	actions of the Gods	Bon and their function
dMu	dMu t'ag dogs	dMu t'ag dogs pai bon "Bon planting the rope dMu ,,
Klu	Žal bsro	Žal srod pai bon ¹⁹⁾
P'ya	P'ya gyāñ	gYāñ ldon pai bon, fo- retelling future
Lha	sMon lam	sNa mc'og pai bon ²⁰⁾

This fourfold classification of Bonpo priesthood is confirmed by a passage of the *Gyal rabs* in which we read (p. 54 of my manuscript):

"*sPu de guñ rgyal* took possession of the kingdom and his minister was *Ru la skyes*. During the rule of this king and his minister, the Bon of the *gYun druñ* was originated. The teacher *gSen rab mi bo* was born in 'Ol moi luñ riñs in the country of the *sTag gzig*. The law of the Bon consisting of the eight *K'ams* was derived from the country *Žañ žuñ* and spread all over the country.

"There are nine kinds of Bon; four are concerned with people interested in the cause of realization, and five with those aiming at the results of the doctrine.²¹⁾ These last five are represented by the followers of the supreme vehicle of the *gYun druñ*. They desire to obtain a body in a happy heaven.

"The four kinds of persons practising that part of the doctrine which is the cause of realisation are:

- snañ gSen* who wear tufts of wool on their forehead.
- ap'ruñ gSen*, who wear coloured threads of wool.
- c'a gSen* (for *p'ya*, *p'ya gSen*), who cast lots with threads of different colours (*aju t'ag can*).
- dur gSen*, who have weapons.

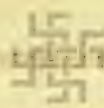
The first class summon good luck, pray to *Lha* and *sMan* causing prosperity and glory; they increase the wealth of men. The second class throw *mdos* and *yas*, erect temples (*srid*) and sacred symbols (*rten*) and expel calamities, present and future.

"The third class teach the path of what is good and what is bad and dismiss all sorts of doubts as regards being and not being, and destroy all sinful ideas.

"The fourth class expel all sorts of hindrances of the living and establish the cemetery for the *gSen*, subdue the infant-devils (*sri*), observe the stars in the sky, smash the *adre* upon earth.

"All of them used to beat the drum (*rña žan*): as regards power it was of the *sgruñ* and *lde'u* ,,

The classification of the *rGyal rabs* finds a parallel in a passage of the *bKa' t'añ yig*, in which, after giving the list of the nine Bon po vehicles (*t'eg*), the character of each is separately stated.



To confine ourselves to the four classes we are interested in, the data contained in the two books may be summed up as follows.

<i>bKa' t'an sde lha</i>		<i>rGyal rabs</i>	
name	function	name	function
p'ya gšen	<i>lto</i> , on which see what follows, and <i>dpyad</i> , the examination of signs	snañ gšen	p'ya and <i>gyañ</i> , prayers to Lha and sMan
snañ gšen	<i>gyer</i> , song ²²)	ap'rul gšen	<i>mdos</i> and <i>yas</i> ; they found <i>srid</i> and sacred objects. See what follows
ap'rul gšen	beings possessed by a god <i>sbas gas rham</i> (see S. CH. DAS, <i>rham bsas</i> , p. 389a) ²³)	p'ya gšen	<i>ju t'ig</i>
srid gšen	cemeteries and funeral rites	dur gšen	cemeteries

Barring some changes of names, although the function remains identical, as in the case of *srid gšen* and *dur gšen*, and a different order of the names within the list, the correspondence between the two lists is remarkable; but it is surprising that *p'ya* and *gyañ* should be attributed to *sNañ gšen* by the *rGyal rabs*, when we should expect to find these functions assigned to the *P'ya gšen*; thus the *bKa' t'an sde lha* seems more accurate when it describes the character of the *ap'rul gšen*, the beings possessed by a god, for such seems to be the meaning of *sbas gas rham*, the mysterious presence of a god, causing the person it is possessed of to become restless and to breathe heavily. In other words the *ap'rul gšen* is the real shaman, while the others have specified liturgical, sacred and exorcistic functions.

There is no doubt that a certain analogy exists between the classifications of the *gZer myig* and that of the *rGyal rabs*, although the two texts refer to different epochs.

This appears when we compare the two lists, but in an inverted sense; it will then be noticed that the first class of the *rGyal rabs* dealing with the Lha corresponds to the *sna mc'og pai bon* of the *gZer myig*. In the same way the functions of the second class correspond to those of the *gYañ ldon pai bon*.

But the analogy with the other two classes is not clear, for instance in the *rGyal rabs* there is no trace of the dMu t'ag *adogs pai Bon*; its place is occupied by the *ju t'ig*, attributed to the *p'ya gšen*, and *ju t'ig*, as Jäschke says, is "a way of drawing lots by threads of different colours,,". In short the dMu t'ag, with which we shall deal in greater detail further on, is replaced by the *ju t'ag*, *ju t'ig* (*ju t'ig* perhaps as a contamination with *t'ig*, the rope used to draw the mandala or to compose the *lto*, *mdos*). This rope was used in divination, and to judge from a passage

of the *bKa' sruñ ha sa ga rbbai sgrub t'abs šin tu bsgrub pa rnal qbyor pa rañ don rten qbröl nañ na rnams bzlog pa gdams bzab mo* (RC, p'i, p. 7 b) it was a sign of ill omen when the cord broke; hence the gods were invoked lest this should happen and lest evil signs should be announced (*aju t'ag c'ag zlog*). It therefore appears that in course of time the rope which united heaven and earth and led the deceased into the kingdom of dMu, with the help of the dMu clan's liturgies, was replaced by a divinatory cord.

It is difficult to say what this dMu t'ag originally was, but it is highly probable that its survival is to be found in the strips of cloth called *Ha pi zhi* used by the Nakhi and so well described by ROCK. They represent a "bridge for the soul to reach the realm of the gods," (ROCK, *Studies in the Nakhi literature*, BEFEO, vol. XXXVII, p. 41). The Bon pos have now a *Bardo t'os grol* containing the rituals and the prayers intended to guide the soul to an after-life of happiness. But this book, which is called *Zi k'ro bar do t'os grol* after the pattern of the famous "Tibetan book of the dead," does not contain any allusion to the dMu t'ag and strictly follows the *rNin ma ma pa* text, of which it evidently is a late imitation.

To sum up this lengthy discussion, the classification of the *rGyal rabs*, based on a fourfold division of the Bon priests, refers nevertheless to a stage of this religion more recent than the one alluded to in the *gZer myig*. It takes us back to a late epoch, when many of the ancient beliefs began to be forgotten and overcome by new ones (the *Grub t'ab legs bšad šel gyi me loñ*, ed. S. CH. DAS, JRASB, 1881, p. 190, only knows three classes of *aK'yar Bon*). As to the *sgruñ* and *lde*, they are apart (*rGyal pai bka' t'an*, p. 19 b, see GR, p. 150, l. 17, *sgruñ ldeu* [in the text, erroneously, *lieu*] *bon gsum* and *ibid.*, l. 10, *sgruñ ldeu bon gšen po c'e byuñ*); their office was political rather than religious (*c'ab srid*, says the *rGyal rabs* concerning them).

Naturally, the Bon po priestly class must have been divided into groups even more numerous. This is proved by a description of the Bon po sacrifice, made in honour of *K'ri sroñ lde btsan* and described in the *Jo mo gliñ gsum*, p. 62 ff. During these ceremonies deer and many other animals were sacrificed, and a group of nine Bon mk'as took part in the sacrifice: they stood in the middle of the place chosen for the sacrifice, having on their right and their left nine *mi mt'u c'en*, men possessing great strength. In front of them stood the *mc'od gyog*, executors of the sacrifice, grasping the *gri ri*, knife. Next the *K'ru bon*, with golden ladles (*gser skyogs*) brought water to wash the victims with (*ak'rus*). The *Žu bon* questioned and answered, i. e. probably sang, alternatively, songs explaining the purpose of the sacrifice and invoking the gods. At this point the *gSen bon* came forward, seized the animals by the horns and cut their throats. Next the *bSig bon* cut the victims to pieces, the *bSe bon* arranged their flesh for distribution; the *Gras bon* counted the pieces of flesh, filled up copper vessels with ladlefuls of blood, and placed them on the skins of the



slaughtered animals, while the flesh was placed on other skins. Then, as if possessed, they all cried out loudly.

Although the book from which this description of a Bon po sacrifice is taken is rather a late one, (see p. 258, n. 202), there seems to be no doubt that it preserves an ancient tradition, and anyhow it shows us the complexity of Bon po rites and the multiplicity of its priests.

The names of its four classes are as we saw, at the same time the names of mythical ancestors from which they pretended to be derived. (The case of Ye smon nag po is evident). They moreover contain a hint at the symbols by which their members were characterised as an indication of the deities supposed to be in relation with them and implicitly of their functions.

This is undoubtedly clear in the case of Ye sañs dkar po gnam gyi aju t'ag can "possessing the heavenly rope,,. They are evidently the same as the dMu t'ag adogs pa. The sMon nag mo K'ro c'ui p'a boñ adra ba "similar to a lump of melted bronze,, evidently claimed their descent from Ye smon rgyal po, who even in the genealogy of the P'ag mo gru pa is considered as the first king. As to K'ro c'ui p'a boñ, its being a weapon or a symbol is clearly shown by a legend to which exorcists even now refer in some ceremonies intended to control certain demons supposed to harass men. These ceremonies consist in ²⁴⁾ catching the offender, viz. his will or power, and imprisoning it in the horn of a yak, placed upon a Lha t'o. The exorcist evokes the fight which in the beginning of human civilization took place between Ye smon rgyal po and bDud rñam rje btsan po.

"bDud rñam rje btsan po resisted as an enemy against Srid pa Ye smon rgyal po (who ruled) in the beginning of human civilization. He rode a black fiendish horse with long cheeks. He headed a host of many jackals who followed him. He fought with the men of aDsam gliñ. This king Srid pa ye smon had as his teacher the Slob dpon dGu t'um and caught hold of the Lha rdo of bDud rje btsan po. He struck at him with the rdo rje k'ro c'u p'a boñ (a lump of melted bronze of in the shape a rdo rje) and hit his feet, arms and head. Then he bound him with an iron chain and put him inside the left horn of a yak and he placed the horn of the yak with the devil inside upside down, in a place where three roads meet,,. From this passage it is clear that the K'ro c'ui p'a boñ is a mythic weapon, or a symbol probably corresponding to the rdo rje of the Buddhist ritual.

In the *gŠen rab snañ par rgyal ba yid bžin nor bu rin po c'e*, p. 34, it is called *k'ro c'ui gyad rdo* "the giant stone of melted bronze,,; it is the weapon of one of the four deities presiding over time. It was a weapon made with the melted bronze of the K'ro c'u lake which, as we saw, was supposed to be in the celestial country where the dMu dwell. As to Sphyan k'rig ye šes lhai sgron me, "the divine lamp,, and to "Mon rdsu nag po k'yi rñia ljañ can,, "having the dog with green ears,, (or "the dog with green ears,, as an apposition of Mon rdsu nag po) nothing definite can be said, except that the wolf and the dog

play an important part in the old legends of Tibet. In the lists of Tibetan demons in fact frequent mention is made of the heavenly dog which is most probably a guardian of some heavens, as the heavenly wolf T'ien lang, guarding the entrance to the Palace of Shang ti in early Chinese cosmology.

3. ATTEMPTS AT CLASSIFYING EARLY GODS

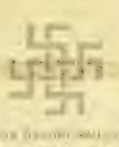
Little by little the four priestly clans above referred to lost their authority and came under the sway of other rulers. The chronological succession of the events as recorded in later literature is the result, so to say, of an official redaction, a combination of myths and traditions not only of various origin, but also peculiar to different tribes. This redaction was made when a certain unity of the Tibetan people was reached; the most prominent ancestral records of the leading clans contributed to this redaction with their ancient lore. The traditional accounts preserved in the genealogies of the nobility were then arranged in a new synthesis, in which the different strata were amalgamated so as to form an organic whole which claimed to be an authoritative story of the growth of Tibetan civilization. The *Ts'al pa deb dmar*, for instance, states that upon the descendants of the four ancestors born from the primeval monkey, gradually ruled the nine brothers Ma sañs, the 25 and 12 kinglets, *rgyal p'ran* (*koṭṭarāja*) the 40 *sil ma*. The nine brothers Ma sañs are: gNod sbyin, bDud, Srin po, Klu, bTsan, Lha, dMu, aDre, aGoñ po. ²⁵⁾

This is one of the many attempts of Tibetan learned circles at classifying the extremely rich pantheon of their people. Demons and gods were numberless, but since they generally possessed certain characters in common with others, they could easily be divided into classes and groups in which the entities of lesser individuality slowly disappeared. One of the lists which enjoyed a large popularity in later Buddhist theology was that which considered eight classes of gods. I mean the list of the eight *Lha srin sde brgyad*; it officially introduced into Buddhism a host of popular demons which the new religion did not succeed in cancelling from the experience of the people. The *Lha srin sde brgyad* are so enounced by Kloñ rdol bla ma complete works, *ya*, p. 12).

white	<i>lhai sde</i>
red	<i>btsan</i>
black	<i>bdud</i>
variegated	<i>gza'</i>
brown	<i>dmu</i>

<i>srin poi sde</i>	cannibals
<i>rgyal poi sde</i>	custodians of the treasure of the temples
<i>ma moi sde</i>	cause of diseases

This is the official Buddhist list, but the one contained in the *Deb dmar* seems more ancient; it is certainly of Bonpo origin, as even the number of its



components shows. Let us examine in detail these 9 classes of gods, which, we may presume, represent the most prominent classes of prebuddhistic divine entities.

1. GNOD SBYIN. These, as known, usually correspond in Lamaism to the Indian Yakṣas who certainly belong to the oldest religious lore of India. But all gNod sbyin are not necessarily Indian; in their class on the contrary many aboriginal demons are included, who appeared to the Tibetans as having the same character as the Yakṣas. They were equally harmful (hence their name), the cause of epidemics and diseases. They wanted bloody sacrifices. Like the Yakṣas they were turned into faithful guardians of the temples.

2. The BDUD, as stated above, are demons, though like the dMu originally located in the upper spheres: they can be obnoxious to men as regards places (*gnas*), body (*lus*) and action (*las*).

Their king resides in the black castle of the bDud, bDud mk'ar nag po. It has nine stories or pinnacles. He is surrounded by the bDud of water, C'u bdud, those in the shape of birds, Bya bdud, of fishes, Ña bDud, herbs, Tsa bdud and of stones, rDo bdud. In his retinue there are the four kings, the four sisters lCam mo, the Dregs, the Rol po, the four Ge ta, the seventy Rol mo, the guardians of the doors, sGo sruñs, the officers, Las mk'an. This king is called Mi byams pa k'rag mgo "the merciless with bloody face"; he has four sons and four daughters, Lus gcig mgo dgu "one body nine heads", bDud kyi rñab pa (for: rñabs pa = to stretch out the hand, to catch), Lag riñ (Lag riñ is also a gÑan who fought against gSen rab; see *sNan rgyud a dkar sems kyi me loñ* by Blo gros rgyal mts'an, pp. 5, 6, and ROCK, *op. cit.*, p. 49), T'an gyag btsan po, dGra bdud t'an po sler, T'iñ ril ma t'og ap'an ma, bDud za gser mgo ma, K'a lcam gdug pai dug mc'u ma. The vehicle of a special aspect of this king is the abrug k'yuñ, the k'yuñ of thunder. His weapon is *nad kyi k'ram žags* (the leash with knots causing diseases) and a *bka' zor* like a thunderbolt. Mounted on a white lion he went to the castle of the dMu (k'ro c'u dmu lug mk'ar) and he married dMu lcam mGrin sñoñ (blue neck), the daughter of the ruler of the dMu; from this marriage dMu bdud k'am pa ša zan was born, having a man's body and a dragon's head, out of whose mouth hail issues. It is evident that these demons are not chthonian forces, but rather hypostases of various aspects of the stormy sky, as their abode in the sky suggests. This king of the bDud made an egg called *k'ro c'u dbal* to emanate from a whirl wind and a gigantic iron bird was born: the skyuñ ka, with copper beak and copper claws, the enemy of the offenders of the Bon; he becomes the mount of the king of the bDud, of his four sons sitting on his right wing, of his four daughters sitting on the left wing, and so on. He was exorcised by gSen rab and was directed by this master to fly against the castle of the enemies of the Bon and to devour their men and their riches.

This skyuñ ku is evidently an aspect of the K'yun and represents the storm as a fiendish force

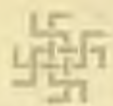
which, aptly employed by the magician, turns into a defender of the community. This shows that the bird K'yuñ is not only a solar symbol but also a symbol of the stormy cloud (*Dra ba nag poi bsgrub t'abs drag po gnam lcags t'ogs bebs*). In fact according to other texts the egg from which this bird comes out was created in the darkness of a cloud agitated by a storm: *rluñ sprin ak'rug pai mun rum na*; see *Gra ba* (for *Dra ba*) *bdud kyi bya nag dbañ rgyal gyis bskans mdos*, p. 21.

3. The SRIN PO are ogres. They correspond to the Indian Rākṣaṣa, though this equivalence is quite secondary and the result of the acquaintance by the Bonpos of Buddhist and generally Indian ideas.

4. The KLU will be dealt with later on.

5. BTSAN (and T'E) were some of the most powerful aboriginal deities of Tibet; though many of them disappeared after the spread of Buddhism, occasionally they survive, being included either in the class of the gNod sbyin or in that of the bsTan sruñ "protectors of the Law", whose chief duty, after their conversion to Buddhism, is to punish the offenders of the Buddhist Law. As a rule, they are located in the *bar snañ* viz. in the intermediate space: *bar snañ mi agyur dkyil ak'or nas btsan rigs* (*Ijañ gliñ*, p. 25). Their sphere coincides therefore with that of the gÑan; the only difference being that the bTsan are the most prominent of the gÑan, their rulers; this is confirmed by a statement of the legend of Ge sar: *gñan bdag btsan gyi sde ts'ogs* (*ibid.*, p. 28). They are innumerable; it is impossible to give a list of them; each place may be the abode of a bTsan: some attempts have been made at classifying them according to the place where they reside. So the *bTsan gyi mdos p'ran bklaḡ c'og tu bsdebs*, RC, p'i, p. 3, shows them divided into the following groups: gnam (sky) bTsan aP'ruñ bu; gañs (glaciers) bTsan Rum bu; nags (woods) bTsan rNam pa; Sul ri gya "ravine slates", (no name); klu bTsan drag po; *snañ aBar te Ag se se btsan*; brag (rocks) bTsan aBar rje, Tsa tsa ram ram, bTsan tiñ pa, Ye btsan rñam pa.

It is evident that the bTsan can hardly be distinguished from the gÑan. Anyhow, Klon rdol bla ma, in a treatise upon the bsTan sruñ ma (*bsTan sruñ dam can rgya mts'oi miñ grañs*, p. 14) gives the name of the few bTsan who prevailed over the others. One of them is: gTsañ gi U yug gre mon reputed by some Tibetan scholars to be the same as gTsañ bTsan rdor legs or Ko loñ gtsañ btsan. Then, gNod sbyin tsi'u, red; sKyid šod rdsoñ btsan; Sum riñ gri btsan; Kañ ka nag gi klu btsan; rTsa la t'og rgyug giñ btsan; He ña bod kyi rje btsan; sKu la žal gyi btsan. These are the so-called 7 bTsan rgod aBar ba. But according to other lists, the most important bTsan were dKar po spyang gcig; gZa' t'e, green; Bye ba guñ riñ; gNam t'e, white, Yam šud, red; T'e se, black; Le gu lag riñ. The characters of these last bTsan are different from those of the previous ones. Some of these seven deities betray an astrological aspect; such is the case for instance of T'e se, known, as we shall see, as the god of the year, gZa' t'e, the t'e of the planets, gNam t'e, t'e of the sky, but of course we cannot yet say that their number had any connection with the seven planets.



Be it as it may, we meet here a new class of gods, though later included among the bTsan, who are also alluded to in a passage of the *bKa' t'an sde lha*, upon which we shall come in another section of this paper, with the only difference that in the text *rñin ma pa* they are not seven, but nine.

We are here evidently confronted with another group of gods which, with a few exceptions, (for example *t'e se*), seem to have lost ground in the course of time, or to have been identified with the more popular gNan and bTsan so that it almost disappeared. But generally, as shown by many passages of the legend of Gesar, the T'e were located in the three regions of the universe: sky, intermediate space and underworld. When Sa t'am the king of lJañ is urged by his ancestral gods to wage war against Ge sar, gNam t'e white, Sa t'e black, and Bar t'e many-coloured appear to him in a dream. The first, as his name suggests, dwells in the sky, the second upon earth, the third in the intermediate space, (*lJañ gliñ*, p. 2); while the first and the third dwell in a palace among the clouds, shining in the case of the gNam t'e and black in the case of Bar t'e, Sa t'e came forth from the great ocean. Again (p. 34) we read: *yar mk'yen gnam t'e dkar po mk'yen: mar mk'yen sa t'e nag po mk'yen; bar mk'yen bar t'e k'ra bo mk'yen*. It is clear from such passages that these T'e are in these cases the supreme lords of the three spheres into which the universe is divided; this makes them the counterpart of the bTsan.

But under these supreme T'e, there were smaller deities: the T'eu rañ, which, in fact, the *bKa' t'an sde lha* mentions in the passage quoted above. The T'eu rañ resided in the lower spheres of heaven, in the atmosphere (*gNam lha dkar po man c'ad nas rgyal po t'eu rañ yan c'ad kyī/snañ srid lha adre* "the lha and adre of the atmosphere from the gNam lha dkar po down to the rGyal po t'eu rañ (may be satisfied with this sacrifice) (*Ri rab brtsegs mdos*, p. 15, published in RC, vol. p'i).

Their character is not defined, but they seem to have been above all inclined to do harm, like the gNan and the gZa' (planets): their action can particularly be exercised against life, causing premature death: *t'eu rañ ts'e la rku ba zlog*, this prayer is found in some texts (*rGyal mdos dkar po drug mdos kyī bca' t'abs mdun bskyed*, p. 14, RC, p'i). The PTY clearly states (TOUSSAINT, transl. p. 402) that they harm children.

The connection of the T'eu rañ referred to by the *bKa' t'an sde lha* with the atmosphere is also evidenced by the astrological character of their names and chiefly from their being the sons of sPu yul mo Guñ rgyal: Guñ rgyal is the god of heaven, gNam. gNam is distinct from the mT'o ris, the paradise or rather paradises in which the various gods dwell; nor should gNam be taken as a synonym of Nam mk'a', the space where the stars and planets are located. gNam like the Tängri of the Turks and of the Mongols is the God of heaven, 天神 as it is called in the *T'ang shu*, ch. 196: Heaven here, as with the Turks, indicates the deity as well as the highest celestial sphere, above all other planes and heavens and their very center (*guñ*). This celestial

god is also simply called gNam gyi guñ rgyal (*Klu qbum*, p. 103); probably his wife was A p'yi (the grandmother) gnam gyi guñ rgyal who by the fifth Dalai Lama (life of bSod nams rgya mts'o, p. 181) is identified with dPal ldan lha mo: her weapon is thunder; she therefore symbolizes the stormy sky.

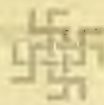
Along with these gods the Bon po knew of another goddess, of the sky: Nam mk'a' gyu mdog snañ srid mdsod: she is called *snañ srid mdsod* because she is the origin of the worlds: *snañ srid, ajig rten t'ams cad kyī abyūñ gnas* (see *sNāñ srid mdsod p'ags kyī gžūñ dāñ agrel pa ap'rul gyī sgron me*, p. 8). Her ornaments are sun, moon and stars; she is the cause of lightning, hailstorms, thunder and clouds.

The atmosphere is like a tent pitched upon the universe: "the wheel of the sky is a tent with eight ribs,, (*lJañ gliñ*, p. 7 and *passim*). The pole of this tent is mount Te se, Ti se, the equivalent of Sumeru. On the top there is a hole through which the summit of this mountain-pole passes. This is the centre of the higher plane of the atmosphere. It is a window (*dkar k'uiñ*) and a center, *guñ*.

This seems to imply that above heaven there is the infinite luminous space from which, through that very hole, sun moon and stars receive the light; this is probably the sPu yul.

Down below in the shape of a lotus there is the earth: while the sky in the vertical division of space corresponds to *steñ*, below earth is the underworld (*og*). The first realm is white, the last is black. The intermediate space, *bar*, is of many colours, *k'ra bo*, since it partakes of either nature. Each realm is divided into different planes: 13 planes for the sky and 9 for the underworld (*gnod byed dam sri t'ams cad ni rim dgu sa yi'og tu soñ* "all harmful Dam sri went below the 9 storeys of the earth,, *gSañ bdag dregs pa adud byed las ts'ogs dam sri glud mdos*, p. 18, RC, p'i. This intermediate space encircles the pole of the cosmic tent, viz. the *gyuñ druñ* mountain with nine superimposed planes: *ri gyuñ druñ dgu brtegs* (*gŠen rab rnam par rgyal ba yid bžin nor bu rin po c'e*, p. 2). This mountain is guarded by four custodians, similar to the four Lokapālas of the Buddhist cosmology presiding over a corresponding point of the compass: their names change according to the different strata of the legend: in some texts (*gŠen rab* etc.) these guardians ruling over the four directions (*p'yogs la mk'os pa*) are a tiger, a yak, a dragon, a k'yuñ (but in some texts the latter is on the top of the world: *snañ srid rtse la*; see *sNāñ srid mdsod p'ugs kyī gžūñ dāñ agrel pa*, etc., p. 9). In the nuptial songs of Ladakh as well as in the Gesar saga (western recension) these custodians are: Señ ge dkar mo gyu ral pa can, the white lioness with turquoise mane, Bya rgyal rgod po, the royal wild bird, probably the k'yuñ; rGya stag k'ra bo, the piebald Chinese tiger, Ņa mo gser mig, the fish with golden eyes (FRANCKE, *Hochzeitslieder*, p. 35). Then, under the influence of Chinese astrology these four guardians became definitely: a tiger, a dragon, a bird, a tortoise.

There was a tendency among certain classes of Bon to emphasize the importance of gNam, which



once so prevailed that these Bon were called gNam Bon (SP, p. 150, Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 11 b) as opposed to other sects; but it is difficult to say if we have to see here a chronological evolution of the religion itself, as the account of some Buddhist historians would make us to believe (SP, p. 150), or if we are confronted with contemporary and coexisting forms.

6. LHA. After the introduction of Buddhism the Lha have been assimilated with the Devas of Indian mythology: but this assimilation is of no help in unveiling the essential character of the gods which the Tibetans, before Buddhism, called by this name. Generally they seem to have been especially celestial beings, and more benevolent than other classes of demons: they are white as opposed to the black *bdud* (Klon rdol, *op. cit.*, p. 12); but this statement cannot be taken as having an absolute value: the two deities presiding over man's destiny and located upon the two shoulders, the right and the left, are in fact called Lha.

Many other spirits, which have nothing to do with the sky, are equally called Lha, but it cannot be excluded that this denomination was partly due to the influence of Buddhism and of Indian terminology, viz. that it came about through an analogy with the mythical types Buddhism had made known, both through the *devas* of Indian sources and through the *t'ien* 天 of Chinese translations and of popular experiences connected with them. A treatise (*dNos grub rgya mts'oi c'a lag bsañ brñan adod dgui rgya mts'o*, RC, pi, p. 18) gives a list, for instance, of the following Lha: P'rag lha, gods presiding over men's shoulders, their vehicle is a k'yuñ; Ma lha, mother's gods wearing an ornament set with gems; T'ab lha, god of the hearth (translated: 竈君 *tsao chiün*, the kitchen-god, in 四體合璧文鑑, chap. 19); K'yuñ lha on a white bull; Nor lha (Kubera); T'son lha, market-god; mGron lha, god of banquets; Lam lha, road-god; Zas lha, the god of food; P'yi lha, god of the outside; Nañ lha, god of inside; aGo lha (see S. CH. DAS, s. v.); P'o lha, dGra lha, Ma lha, Zañ lha (the Uncle), Srog lha (god of life). (*bSañs mc'od gnam sa snañ brgyad bdud rtsii sprin p'un dgos adod c'ar rgyan*, p. 3).

Nor are Lha so characteristic of the Bon and so dominating over other classes of gods as to give its name to the Bon religion. This was the opinion of Francke who considered Lha c'os as equivalent of Bon c'os. The expression Lha c'os is met, there is no doubt, in the *rGyal poi bk'a' t'añ*, p. 19 a, in the sense of Bon, but Lha c'os also indicates the bKa' gdams pa and their doctrines, as shown, for instance, by the following passage of SP, p. 198. *Lha ša kya t'ub, spyan ras gzigs, sgron ma, mi gyo ba bži dañ c'os sde snod gsum ste lha c'os bdun gyi bka' gdams goñ mai lugs bzañ*. Anyhow we may surmise that, in a general way, and with the exceptions and limitations referred to above, Lha are generally supposed to reside in the sky; they correspond to heavenly phaenomena: such is the case f. i. of T'og lha or T'og lha 'od can and T'og lcam 'ur mo. It is clear that the first is lightning itself; the second,

said to be his daughter, is thunder which accompanies lightning. In other cases, as in the Sa skya genealogy, Lha are deities of an indefinite character who descend from heaven upon earth as ancestors of certain clans.

In general we may state that celestial phaenomena had a great part in Bonpo mythology: besides the gods referred to above and the divine mother alluded to in the previous paragraph, we know that goddesses of clouds were worshipped: f. i. sPrin gyi lha mo, Na ro can (the roaring), Grags pa can (the noisy), C'ar pa can (the rainy), the four Nam nam (the goddess of day-break?), the five Lhañ lhañ, the eight lCe ts'ar, fourteen sPrin p'un (heaps of clouds), Glog gi sgron bkyag (lightning), aBrug gi lce rdeb (thunder), T'og gi mda' ap'en (thunderbolt), Ser bai sna k'rid (hailstorm). (*bSañs mc'od gnam sa snañ brgyad bdud rtsii sprin*, p. 4).

It is impossible at present to draw a distinction, if any ever existed, between Lha and gNam t'e. The Lha were certainly many, divided into many classes as many as the spheres of heaven, Bon po texts speaking, as a rule, of 13 celestial regions and therefore of as many groups of gods. Connected with Lha are the sMan. It is difficult to say what really was their nature: *sman* means either medicine or woman. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sMan were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed. This seems to be the view of R. Stein: but generally sMan may be a honorific form indicative of the feminine gender and applied to ladies. Studying the evolution of the Tibetan onomasticon we find different ways of addressing goddesses or the wives of the nobility: lcam, jo mo, ma gcig ma, abum, btsun mo. sMan had the same meaning. It is true that often, as in a passage of the *rGyal rabs* (p. 54) we read: *lha dañ sman*: "Gods and sMan", as if they were two separate classes of beings: but nothing prevents us from understanding "Lha and their wives viz. Lha mo",

So in the legend of Ge sar Ne ne is called Lha sman rgyal mo, while in the *gŠen rab rnam par rgyal ba yid bžin nor bu rin po c'e* reference is often made to the Klu sman and to eight sMan mo; these are the eight *klu mo* and are therefore also called *klu lcam*, pp. 194-195.

The equivalence of sMan and lCam is proved by another passage of the same text in which mention is made of the goddess of lightening T'og sman, also called T'og lcam (*ibid.*).

So sMan is the female of any class of gods or demons: there are Lha sman in which the heavenly character is predominant; they are goddesses of light; the most important of them is gNam sman dkar mo whose four emanations are: Lha dkar po, Lha sras rgyal, 'Od kyi lha mo mdañ ldan ma, 'Od kyi lha mo rab tu ts'im byed ma (*sNañ srid mdsod p'ugs ky' gžun dañ agrel pa* etc., p. 11). But, as I said, there are also eight Klu mo called the eight lcam mo, who are the younger sisters of the *klu*: they are also called mts'o sman (*ibid.*, p. 12; on mTs'o sman in the Gesar saga see STEIN, *Trente trois fiches*, p. 312). Sa sman



are also known: they are the same as the Sa bstan ma, i. e. sa brtan ma, goddesses of earth (*gNam sa snañ brgyad*, p. 16 b). But there was a separate class of sMan mo, perhaps identical with the Ma mo (*Klu mo, sman mo, dan klu sman. Klu abum*, p. 43).

In Lamaism they lost this character, as it happened with all Bon po deities, and were included in the group of the bsTan sruñ. (*Kloñ rdol, op. cit.*, p. 5. *bstan ma bcu gñis ni: bdud mo bži, gnod sbyin mo bži, sman mo bži dan bcu gñis*) or in that of the mK'a' agro ma "gtso mo yun drug man c'ad nas ajig rten dman mo (= sman mo) yan c'ad keyi mk'a' agro t'ams cad ma lus keyis bskoñ,, "All mK'a' agro ma, from gTso mo yun drug down to the dman mo of the world, be satisfied with this sacrifice,, (*Ri rab brtsegs mdos, RC, p'i, p. 15*). The fierce aspect which is then attributed to them is but the result of their originally being Bon po goddesses: we saw in fact that the harmful character is inherent in all sorts of primeval Bon po deities.

7. DMU; see above.

8. ADRE. These are spirits of malignant character. Five classes of them at least are known: a) Za adre (on which see WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 494, n. 4 and R. STEIN, *Trente-trois fiches de divination Tibétaine*, HJAS, p. 354); b) God adre, demons causing loss; c) gSed adre, executioners; d) C'u adre, who according to the printed edition of the story of Gesar, p. 13, are nine: c'u adre spun dgu; e) gSon adre said to cause material loss, to rob men of their wealth, (*Ner mk'oi gter p'ran man ñag be bum RC, p'i, p. 1*). All these demons are considered the cause of mortal diseases: they are in a certain sense the messengers of death: some of their names, as Za adre, C'u adre, seem to imply that they were supposed to be the cause of all sorts of troubles: if it was discovered that food (za) or water (c'u) were the origin of a particular disease harassing a person, it was thought that that food or that water had become harmful on account of the presence in them of a aDre; the latter was also named after the thing to which it imparted that obnoxious character. Everything harmful is a adre, is a partaker of a adre. So in the *gSañ bdag dregs pa adul byed las ts'ogs dam srii glud mdos* (RC, vol. p'i) it is written: "Dam srii abyun po and gSon adre began to run over Tibet: during the day they ran over the cemeteries, during the night they obstructed the vital air of all sorts of beings. Their shape was like that of a sorcerer. Their voice was like the voice of the animals of prey,,²⁶⁾

9. AGON ADRE are equally harmful, though it is difficult to specify in what way they differed from the adre.

This list is an attempt at a summary classification of the divine world; under its nine items entire classes and cycles of divine beings were recorded. The expression "divine beings,, is not exact; we are in fact confronted with vague forces and entities, of whose power and agency men are greatly afraid: some of them are well disposed, others prevalently malignant. But the danger is always impending that even a peaceful deity, on account of some involuntary distraction of the believer, turns harmful, because,

as a passage of the Ges 1 saga says (*lJan gliñ, p. 17*, quoted also by R. STEIN, *Trente-trois fiches*, p. 310 n.); *Lha yañ bdud rañ yin pas* "gods are also demons,,

Another classification of deities quite independent of Buddhist ideas divides gods and demons into three fundamental classes. gÑan, Sa bdag, Klu. This division is based upon the three regions of the world upon which they rule: viz. *snañ, bar, 'og*: the space above, the intermediate space and the underworld, already referred to.

I. GÑAN Generally it is said that the gÑan reside in the space above: the Sa bdag in the *bar snañ*, the Klu under the earth. But this demarcation is far from being so rigid.

As a matter of fact the gÑan have no fixed place; they are to be found everywhere, they dwell in the supreme spheres, in the intermediate space and upon earth. We read in the *Klu abum*, p. 38; "the foremost of the gÑan of the supreme sphere is sPar ba duñ mgo gyui t'or tsug; but it is not said that he does not stay in places other than heaven; sTeñ gñan white, gÑan of the sun, gÑan of the moon,²⁷⁾ gÑan of the stars, gÑan of the planets, gÑan of the rainbow, gÑan of the clouds, gÑan of mud, gÑan of the wind, and many others endless as space; on earth they stay in the intermediate space; they are endless as the sky, they dwell in the mountains, snowy mountains, in the rocks and slates, in trees, woods, in the soil, in waters,,. Moreover in the text published by Laufer the difference between gÑan, Sa bdag and Klu is chiefly based upon the difference of the elements, or objects in which they dwell. The tripartite division of the *Klu abum* is here forgotten: we find there Klu living in springs, Sa bdag in four kinds of earth and gÑan in stones and trees (LAUFER, p. 33). In the nuptial songs of Ladakh (n. XX) published by Francke, there are four classes of gÑan: gÑan of sun and moon in the blue zenith, gÑan of wind in high rocks, the hurting (mss. *ldab* or *brdabs*) gÑan, in the ocean, the roaring gÑan of running water. The *Klu abum* contains a list (p. 75 b) of gÑan which betrays its composite character and points therefore to a later date of compilation. It has certainly been arranged when Bon po had already been influenced by Buddhist ideas, as shown by such names as Ratnaketu, Keturatna, rTse lña (Pañcaśikha). Other gÑan are fictitious like those corresponding to the four elements. Their chief is sPar ba duñ mgo gyui t'or t'sugs.

Ra tna ke tu (gÑan rgyal po).

K'ra bo ru skyogs (gÑan rgyal po).

'U sdoñ dgras po (gÑan rgyal po).

Duñ lus mgo mañ (gÑan rgyal po).

Gon sñon (gÑan rje).

A adred de (gÑan rgyal po).

aBrug rgyal sman gcig (gÑan rgyal po).

Min po (three, five, fifteen brothers) (gÑan rgyal po).

Sriñ mo (three, five, fifteen sisters) (gÑan rgyal mo).

K'yuñ nag ral c'en (gÑan rgyal po).

Bya nag k'a sprod (gÑan rgyal po).

dBañ brgyad (gÑan rgyal po).



gZu bži (gñan rgyal po).
 rTse lña (gñan rgyal po).
 rTse gu (*sic, for dgu*) (gñan rgyal po).
 Mar rtin lham pa.
 rDo sñin rin pa.
 Grags can dar rgyal.
 T'og t'og ser spyān.
 Ña k'ri abyams sleb.
 K'a sbyan rgyal.
 Ya ts'a t'og abebs.
 Ke tu ra tna.
 sToñ dal c'en.
 K'ri rje srog gcod.
 rLuñ gñan north (green).
 C'u gñan west (red).
 Me gñan south (blue).
 Šin gñan east (white).
 Ñi gñan }
 Zla gñan } east
 gZa' gñan }
 sToñ gsum kun k'yab.
 gñam gñan white
 Bar gñan many-coloured C'u gñan mor ba
 Sa gñan yellow Gañs gñan
 Brag gñan žag pa gYa' gñan
 Sa gñan stoñ c'en Nags gñan

According to some texts (*bSañs mc'od gnam sa snan bgyad bdud rtsii sprin*, RC, pi, p. 3), there are four kinds of big gñan and 3000 of minor gñan.

Their principal classes are: gñam gñan (of the sky) gYu abrug; Gañs g. (of the snowy mountains) Duñ señ (the lion white as a conch-shell); mTs'o g. (of the lakes), lCoñ mo (the frog); Brag g. (of the rocks), gSer spreu (the golden monkey); Šin g. (of wood), gZi brjid (the resplendent); Lam g. (of the roads), gSer sbrul (the golden snake); 13 kinds of aBrog gñan, gñan rje Goñ sñon; Šar g. (of East) Byi ba stag rtse; Lho g. (of South) gYu rtse; Nub g. (of West) lCags rtse; Byañ g. (of North) gSer mgo; gñan rGan de pa; Ma sañs g.

The general character of the gñan is harmfulness. They are the cause of diseases: many of them are therefore called *nad kyi rgyal po*, *nad kyi rgyal mo* "kings or queens of diseases," (*bdud mo k'rag ral can gyi mdo*s, RC, p'i, p. 2). Their name is connected with *ñes pa*, "offence, evil," *non pa* ($n + ya\ tags = \tilde{n}$; for examples see LOERBER, *Morphology of the Tibetan language*, p. 123). But gñan is homophone with *gñen* "friend and helper,"; this fact permits the name gñan to be pronounced with no danger of evoking the spirit it designs.

II. SA BDAG. It is difficult to draw a distinction between the gñan and the Sa bdag, because while the place upon which the Sa bdag rule is the earth, the gñan, as we know, can dwell everywhere. The immateriality of the abode of the gñan suggested the idea that they can change their dwelling, or that they can easily shift from one place to another; on the contrary the Sa bdag are bound to that particular piece of soil over which they preside. Moreover while in the gñan the harmful and malignant aspect

predominates, the Sa bdag are rather indifferent, in the sense that they can equally be good or bad. They become dangerous only when offended or when a mistake has been committed in the performance of the liturgy intended to propitiate them. They have therefore the same character as the *Klu*. There is no place upon earth which is not presided over by them: they are the masters of the soil: man is therefore their subject: every human work is accomplished in their domain.

They rule over the mysterious connection which binds men to a special part of the soil, be it the village, the house or a part of the house. When one changes one's dwelling-place the propitiation of the new Sa bdag is the most important act to be performed: no work in the fields can be undertaken, no building begun without the consent of the Sa bdag of the place. It is therefore evident that these Sa bdag are numberless. Still, certain books like the *Klu abum* (p. 76 a), contain an attempt at enumerating the most important of them.

Four kings of the Sa bdag.

Four ministers (*blon*) of the kings of the Sa bdag.

rGod mjug the officer (*sa bdag gi sna*).

Lag c'en.

rTsañ rtsañ (*sa bdag gi rgyal po*) (LAUFER, *Sühngedichte*, p. 32).

Lha mo bstan ma (called *rgyal po*, but she is the goddess of earth).

rTsañ kun p'ye bo.

gSer gyi rus sbal.

Lo lha T'e se.

mDeu t'uñ ma (*sa bdag btsun mo*).

gTsañ kun (*sa bdag blon po*) (LAUFER, *ibid.*, rTsañ kur).

Hal k'yi nag po.

gñam k'ri brtan.

sToñ k'ri gtsug.

sToñ gsum kun k'yab.

Lus dños po med par lag pa p'yogs bžir rkyon pa.²⁸⁾

sToñ c'en k'yab pa.

sTag, tawney (Sa bdag of the East).

gYu abrug, blue (Sa bdag of South).

aP'ran, black (Sa bdag of West).

Bya, red (Sa bdag of North).

If we have to judge from this list it seems that some of these *Sa bdag* were something more than the *gži bdag* supposed to rule over a limited area, a rock, a ford, a mountain pass, the land where a village or a house are built. Though, nowadays, the word *Sa bdag* is generally taken in the sense of *gži bdag*, lord of a particular spot, the list of the *Klu abum* gives the *Sa bdag* a higher rank; in fact it includes among them some gods of Indian or Chinese origin, thus betraying its later age of compilation. In fact we meet here the cosmic tortoise *gser gyi rus sbal*, the T'e se, god of year, and rTsañ kun of which we shall speak later on: sToñ gsum k'yab seems to be imagined after the Tibetans became acquainted with Indian



cosmology (*trisāhasra-lokadhātu*); even Ts'añs pa = Brahmā is included among the Sa bdag (LAUFER, *Sühngedichte*, p. 32). In later times, after the victory of Buddhism, these great Sa bdag fell into oblivion or were given the rank of bTsan or gÑan: only the Sa bdag = gñi bdag remained.

III. The KLU do not present a great difficulty: their element is water: therefore they abide in springs, wells, rivers, oceans, but generally their home is the underworld. Like the Sa bdag they are generally indifferent: or rather some classes of them are good and others bad. One should know how to avoid their wrath and how to propitiate them. Since Buddhism gave a large part to *nāga* worship, through Buddhism a great many Indian ideas about *nāgas* crept into the Bon cult of the Klu. It is therefore not always easy to distinguish what is purely Tibetan and what is due to Buddhist influence.

Lamaism could not in fact dispense with the cult of those entities; they were so deeply rooted that any attempt at opposing them would prove ineffective; it would have been even unconceivable, since Buddhism could not disregard those powers in which people believed, to whose agency calamities befalling men and cattle were attributed and the control of whose will it was a duty of Lamaism to ensure; it therefore happened that, though belonging to religious ideas for which Lamaism had no sympathy and which on the contrary it fought, they became the object of a complicated liturgy.

The consequence was that these cycles of Sa bdag, gÑan and Klu were never closed in Lamaism. The cycle of Sa bdag and Klu is, in fact, always open to new recruits. It was enriched by continuous acquisitions according as Lamaism came in contact with other peoples, became aware of their religious experiences and tried to adapt them to its conceptions: in this way, prebuddhistic cults were given a garb of orthodoxy which allowed the maintenance of deities and demons who in fact had nothing in common with Buddhism or were even repugnant to it. We may consider here two interesting instances of this kind: first the introduction into the Sa bdag cycle of astronomical gods taken from China, secondly the acceptance of Mongolian deities when the Yellow Church spread in Mongolia after the conversion of Altan Khan by bSod nams rgya mts'o. When Chinese astrology entered Tibet, some Chinese astrological gods crept into the cycle of the Sa bdag and on the other hand many of the Sa bdag were given a place in the new astronomical scheme. This fact is clearly pointed out by the fifth Dalai Lama (see above p. 136) who states that Chinese astrology, introduced at the times of the Tibetan Kingdom, was chiefly concerned with the cult of Sa bdag. The pictorial representation of the cyclic evolution of time was in fact imagined in the figure of a tortoise, the golden tortoise (*gser gyi rus sba*), upon which the twelve animals and the 12 series of the five elements are located, as the symbol of the rotation of the sexagenary periods: along with the 12 animals and the elements,

a series of Sa bdag figures in this scheme, which is accepted by the learned treatises on astrology (f. i. the *Vai dūr ya dkar po*) and by their popular interpretations as well. The scheme in which the prominent elements are the tortoise and the king of the year, *t'e se*, can be summarized in the following table.

	N	
	Beu abyin yellow tortoise	
NW		NE
Drañ pai mi bo (hrad pai mi bo)		gSer ña bo
W		E
Hañ p'an red bird		T'e se tawny tiger
SW		SE
Grub sñen (lag pa can)		p'i liñ p'ar ma
	S	
	gTsañ kun blue dragon	

This scheme is taken from a booklet even nowadays much used by the popular rTsis pa or astrologers called also *dbon po* (but see also *Vai dūr ya dkar po*, p. 442, and *bSañs mc'od gnam sa snañ brgyad bdud rtsii sprin*, RC, pi, p. 3). This book which is contained in the mDo mañ (M. LALOU, *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain*, N. 149) bears the following title: *rgya nag skad du ar ya pa ra yañ rgyad rta. Bod skad du ap'ags pa gnam sa snañ brgyad ces bya ba t'eg pa c'en poi mdo.*²⁹⁾

It is apocryphal; the title was already discussed by LAUFER, *Tibetan loan words*, p. 428 ff. and by BANG, GABAIN and RACHMATI, *Türkische Turfantexte*, Berlin, SBAW, 1934, who came to the conclusion that *ārya* is evidently sanscrit *ārya*, *para* is a mistake for Chinese pa 八 eight and *yañ* for Chinese yang 陽. As to the contents, this booklet has nothing in common with the other text translated by HUTH and then from the Turkish by BANG and his collaborators. It contains (side by side with a purely Tibetan, more probably, prebuddhistic, list of gods) clear influences of China: In some cases this influence is quite evident; f. i. the list of the eight Pa kua. In other cases the Chinese origin of some astrological deities is less evident but equally certain. Let us begin with the four animals located in the four directions of the compass: tiger, dragon, bird, tortoise: these correspond to the green dragon, spring: red bird, summer; white tiger, autumn: black tortoise, winter (in the Turkish text: black snake) of Chinese folklore. The influence of Chinese astrology is clear: the k'yuñ or the yak of the aboriginal and older group of four celestial animals have disappeared. The position of the animals differs between the two texts: in the Turkish document we have: East-dragon, West-tiger,

South-bird, North-snake, but in our text the cycle begins with the tiger East and continues with the dragon South, as in the list of the Sa bdag (given above) etc. The names of the principal Sa bdag of the cycle seem to point to the same Chinese influence. We have a central deity, T'e se, which we have already met; but on eight points of the compass other beings are placed.

The astronomical character of T'e se is clearly shown by the designation of "god of the year," *lo lha t'e se* which appears not only in such a late book as the *Vai dūr ya dkar po* but also in the Bon po book *Klu abum dkar po* (p. 76 etc.). He cannot be dissociated from the 360 Gi k'od who represent the rotation of the 360 days of the lunar year round the axis of the world. That we must speak of 360 Gi k'od³⁰⁾ and not of one Gi k'od as Doctor Hoffman seems to believe, is proved not only by the verbal statement of a learned lama, Nam mk'a' ajig med rdo rje, a Bon po priest lately converted to the rDsogs c'en sect, whom I met twice in Tibet, but also by the fact that our sources often speak of a cycle of 360 gods: f. i. *P'yag len ltar gsañ snags spyi spuñs agro lugs zin ris k'a bskañ*, p. 5 a: *Ge k'od sum brgya drug bcu bsañ*, "be the 360 Ge k'od purified,". Then Kloñ rdol bla ma in his treatise on the bsTan sruñ (p. 14) refers to "the 360 mc'ed ak'or, the 360 brothers,". These 360 brothers can only be the 360 lunar days whose chief, Dam can rdo legs, was subdued by Padmasambhava PTY, chap. 90 (p. 245 of the transl. by Toussaint); (so also Francke, *Lower Ladakhi Version of the Gesar Saga*, Calcutta, 1905-1941, p. 489).

The fact that T'e se is the god of the year and that astrological gods are subordinate to him, points to his being himself an astronomical deity, and the center of a cycle. We cannot help thinking of Jupiter presiding over a cycle of 60 years in India, as well as in China: one might be even inclined to presume that there is a connection between T'e se and 太歲 *t'ai sui* "the great year," a name given to Jupiter ruling over the cycle of 60 years, but the existence in Tibetan mythology of T'e, t'eu rañ, as a well-defined class of gods, or of the Se, so common in Tibetan demonology, might suggest that T'e se was an aboriginal god upon which later astrological ideas, hailing from China, were grafted, with the result that he was identified with Jupiter. Subsequently T'e se, the god of the year, was identified with Te se, Ti se, Sumeru the cosmic mountain, since this also is the pole round which the rotation of the stars takes place (cfr. PTY transl. Toussaint, p. 247). As regards the other names of the Sa bdag represented on the wheel of Time, we are on a surer ground. Tsañ kun is Chinese 將軍 Chiang chün, the general, a name for 太白 Venus. Hañ pan is Chinese 黃幡 "the yellow banner," in which Bang proposes to see Saturn; according to the Chinese, the yellow colour in fact corresponds to Saturn. Beu abyin is Pei ch'ên 北辰 the North star. Of the same origin is another god Gap³¹⁾ referred to in the same book. Gap is Chinese 甲 or 大甲, according to SCHLEGEL, *Ouranographie*, p. 532, the "6 étoiles dans Céphée et la giraffe,"³²⁾

As to the second point, viz. the gradual increase of the cycle of the Sa bdag, in course of time, when Lamaism spread among provinces other than Central Tibet, some of the booklets employed by the exorcists and dealing with the worship of Sa bdag and gÑan clearly point to the easternmost parts of Tibet as the places of their written compilation; from that country therefore these cults were introduced into official Lamaism.

I refer, out of the many examples which I could quote, to the *Dam sri gyag ru dgra ajom*, of which mention has been made above. It teaches how to subdue malignant spirits and to imprison them in a yak-horn to be then placed upon those cairns frequently seen on the mountain passes. In this book the geographical area is evidently limited to K'ams: in fact in the East it locates rGya (nag), China, in the South lJañ, in the West Tibet, in the north Hor. K'ams is therefore the country where the liturgy connected with Sa bdag as expounded in that treatise was elaborated. To the same country we have to look for the original place of many local gods there referred to, even if a Lamaistic turn has been given to them by the half Buddhist, half Bon po compilers of this booklet.

Moreover, from a passage of PTY we desume that the T'eu rañ, often mentioned in the course of this work, were deities of Eastern Tibet, K'ams, where Padmasambhava, in his apostolic tour, forced them to embrace Buddhism (PTY, chap. LX, Toussaint's translation, p. 406).

When bSod nams rgya mts'o advised Altan Khan to give up many of the traditional shamanic beliefs of the Mongols, he realized that an uncompromising repudiation of the ancient gods of the Mongols would have greatly hampered the diffusion of Buddhism: he therefore opened the doors of Lamaism to the most important shamanic gods and allowed them to enrich the class of the gÑan and Sa bdag.

A good example of this process is afforded by a liturgic book written by the third Pañ c'en lama of Tashilunpo Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye šes, which boldly includes shamanic gods in the scheme of Lamaistic orthodoxy: *Yul lha gži bdag-ak'uñs sogs la mc'od gtor abul ts'ul gyi skor ba*. Though this work seems to be a general treatise upon the *gži bdag* dealing with some of the most famous Tibetan entities of this class, such as T'añ lha, it is clear that its chief purpose is to ratify the acceptance of the shamanic deities in the lamaist Pantheon. Even worship is influenced by shamanism: kumis for instance, peculiar to the Mongol libations, is reserved for these gods: it is called: *rta mc'og 'o mai cañ* or *rta c'añ*:

Bloody sacrifices (*ža dmar*), an evident survival of early cults, are tolerated (p. 26).

It is also interesting that among the offerings are included the *spyān zigs* which, as we know, are the stuffed skins of animals suspended in the mGon k'añ of the Tibetan temples and which remind us of a similar practice of the Turco-Mongol tribes.

These *gži bdag* include the largest variety of local gods: *Hal bai yul gyi yul lha kun*, p. 8; and even



Gengis khan, the glory of the Mongols, is included among them: *gnam gyi še moñ btsan po yis/dbañ bsgyur stobs ldan ciñ k'ir sogs/yul lha gži bdag ma lus pa/gnas adir spyān adren gšegs su gsol*, p. 27.

4. RITES INTENDED TO SAVE FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE SA BDAG

The obnoxious character of these Sa bdag and gÑan implies a series of practices and prayers intended to appease them: there is no act in life, no work in the fields, no building of a house, no fording of a river which potentially may not result in an offence, even involuntary, to the Sa bdag and gÑan.

These beliefs are a survival of the prelogical conception of primitive Tibetans which attributed disease, death and the various accidents of life to the agency of mysterious forces, connected with special classes of demons.

Since they are everywhere, potentially there always exists for men the impending danger of incurring their wrath. Civilisation, as related in the stories of the *Klu abum*, is nothing but a continual offence to the Sa bdag and gÑan: and therefore it implies the knowledge of appropriate rites intended to appease them.

In former times, we read for instance in that work (p. 39 a), when Srid rgyal bu r'en ge po took possession of earth and was invested by Ye mk'yen with power over the country, there were reasons of enmity and struggle.

"When stones in which gÑan had their abode were quarried in order to make pillars and build castles, there was strife with the gTod, lords of stones: when trees in which gÑan had their abode were cut down with the hatchet, there was strife with the gÑan, lords of the trees. When the sickle cut the branches of the fruit-trees in which the gÑan had their abode and those branches were placed upon the roofs of the huts, there was strife with the gZed, the lords of the fruit-trees. When in order to build castles the hoe dug up the earth where gÑan had their abode, there was strife with the spirits of the soil and of the earth (*ts'on*).

"When the hair of the black wild yaks, the Sa bdag, was cut in order to make tents, there was strife against the Sa bdag, who are the four guardians of the door. When upon earth the pure surface was delimited wherein to erect sacred buildings (*me btsa'*) or when the earth was bled (in order to make fountains or irrigation works), there was enmity (with those spirits). When those pure surfaces wherein to erect sacred buildings were delimited, viz. when mc'od rten, temples (lit.: castles for the gSas), tombs (*mnan pa*) were built, there was enmity with the Klu, the gÑan and the Sa bdag. When the earth is bled, viz. a pond is dug up in order to draw water, enmity is caused; when water is collected in a ditch and it is led into the canals for irrigation, enmity is caused with the same spirits.,,

Even to-day the exorcists ask the Sa bdag to forgive the offences committed by men against them in their daily works; the sins whose remittance is invoked are almost the same as those spoken of in the passage of *Klu abum* translated above (cfr. *Sa bdag bšag abum*).

The wrath of these spirits must then be placated by having recourse to appropriate prayers, regular offerings, exorcisms, immolation of victims, dedication of scape-goats and so on. These ideas gave birth to a vast literature, largely apocryphal and very often said to have come from China. I refer here to a few of these treatises still very popular in Tibet: they are generally employed by the *ñags pa*, *rtsis pa*, *dbon po*, exorcists or astrologers.

1. *U rgyan pad mas mdsad pai lha mo brgyad kyī ts'es grañs rtags pa*.

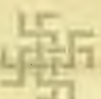
2. *qP'ags pa aJam dpal gyi gsuñ pai lto nag mts'an mai dgra zor*.

3. *Ma moi mdos*.

To these texts the small treatise published by LAUFER, *Sühngedichte der Bon po* should be added, since it belongs to the same kind of liturgical literature.

From these booklets it appears that the two chief ways of diverting the danger caused by these gÑan and Sa bdag and generally by all obnoxious forces are the *mdos* and the *lto*: though the pronunciation of the two words is almost similar, they refer to two different things. Sometimes, instead of *lto*, the form *gto* is used (for instance S. CH. DAS, JRASB, 1881, p. 194, l. 11). Another similar rite is the one called *yas* (the same related by S. CH. DAS, p. 190, l. 3, *ya stag*) which we have already seen to be the special occupation of some particular Bon priests. The *mdos* are sufficiently known: a description of them can be found in WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 464.³³⁾ (Cfr. also STEIN, *Trente-trois fiches de divination*, p. 318; a picture of them is seen in FRANCKE, *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*, fig. 14; RIBBACH, *Droga Namgyal*, p. 161). As regards the *lto*, a word which is not found in our dictionaries, the fact that some texts, as for instance the *Lha mo brgyad kyī ts'es grañs*,³⁴⁾ refer to *mdos* and *ltos* separately, shows that they are quite different, as can be seen from the following table.

Days in which the goddess is obnoxious	Name of the goddess	Way to avert the danger	
		<i>mdos</i>	<i>lto</i>
1, 9, 17, 25	'Od zer ma	<i>btsan mdos, lha gsol, rnam aJam, rgyal mdos</i>	<i>ñar glud gtsañ</i> or black sheep to the North
2, 10, 18, 26	bsTan ma	<i>rgyal mdos</i>	<i>ñar glud</i> black sorrounded by <i>at'eb kyu</i> : ³⁵⁾ the image of a stag or of a sheep on which one's own clothes and shoes must be hung is thrown in a place where four roads meet
3, 11, 19, 27	dKar bsal ma	<i>rgyal mdos</i>	<i>5 ñar glud, 5 c'an bu</i> : ³⁶⁾ 5 <i>at'eb skyu</i> with urine of the deceased person thrown in a place where four roads meet



Days in which the goddess is obnoxious	Name of the goddess	Way to avert the danger	
		<i>mdos</i>	<i>lto</i>
4, 12, 20, 28	gDois ldan ma	<i>rgyal mdos</i>	<i>nar glud</i> on which one's own clothes and shoes have been hung
5, 13, 21, 29	C'ar ap'ebbs ma	—	Applying black stripes upon a black sheep, this must be carried towards the South
6, 14, 22	gYo byed ma	—	Image of a bullock to which one's own clothes and shoes must be appended; making the image of a horse of the cyclic year (<i>lo rta</i>), it should be led to a place when four roads meet
7, 15, 23	'Od c'añ ma	(<i>nar glud</i>) of the same number as one's own years must be offered to the bTsan	Image of an ass on which one's own food must be hung and then thrown towards the South
8, 16, 24 full moon	sKyon byed ma	<i>rgyal mdos</i>	Image of a bullock, etc., to be thrown towards the South

It is clear that a *lto* is an exorcism meant to avoid an impending calamity or to remove a disease which has befallen a man. Occasionally it may be a mere formula and in that case the *mantra* is called a *lto*. But generally it denotes a complicated ceremony whose essential character however is to be a *glud*, viz. a substitution by means of which the calamity or the disease is transferred into some other things, in other words, a ransom paid to the obnoxious demons and accomplished by substituting something else for one's own self. This something else is called *nar glud*: the expression is not found in the dictionaries. S. Ch. Das under *nar* registers *nar glud* but he gives it, probably erroneously, the meaning of: hoarseness and phlegm. But the comparison of the passages where this expression occurs leaves no doubt as to its real meaning. This *nar glud* is in the shape of a man (*mi glud*), the man who wants to get rid of that dangerous influence himself. Logic here gives may to magic: that image becomes a mediator between the diseased person and the Sa bdag supposed to be the cause of his illness. During the ceremony the image assumes a personality: it becomes the *nar mi*, *nar mi bo c'e*, "the ransom man,". He comes to ask for the *glud* (ransom): and this is given him according to his request; not the very things he wants but their symbols, which according to the magic mentality amounts to the same end. In place of the diseased person twenty-one small images of him made of barley flour and butter are offered and placed upon the *nar glud*. His requests are in this way satisfied: and then the *lto*, as it is now called, can be taken over by the Sa bdag of the various quarters: they are compelled to do so because, if they refuse, their head or their body, by the curse of aJam dpal splits into small pieces.

The *lto* therefore does not consist in a mere *gtor ma*, but in a ceremony which in some cases turns into a short dramatic performance where a dialogue takes place between the exorcist, *lto mk'an*, and the *nar mi*; this implies that an assistant of the exorcist impersonates the *nar mi* and replies for him. This ceremony is described in some manuals, as for instance in the *Ban bon snags pa la sogs pa p'a rol kyī bod stod byad k'a p'ur k'a bzlog pai lto* (mss. sto) attributed to Pad ma abyūñ gnas.³⁷⁾

But in former times a *lto* as practised by the Bon pos could also consist in the transfer of the impending calamity from one man to another man as his substitute. The demons wanted their victim, and the ability of the exorcist consisted in substituting the man in danger with some other person who might be one of his relatives or anybody else. An instance of this kind is recorded in the DT and is attributed to a Bon po priest hailing from Bru ža, viz. from Gilgit. DT, *ñā*, p. 75 a:

There was in bSam yas thus the story runs a prince called Ži ba 'od, whose son fell ill: an exorcist from Bru ža was then called who employing his mother as a *lto* caused him to escape the impending danger. Six years later the boy was sick again and then the exorcist said that the only way to save him was to employ as a *lto* a famous monk the spyan sna Grags pa abyūñ gnas. When he came, the *lto* was carefully prepared by the Bon po, but it proved unsuccessful and the exorcist as well as the prince of bSam yas died.

5. GREAT VARIETY OF GODS AND DEMONS

To sum up this investigation of the various attempts of the Tibetans at enclosing in some frames the fluctuating world of their religious intuitions, it appears that these classifications do not cover at all the great variety of spirits, ghosts, demons, gods in which Tibetans believed. The character of these beings was in many cases so vague that it was very difficult to establish a demarcation between them.

They were equally supposed to possess some mysterious powers on account of which they were able to interfere with the life of men and to influence the course of nature. They were generally malignant, inclined to do harm; the most important element connected with their cult was therefore an expiation or a ransom.

Even the place where they were supposed to dwell is not enough to establish a clear distinction between the various classes of gods: for lack of individuality these divine groups tended to blend together. This explains how, little by little, many categories of spirits came under the general designation of Sa bdag or gÑan. But there is evidence enough to surmise that originally there was a far greater variety of spirits, gods, demons, than these lists of eight, nine or three groups could make us imagine.



Here are some other classes of demons, record of which is made in the Bon po literature or in the manuals of the exorcists.³⁸⁾

aByun po: they certainly are the same as the *bbūta* of Indian mythology.

Gri po and *gri mo* male and female, probably supposed to kill by means of a *gri*, a knife, or to be armed with that weapon.

Sri: they were of various classes; we know for instance male and female *sri*: *p'o sri* and *mo sri*; also *c'un sri*, viz. those who cause the diseases of children: the baby killed by them, in so far as it is identified with the *sri* itself, is called *sri'u*. *P'un sri* is the *sri* abiding in the stones heaped up on a tomb: *Dur sri* is generally the *sri* living in the cemetery; *ñ sri* causes death. *Dam sri* is of a dubious character (cfr. STEIN, *Trente-trois fiches de divination*, p. 331 and foll.). There were also *sri* of animals: a *rta sri* f. i. is known (*Klu bsañs bla sel c'en mo dan klu t'eb s p'an yon bcas*, p. 4).

Then we know that the *gZed* were a special class of *gÑan* dwelling in the fruit-trees, while the *gÑan* presiding over stones were called *gTod*.

But be it as it may, the conclusion seems to derive from this excursus on Tibetan demonology, that the gods about whom we hear in some Tibetan works as being the leading gods of the Bon po are far from belonging to the primitive strata of Bon po religion. Such are for instance those alluded to by S. CH. DAS in *Journal of Buddhist Texts Society*, 1893, part III: the five *Lha mo gZi brjid mt'a' yas ma*, *aGra dbyaṅs mdañs ldan* etc., the five *Lha c'en po*, the five *gSen rab* and so on and those referred to by me when explaining *tanka n. 120*. There is hardly any doubt that these deities were given a shape after the Bon religion had greatly been influenced by triumphing over Buddhism and are therefore far less interesting for getting a glimpse of the primitive religious ideas of Tibet than the demons and gods referred to above.

The Bon po religion underwent a long evolution; its original shamanic ideas and rites, which were floating and vague and did not represent a homogeneous unity, but had infinite local varieties according to the different tribes, were first given a dogmatic elaboration by a *gSen rab* of *Žaṅ žuñ gSen rab mi bo c'e*, which is a title not a personal name, just like *muni* in Buddhism.

His was probably an attempt at codifying the religious and magic lore of the Bon po in a written corpus. Later, when Buddhism definitely triumphed and its philosophical superiority was generally acknowledged, many Buddhist ideas crept into Bon po. The authors of the new changes of the Bon were two *gter ston* who, anticipating that in future the Bon po religion would spread, gave a Buddhist shape to the Bon (*c'os bon du sgyur ba yin*; *Apology rÑin ma pa*, p. 48). One of them was *Ku sa sman pa*, a contemporary of *Mi la ras pa* (*ibid.*). Another *gTer ston*, who discovered new Bon po texts and evidently with the same purpose, was *Bon po Lha abum* (*ibid.*) recorded also by PTY (p. 377, transl. Toussaint) who is supposed to have divulged many *gter ma*

concerning medicine, astrology, Buddhism and Bon. This does not mean that all Bon po texts were handled in that way; many certainly go back to the ancient times, though it is very likely that they were revised so as to satisfy the new spiritual situation. Many Bon po books, just like the *gTer mas* of *rÑin pa ma pa*, are said to have been buried in the times of *K'ri sroñ lde btsan*, when this king definitely accepted Buddhism. On that occasion some great Bon po teachers as *gSen Drañ pa nam mk'a'* were exiled to the frontier, but the Bon po specialised in expelling impending calamities (*ajig rten ap'ral rkyen zlog*) buried the books of the nine vehicles. The story goes that after seven royal generations they were discovered by three *ācāryas* near *bSam yas* and then sold to *Bru ža gSen Šes rab 'od*, *aDar Ša kya mu ne* and *'O mati byaṅ c'ub* who thought that those books were Buddhist. Two of these masters then recognized them as Bon po and threw them away; but *aDar* elaborated them and handed them over to his descendant *gZa' skyur*. In this way the *aDar* bon school originated, which branched off in four sections named after their founders: *K'ra ts'aṅ abrug bla*, *sNe byed ne gu*, *Tsaṅ* and *Na ro bon c'un* the contemporary of *Milaraspa* (*Apology*, p. 57).³⁹⁾

These things are here told to show once more the complexity of the Bon po problem and to bring in a few new data which may give some hints to future research.

6. EARLY GODS AND MOUNTAINS

The *bTsan* deserve special mention among the primitive gods of Tibet. We saw that they are said to be lords of the *gÑan*: somehow or other they prevailed over the infinite number of *gÑan*. Their preminence in the world of spirits brought as a consequence their prominence in the consideration of men. They appear in fact as tribal gods. They were deities located in a particular place, generally a mountain, in some cases a whole country, over which they were considered to preside. The *bTsan* was the all powerful spirit under whose sway other demons and entities were supposed to be. He therefore was the patron of the ethnical groups living in that very country: he was a ruler, the spiritual ruler over a district and its inhabitants. This means that there is a connection between *bTsan* (*gÑan bdag*, as we saw) and *bTsan po* (or *bTsad po*), the title given to the first rulers of Tibet; the *bTsan po* (*p'o*), king, was the reflection upon earth of the divine *bTsan*, his representative in the human world, the mediator between him and his subjects. That explains why in the titles of the kings of Tibet the elements *bTsan* and *ldeu*, a name peculiar to a class of Bon po (see p. 715), are always met with.

The story of the favours bestowed by *K'ri sroñ lde btsan* upon Buddhism and the building of *bSam yas* have therefore a wider implication. The king, i. e. the intermediary between the country and the *bTsan*, the controller of the forces ruling all-powerful, though

unseen, upon Tibet, having accepted Buddhism, the country remained helpless against those demons; this is one of the chief reasons of the hostility which Buddhism found in its beginnings. This is also the reason why there was strife between the old and the new religion; the aboriginal deities overran Tibet with all sorts of diseases and epidemics. It was therefore necessary first of all to placate the national demons and this is hinted at by the *rñin pa ma* legend which tells us the real *digvi jaya*, the triumph of Padmasambhava over the local demons. This meant that the country had changed its patrons; Buddha took the place of the bTsan, but the ruler equally remained the intermediary between his people and the new religious world. That is why bSam yas was built; it was built as a cosmos, with its four great continents, *gliñ bži*, and its minor continents, *gliñ p'ran*, it was surrounded by a *lcags ri*, the *cakravāla*, as in that projection of the universe which is the *maṇḍala*. It was a new world substituted for the old one; it was a rebuilding of the universe which did not exclude, but contained as subordinates, the ancient gods. It centered round the king who was newly invested by a baptism with water miraculously procured by Padmasambhava.

The localization of the bTsan is clearly shown by the names of some of them and by certain survivals which Buddhism could not completely cancel. We saw that some of the most famous bTsan are connected with certain parts of Tibet.

The twelve bTsan sruñ ma referred to above and who inherited the characters of the bTsan were equally supposed to be the patrons of twelve partitions of Tibet. They were local deities so deeply rooted in the religious experience of the Tibetans that they survived the decline of Bon. In spite of the variety in names and iconographic aspect, they have many characters in common, so as to appear as different forms of the same fundamental intuition; as it happened in India with the manifestations of the Great Mother, Durgā, Kālī, Āmbā, etc., these Tibetan goddesses are generally considered to be different aspects of dPal ldan lha mo, the Tibetan form of Kālī. Like this goddess they are supposed to appear in two different aspects one peaceful and the other wrathful. Their list according to Kloñ rdol (*op. cit.*, p. 5 b) is:

rDo rje kun grags nam mk'a' p'yug mo localized in gNam mts'o p'yug mo in the North;
 rDo rje gya' ma skyoñ localized in Lha ri in Southern Tibet;
 rDo rje Kun bzañ localized in La p'yi gañs kyī ra va;
 rDo rje bgegs kyī gtso bo localized in Yar abrog mts'o;
 rDo rje spyān gcig ma localized in Lha p'u gañs ri;
 K'a rag k'yuñ btsun localized in Jo mo k'a rag (between dBus and gTsañ);
 rDo rje klu mo localized in Byañ stod and dMar mts'o;
 rDo rje drag mo rgyal localized in rMar ri byams or rMa ri c'en spom ra;⁴⁰⁾
 Koñ btsun de mo rdo rje, Bod k'ams skyoñ, localized in Bres na ri gdoñ in Koñ;⁴¹⁾

bTsan rol pai rdo rje sMan gcig ma in gÑal lo ro;
 sMan btsun rdo rje gyar mo sil localized in Jo moñs rgyal in gTsañ stod;
 rDo rje gyū sgron ma localized in K'ams gyū ri.⁴¹⁾

The same localization is found for the first kings of Tibet, divided, as known, into different classes. Leaving aside the *sTeñ*, let us consider the seven K'ri and the six Legs. The official lists of these have been studied by dr. L. Petech,⁴²⁾ but it is now necessary to examine them in the light of the Bon po traditions.⁴³⁾ These, though considering the two lists separately, include K'ri and Legs in a whole class, probably in order to reach the sacred number 13. The seven K'ri of the orthodox tradition of the *rGyal rabs* are the seven celestial kings of the Bon po (*gnam skos lha*), while the six Legs are said to be the six kings ruling on earth, (*sa la dbañ po*). These kings are connected with special localities of Tibet as shown by the following correspondence:

gnam skos gña k'ri btsad po	} descended upon Lha	
" " t'in " " "		ri rgyan t'og in Koñ
" " mi " " "		po
gnam skos so k'ri btsad po	} descended upon Po	
" " bya " " "		la ri of Lhasa
gnam skos lde k'ri btsad po	} descended upon Šam	
" " gri gum " " "		po la in Yar kluñs

These seven kings are therefore divided into three groups, each one of which descended upon a particular region or, to be more exact, a mountain. Some of these mountains are known to us from other legends: Šam po la is the same where gÑa t'o t'o ri descended (or gŠen rab according to the *rGyal rabs* was born); so is Lha ri sacred to the bsTan sruñ ma rDo rje gya' ma skyoñ.

In the same way 'O de guñ rgyal (see below, p. 733) evidently the same as 'O de spu rgyal, the god who descended from heaven upon earth is said in the same sources to be the *gži bdag* of Ñan po 'ol pa. Another text identifies him with Yar lha šam po, the mountain near Yar kluñs (*dÑos grub rgya mts'o c'a lag bsañ brñan qdod dgui rgya mts'o*, RC, pi, p. 6). This means that there is a very strict relation between this god considered as the forefather of the Tibetan kings and the mountain where his terrestrial epiphany took place. He never lost his original character of a *gži bdag*.

It is interesting to note in this connection that though the mountains in the region of Gyantse (*Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 53) are now considered to be holy places of Buddhism, their original character of sacred places of the Bon po is proved not only by their number (they are thirteen), but also by some of their names and by the tradition according to which Padmasambhava was the author of this change; it means therefore that even in this part of Tibet, local records have been inspired by the theme, so common in the legend of Padmasambhava, of the subjugation by this exorcist of the Bon po deities, mostly demons, ruling over mountains.



These stories are preserved in the PTY, to whose translation by Toussaint we may refer (p. 244 ff.). Their fundamental traits should here be recollected and compared with other redactions of the same legend. Near the Don la in Mañ yul the goddess dGra lha Mu tsa med of Žaṅ žuṅ tries to kill Padmasambhava;⁴⁴⁾ changing therefore her body into two mountains she tries to squeeze the Indian magician between their rocks, but the exorcisms of the guru subdue her and she is converted to Buddhism and assumes the name of Gaṅs kyi yum c'en rdo rje gyu bun ma. In gNam t'añ in Byaṅ the goddess gNam sman dkar mo hits Padmasambhava with lightning, then she flies in the dPal mo dpal mts'o (RIBBACH, *dpal mo dan dpal*); but this lake is dried up by Padmasambhava, the ogress looses an eye and her flesh is eaten up by a magic fire. She is converted to Buddhism and assumes the name of Ša med gaṅs dkar rdo rje spyang cig ma.

Near 'U yug the brTan mas try to press him under the mountains, but these remain motionless on account of the exorcisms of Padmasambhava. The rocks of 'U yug are rolled down upon him, but he send them up again to their original place; then all slates (*gya' ri*), the rocky mountains, the snowy mountains, all places where the brTan ma dwell are destroyed; at the end the 12 brTan ma, the 12 sKyon ma, the 12 Gya' ma were subdued and became the bKa' sruñ ma.

In 'U yug bye ma rdsoñ, rDo rje legs with his 360 brothers came to meet him; in lCe pu Šam po luñ and in Yar lha Šam po that demon turned into a white yak, huge as a mountain, emitting flames and lightning from his mouth; then he changed his body into that of a boy with a white ribbon and was subdued. The image of gNan c'en t'añ lha described by STEIN, *art. cit.*, p. 305, is on a mountain.

These deities are therefore generally connected with mountains, being either the mountain itself or the spirit dwelling in it. This shows the sacred character which mountains had in the prebuddhist religion of Tibet; in their inaccessible rocks, in the shining solitude of their snowy peaks unapproachable entities were supposed to reside. The mountain was therefore a place where sacrifices were rendered to the god, who in many cases was the ancestor or the patron of a clan dwelling in the district. The ancestor of P'ag mo gru pa, as we saw, ascended the mountain sacred to a gNan po and offered a sacrifice to the god abiding there. The sacrifice is concluded with the theophany of the spirit in a rainbow of light; this sacrifice was celebrated in the first month of the year. Though it is attributed to a mystic ancestor, it is evident that the legend was inspired by a usual practice of the clan, shifting to the distant past a normal feast of the religious calendar of the P'ag mo gru pa.

Though the archaeological exploration of Tibet is still in its very infancy, from the few facts noticed by travellers it appears that on the mountain passes there exist occasionally megalithic monuments of evident sacral character. Some interesting examples

have been recorded by G. ROERICH.⁴⁵⁾ I also noticed traces of them in the Kanzam la on the border of Spiti⁴⁶⁾ and on the top of a mountain towering over the road from Doptra to Saskya. Megalithic monuments, usually called *rdo riis*, are occasionally found in other places: one of them was photographed by me in Doptra (rDo k'ra in south western gTsañ) another one is the center of a great festival yearly celebrated at Po⁴⁷⁾ in Bashahr state bordering Tibet. In this case the ritual known to us through the songs which are chanted during the festival (*dGra lha glu*) shows that the surface enclosed within a circle of stones with the monolith in the center is the symbol of cosmos and that the ceremony is intended to assure a regular course of the season.

"On the top of the eastern mountain, the king mountain,
there are sun, moon and stars.
May the sun not be covered by a storm,
may the moon not be caught by the eclipse,
may the stars not vanish!,,,

There is hardly any doubt that the *lha t'o*s usually seen on the mountain passes and to which flags are appended by travellers are connected with this primitive cult of the local deity now turned into a Buddhist Sa bdag. The prayer still recited after having placed a stone upon the *lha t'o*, when the pass is crossed, refers to a Lha: *lha so so lha rgyal lo*.

After so many centuries of Buddhist rule things have not changed very much: the only difference is that the mountains are now said to be ruled over or to be the abode of a Buddhist god or of a Sa bdag converted into a faithful bsTan sruñ. The Gurla Mandhata in Western Tibet is considered to be the paradise of gSañ ba adus pa (Guhyasamāja); the Kailāsa, on the other hand, is the heavenly palace of bDe mc'og (Śaṃvara); the Jomolhari is presided over by a goddess called Jo mo, a form of dPal ldan lha mo.

So when Buddhism triumphed, these primitive deities did not disappear: some remained as the ancestors of the nobility, as for instance in the case of the family of Yar klun or of the P'ag mo gru pa. Others turned into Buddhist gods and by an ideal conversion were given the charge of protecting the temples or of presiding over the sanctity of vows. The example of Padmasambhava was followed by other saints of Tibet whose prominent work consisted in the conversion of the aboriginal deities. Their biography relates in detail how they subdued these aboriginal gods, thus showing that the struggle between the old and the new religion lasted for a long time and that the aboriginal cults had a great vitality. This struggle was often very hard and the contending parties, the Bon and the Buddhists, vied with each other in magic and thaumaturgy. The fight between Padmasambhava and Pe kar was the model upon which other legends were exemplified and, as it happened in this case, the story gave birth to poetical narrations, which are real attempts at epic

literature. I may quote the conversion of Brañ k'a by Atiśa, of sKar c'uñ rgyal po by the bKa' brgyurd pa master sKyer sgañ pa from Šaṅs, of Ka rgyal by Rin c'en bzañ po, of T'añ lha by Šab kyī ba ra pa nag po of Ko brag pa.

7. THE ORIGIN OF MANKIND AND SOME IRANIAN INFLUENCES

Let us now come back to the origin of mankind and to the stories of the early peopling of Tibet according to the Tibetan tradition.

While the Buddhist official texts speak of the descent of the Tibetan people from the primeval monkey, other legends trace out the origin of celestial and human beings from Ye smon rgyal po (whom we met) born in his turn from the cosmic egg. In this way they linked together very complicated genealogies which have been summarized by the fifth Dalai Lama in a passage of his chronicles and by SP in the following way:

dBañ ldan;
sKyes gcig;
the three brothers of the human generation (*mi rabs mc'ed gsum*);
the four brothers: mGur lha;
the six classes of Yab lha; from the four wives of 'O de guñ rgyal, the youngest of these gods, the following gods derived:

35 brothers

from Lha mo: 8 lha c'en (including their father 9)	from gÑan mo: 9 gÑan	from rMu mo: 9 rMu	from Klu bza': 8 Klu
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from the youngest of these 35 brothers, sNe k'rom lag k'ra, La k'a rgyal po was born. He married Lun k'a hril mo; mT'in gi was born: he married Lha lcam dkar mo; Bod ajoṅs was born (in SP po erroneously Por ajod): he married rMu bza' mT'in bsgri; she bore: rGya k'ri lo žaṅ (SP la zan); the three royal brothers and their descendents and K'ri rje gñan t'añ. The latter's son was A mi mu ji k'ri do: he married

gÑan bza' ša mig three sons	rMu bza' one son	Srin bza' two sons
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in all six sons are born to him; they are called Bod miu gdon drug, the six ancestors from whom eighteen clans derived.

In this catalogue there is no mention of the six tribes as being descended from the monkey: the monkey is here ignored. We are confronted with a different cycle definitely Bon po. The six tribes in this list are given as the result of a long evolution in which, without apparent logic, we see human beings

alternate with gods or demons; the Mi rabs mc'ed gsum for instance come first and are followed by the mGur lha. In this genealogy which is a theogony as well, are also included well known legends like that recording the origin of the kings of Yar kluṅs, as narrated in the orthodox chronicles. According to these chronicles the ancestor of the princes who were to become the rulers of Tibet, is 'O de guñ rgyal; but he forms with his sons a group of nine entities (*srid pa c'ags pai lha dgu*):

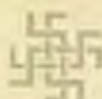
Yar kluṅs yar lha šam po	Še u mk'a' ri
Byaṅ gi gñan c'en t'añ lha	sKyi šod žog lha p'yug po
rGa stod jo bo agyog c'en	gNod sbyin gañ ba bzañ po
Šar gyi rma c'en spom ra	—
Jo bo gyul rgyal	—

(*bsTan sruñ ma dam can rgya mts'or miñ grañs*, p. 14 b). So 'O de guñ rgyal, who already appears in the Lhasa edicts as the ancestor of the Tibetan kings, is in fact a god, the prominent god of a whole cycle, from whom the Yar kluṅs princes as well as the P'ag mo gru pa claimed their descent.

Moreover we notice the same fact above stated: these nine gods are connected with particular places: the sacred mountain Yar kluṅs šam po the birthplace of the dynasty, Byaṅ the northern planes, sPom ra in K'ams, Seu mk'a' ri also in the eastern part of Tibet, sKyiḍ šod near Lhasa; gNod sbyin gañs bzañ was also located in a mountain between dBus and gTsañ (*Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 48).

These 9 Lha c'en cannot be separated from the 4 mGur lha with which they form a group of 13 deities; the four mGur lha being: Jo bo mc'im lha, Jo bo nes sum, Jo bo gya' span and Jo bo lha bcas. Beside these gods the twelve sDe dpon sbas kyī srog are named, that is the chiefs of the various armies of demons and gods.⁴⁸⁾ There is no trace of the later attempt at dividing gods into three different categories: kings, queens and ministers, as it certainly happened after the establishment of the dynasty. At that time, perhaps under Chinese influence, the divine world was imagined after the pattern of the human. This was the case of the T'e se and his court; the same happened with the gods connected with bSam yas: five gods: Pe dkar, Mon bu pu ṭa, dGra lha skyes gcig, (see preceding genealogy), brGya sbyin rgyal po, gNod sbyin šin bya can; five *yum* mo: bDud mo ro laṅs, mDses byed, Pad ma skyes, Šan ti ro zan, gSer gyi spu gri ma, bDud bza' smin dkar; five ministers (*blon po*): Bya k'ri mig gcig, rDo rje grags ldan, Srog bdag bka' yi bya ra ba, Bya rgod T'añ nag, Pu tra nag po (*ibid.*, p. 13).⁴⁹⁾

Other stories concerning the origin of mankind certainly show foreign influences other than Indian. We read for instance in that work (p. 106): "In the beginning, existence did not exist; there was nothing which could be perceived as existent and there was no appearance of which one could say that it was or that it was not. From that principle a man was miraculously



born: he called himself, the master of the existence (*Srid pai bdag po*) *Yañ dag rgyal po*. He became the master of all things; neither the revolution of sun and moon nor the rotation of seasons were yet known; there were no houses, no huts, no bad influence caused by demons infested the earth; diseases were unknown, there were no colours, day and night were not yet distinguished. Suddenly two lights were born, one was white and the other black: they were not greater than a grain of sesame. From these two lights two men came out: a black man from the black light and a white man from the white light. The black man was armed with a spear and he was the master of non-being, of non-eternity, of killing and of destruction; his name was *Myal ba nag po* "the black pain". He caused the noxious influences to abide in the constellations, he created the demons, he was the cause that the rain does not fall in its proper time, he made lightning and thunder and with them all sorts of calamities caused by fire, wind, water, and the 84,000 kinds of diseases; he inspired hatred which moves man against man. Then the sickle cut the herbs, the hatchet cut the trees down, gods knew unbelief and the mischief done by the *āDre*, the *Srin*, the *āByur* the *gDon*. He caused sudden death and harvest was destroyed by winds; horses, yaks, cattle were killed by the epidemics which he created.

"The white man was born from the white light; he called himself *sNañ srid sems can yod par dga' bai bdag po* (in *Žañ žuñ* language: 'Od zer ldan; in the *Sum pa* language: *sNañ srid gsol abyor*; in that of Tibet the country of *sPu rgyal*: *Yod par dga' bai srid pai bdag po*). He mitigated the heat of the sun, gave the moon the brightness of its light and regulated the revolution of the seasons. He taught men the path of virtue and advised them to build temples, to copy the sacred texts, to make bridges and roads, to respect masters etc. Gods were then honoured again, *āDre*, *Srin*, *āByur*, *Lha ma yin* were subjugated. Epidemics of cattle disappeared together with the diseases of men: trees were not cut down."⁵⁰⁾

The importance of this legend is clear. It has nothing to do with India: the parallelism with Iranian ideas concerning the creation of the god of evil and of the good god is so evident that we need not dwell upon it. The principle of evil is anterior to the good one, as in the mazdaic tradition; both spirits are also derived from a being anterior to them, as in the zervanic conceptions.

8. THE FIRST KING OF TIBET

Let us now pass to the origin of kingship in Tibet: in this case the relation with India is more evident. Of course many a tradition spoke of a first king as being the first man, like *Ye mk'yen rgyal po*, *Ye smon rgyal po*, *sPu rgyal* of whom mention has been made.

But with the diffusion of Buddhism another legend spread among the Tibetans and connected the

origin of kingship and civilization in Tibet with India. Since this story gave higher prestige to the Tibetans, it enjoyed great popularity and little by little superseded more ancient and aboriginal myths. It is therefore not surprising to find it even in the orthodox literature of the Bon. That the legend was of Indian origin is proved by the fact that it is contained in an Indian book, the commentary upon the *Devātīśayastotra* by Prajñāvarman (*bs Tod, ka*, p. 52). Buston took the same story from that text. The legend goes back to the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas fought in Kurukṣetra. The king Rūpati fled from the battle with a part of his army and disguised as a woman took shelter in Tibet. In Buston and in other historical works⁵¹⁾ this legend is opposed to the Tibetan tradition (*Bod kyi gnam rgyud*) of the descent of the Tibetans from the monkey. This story of Rūpati with all probability is a learned attempt at connecting Tibet with India after the contacts with Indian civilization had increased; it was certainly patronized by the Indian pandits. The lamas who concocted the genealogies of the early kings of Tibet inserted in the old lists, composed under Bon po influences, the mention of an Indian ancestor in order to substitute for the native 'O de guñ rgyal an Indian prince. But in spite of their efforts, 'O de guñ rgyal was not completely cancelled from historical records.

As to the person of this Indian ancestor different theories were held by the Tibetan historians. Some of them stated that he was the fifth son⁵²⁾ of Prasenajit; others the fifth son of the younger son of Bimbisāra; others the son of Udayana king of Vatsala.

In the chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama (p. 10 b) he is said to be the son of dMag brgya (*Śātānika SP*, p. 149: dMag rgya pa ac'ar byed, Udayana). Since the boy was ugly, his father afraid lest the prophecy of the astrologers turn true, put him in a basket which he threw into the river; but the boy was saved by some shepherds. When he was grown up, he crossed the Himalaya and came to the country of Yar klun. The Bon pos seeing this newcomer thought that he was descended from heaven and saluted him as their king. He was gña k'ri btsan po, the ancestor of the kings of Tibet.

This legend survives in the Bon po tradition which tells that Pāṇḍu and his wife Kāṣṇā having no sons offered a sacrifice to heaven according to the advice of an ascetic. A son was then born to them of very ugly aspect: he had the mark of the svastika on his ears, the eyes of a bird, hands like those of the goose. His father was ashamed of him and shut him in a box and threw it into the Ganges. But he was rescued by the inhabitants of Vaiśālī. Once, when he was grown up, hearing that Duḥśāsa, who meanwhile had ascended the throne after the death of his father, was approaching with a great army, he fled into Tibet, where, in accordance with an ancient prophecy, he was elected king.⁵³⁾ This legend belongs evidently to a later period of the Bon religion, when, after many contacts with Indian culture, it had been influenced by Indian lore, in the same way as the ritual was greatly affected by



the Buddhist and Hindu *pūjā*. The Bon po legend of the Indian origin of the king gÑa k'ri btsan po, which betrays a knowledge of the Mahābhārata cycle, is parallel to the Buddhist tradition; the only difference being that the ancestor of the royal family is no longer a descendant from a family in a certain way connected with Buddhism, or much spoken of in Buddhist legends, but a hero of the Indian epics anterior to Śākyamuni. But either redaction of the legend, the Buddhist as well as the Bonpo, is an encroachment upon the aboriginal story; in it gÑa k'ri btsan po has no connection whatever with India, but descends from heaven, quite in keeping with the usual scheme of the genealogies of other families equally boasting a divine ancestor. In the *bKa' t'añ sde lñ* very important references are contained to the first king of Tibet. These references having recourse to the well known Buddhist theory of the double meaning, the literal and the esoteric, clearly betray the two different elements of the story, the aboriginal kernel and the subsequent, Buddhist loans; according to this book there is in fact a triple account concerning gÑa k'ri btsan po, the one Buddhist or esoteric (born from a king) the other commonly accepted or exoteric (*sgrags*), and corresponding to the Bon po theories (*Bon lugs*; born from a Lha) and a third extremely secret (born from the T'eu brañ). According to the last tradition gÑa k'ri btsan po descended from heaven and is therefore called gNam lha babs "he who came down from the heavenly gods,". He resided in the fifth celestial plane gNam sa rim pa lña.⁵⁴ From the fifth celestial plane gÑa k'ri btsan po descended upon earth invited by the Tibetan kinglets (*rgyal p'ran*) who were harassed by the four kings of the four parts of the world: China, India, sTa gzig and Ge sar. This is therefore a theophany provoked by the prayers of the oppressed; but upon this story the theme is added of the redemption of the world overcome by darkness and sin, frequently met also in Bon po hagiography and chiefly in the legend of gŠen rab who came upon earth to spread the teaching of the svastika and to expell sin.

KT, ca, p. 7: "sPu yul mo btsun Guñ rgyal gave birth to the 9 T'eu brañ. The youngest was U pe ra; from the latter he was born. It is difficult to tell the heavy task he undertook. gÑa k'ri btsan po was the son of K'ri rgyal and of Dri dMu tri btsan. He was born in a day of full moon (*ñā*) and was therefore also called Ña k'ri btsan po. At that time Tibet was ruled over by some kinglets and could not resist to the great kings of the four points. Two clever men among the three Žaṅ, the four ministers (*blon*), the six clans of male subjects (*yab abāis*) went to search for a lord. But rJe skar ma yol sde said: "There is a divine son called gÑa k'ri btsan po who dwells in the fifth storey of heaven."⁵⁵ He is the chief of the dMu and therefore invite him to come,".

"gÑa k'ri btsan po said that (in Tibet) there were six causes of fear: fear of theft, fear of hatred, fear of enemies, fear of yaks, fear of poison, fear of curses. But rTsibs lha skar ma yol sde said: "Against theft there are reprisals, against hatred love, against enemies

expedients, against yaks weapons, against poisons medical herbs, against curses means by which one can be freed,". Then (gÑa k'ri btsan po) came upon earth with the ten things of the dMu,".⁵⁶

The same story is narrated in another chapter (*rGyal po bka' t'añ*, p. 18) of the same work: "In Tibet, the mountainous country of the nine peaks, before sPur rgyal, there were six kinds of princes: first of all the country was possessed by the black ogre gNod sbyin nag po; the country was then called the country of the demon (bDud) k'a rag mgo dgu; it was characterized by the gÑan po and bTsan. Then it was possessed by demons, bDud, and by witches Srin mo, and was called the country of the gods and of the witches; it was characterized by the cannibal demons, Ša za, the red gDoñ. Then it was possessed by the Klu and bTsan and was called Bod, the country of the nine parts (*gliñ*); it was characterized by a white child who walks upon the water (*dkar bu c'u la spyod pa*). Then it was possessed by the nine brothers Ma sañs and was called Bod k'ams gya' drug; it was characterized by the origin of arrows, spears and weapons. Then it was possessed by the six Za ram skyes and was called the country of the 18 chiliarchies; it was characterized by the art of riding horses and by wearing earrings. Then it was possessed by the 12 kinglets and was called the eight Sva ka. It was characterized by the art of greeting and uttering honorific expressions. Then it was possessed by sPur rgyal rgyal po and was called the country of the four wings (*ru bži*). That bTsan po of Tibet 'O de spur rgyal came down from the heavenly sphere as a master of men. From the hand of Ts'añs pa derived the nine T'en celestial gods, viz. the T'en of heaven, the T'en of clouds, the T'en of rain, the nine T'en; it was characterized by the four brothers, the sons of Val val. One of these princes was the father of the six bDal. From them the seven sons, seven excellent brothers, were born; one of them, Bar lha offended his brother, the seventh, and his wife; therefore he was sent into exile by those two in the country of sKor Bon Žaṅ po. This is the genealogy of the Srid lha up to the time when gÑa k'ri, the son of dMu bzas (gza') lDa me btsun and gSos pa was born,".

"This prince gÑa k'ri btsan po came into Tibet in order to benefit the black-haired people and all sorts of beings. While he was in Dog he procreated the sons of the royal lineage: the seven gods on heaven, the six Legs upon earth, the seven Sil ma and the five bTsan po,".

To sum up gÑa k'ri btsan po is called in these legends dMu yi dbaṅ po, the lord of the dMu. He resided in the fifth heaven from whence he descended upon earth accepting the invitation of sKar ma yol sde and taking with him the ten things of the dMu.

As regards the first king of Tibet there are therefore many traditions; some of them are aboriginal, others betray an Indian origin and are naturally later than the spread of Buddhism. No universal agreement as regards the first ruler was reached in national records;



this chiefly depends on the fact that the leading tribes or families had each their own ancestor whom they could not forget and therefore, when political unity was reached, different persons were considered as being identical, as various aspects of the same entity; others did not find a place to be inserted in. The primeval king in the Lhasa inscription (cfr. DT, *ñā*, p. 108 *a-b*) is 'O lde spur rgyal; this is the same as 'O de spur rgyal who according to the *rGyal po bka' t'añ*, p. 18, descended from heaven upon earth and became the lord of men. Evidently he is the same as 'O de guñ rgyal mentioned above. The chronicles of Ladakh place as first ancestor sPu rgyal who is evidently the same person. On the other hand the fifth Dalai Lama as well as the *Šā kya rñams kyi rgyal rabs* begin their list with Ña k'ri btsan po and the fifth Dalai lama states that 'Od lde is the same (*don gcig*) as Ña k'ri btsan po. On the other hand sPu guñ rgyal is by the same author identified with Bya k'ri which is implicitly the opinion of the author of the *Šā kya rñams kyi rgyal rabs rigs* since he knows a single *ldeñ* (for the usual *steñ*), while Ladakh chronicles and Buston distinguish between them. This sPu rgyal can hardly be separated from sPu yul mo btsun guñ rgyal whom we already met and is probably related, so far as his entity is concerned, with gNam gyi guñ rgyal the heavenly space. As regards this name I think that sPu is the same as *p'u* viz. the upper part i. e. of the sphere of existence.

It therefore corresponds to *guñ*, this being the middle, but the middle, as we saw, of the cosmic tent, viz. the top of existence.

9. THE HEAVENLY ROPE AND THE ROYAL TOMBS

This descent from heaven upon earth whence gÑa k'ri btsan po was called gNam lha bab is accomplished by means of the rope rMu t'ag or the ladder rMu skas.⁵⁷⁾ This was the normal communication between earth and heaven and the means by which the deceased of the nobility, kings and notables ascended to heaven. That is why the old kings of Tibet were called *at'en ba* (see S. CH. DAS s. v.) though the name *at'en ba* appears as that of a special class of gods.

It is therefore evident that there is a certain similarity between these Tibetan ideas and those of the early Chinese who also thought that there was a bridge between sky and earth (see MASPERO, *Légendes mythologiques*, JA, 1924, p. 94) and those of the black Tai tai (*ibid.*, p. 95); it is worthy of notice that also in Gilgit, viz. in a country where Bon flourished for a long time, the story of a golden chain linking heaven and earth has been handed down up to modern times, in spite of the conversion of the country to Islam.⁵⁸⁾

As the link between earth and heaven in the ancient Chinese cosmology was cut by Chung li, so also in Tibet the rope or ladder joining the two worlds was once cut in some way and then the two worlds were definitely separated. As to the reason why it was

cut, there were different legends; according to the *bKa' t'añ sde lha* (*k'a, rGyal poi bka' t'añ*, p. 19) the king sToñ ri stoñ btsan married two wives rMu bza'⁵⁹⁾ and Klu bza' and therefore there was a struggle between the king and his subjects; then the rope between heaven and earth was cut and tombs were built. This story seems to imply a struggle between two religious currents.

But according to the *rGyal rabs gsal bai me loñ* (p. 52) the story runs quite differently. King Gri gum btsan po (in *Šā kya rñams kyi rgyal rabs*: K'ri gum) - it says - was possessed by a gDon: he then proposed to his minister Loñ ñam (fifth Dalai Lama, p. 111 *b* Lo ñam), custodian of horses, to fight with him. The latter obeyed and the day was fixed for the duel. The king sent to his minister his faithful dog in order to know what were his intentions, and the minister, in order to deceive his master, said that if the king wanted to kill him, Loñ ñam, he should have tied a black turban on his head, placed a mirror on his forehead, hung the corpse of a fox on his right shoulder and that of a mouse on the left, whirled his sword, placed a bag full of dust on a red bull. Next morning, which was the day of the fight, the king did so: the bag broke and the eyes of the king were blinded by dust. On account of the impurity caused by the two corpses placed on his shoulders, the two gods presiding over him, the dGra lha and the P'o lha, disappeared and thus blindly whirling his sword the king cut the dMu t'ag, while the minister aimed with an arrow at the mirror upon his forehead. Gri gum btsan was killed and the heavenly rope was cut.

This story certainly has a meaning; most probably it has preserved the record of a solar myth and of a popular feast akin to those of ancient China in which an image or rather a man was hit with arrows in order to bring down the sun, possibly at the end of winter. The symbolic value of the mirror placed on the forehead and of the black bandage is so evident that it need not be emphasized.

But according to other stories the rope was cut as a result of the jealousy of a husband; so we read in the genealogy of the family of gYü t'og, the famous physician of king K'ri sroñ lde btsan. This genealogy shows a blending of ancient Bon po traditions with legends of Indian origin, which, following the example of the kings of Yar klun, the nobility introduced in their family records. But Indian influences were not able to cancel out completely the primitive strata of the legend.

In a country - so runs the story - called Pad ma sñiñ po, corresponding to the lotus in the middle of the nine lotuses forming the surface of India, a *devaputra* called Dam t'og descended upon earth. He was seen by the wife of a shepherd who, admiring his beauty, fell in love with him and had from him two children: rDo rje t'og abebs and Ses rab gyi ral gri. Once, when they were grown up, she left her sons to look after the cattle and went to pay a visit to her lover in heaven by means of the *rmu t'ag*. She spent seven days there and on coming down she brought

to her sons two golden vases. This she often did, but once her husband got jealous and cut the rope. The lineage of that god spread over India and later on, in order to fulfil its mission, it came into Tibet.

The blending of aboriginal legends with the new Indian element is not very clever; not only one perceives that the rMu t'ag has nothing to do with India, but the names of the god and of one of his sons point to the old Tibetan deity of lightning: t'og.

This rope was a kind of umbelical cord, perhaps the rainbow, as SP himself admits, stating that one ascended to heaven by becoming *gja' lus*, that is assuming a body like the rainbow.

Anyhow, as already stated, the cutting of the rope implies not only a revolution in religious ideas, most probably a sect being superseded in prestige by another, but also a change in the disposal of the dead in the aristocracy. The story of the cutting of the rmu t'ag coincides in fact with the first erection of royal tombs.

Formerly before Gri grum btsan po, the kings pulling the rmu t'ag dwindled away in the sky like a rainbow and their tombs were stated to be in the sky; they assumed a celestial body leaving no corpse upon earth. But after Gri grum btsan funeral customs changed and tombs were built (*rGyal rabs*, p. 52).

A description of these royal tombs is contained in some ancient documents, abstracts of which are preserved in later works, such as the *rGyal rabs* and the *gTam gyi ts'ogs t'eg pai rgya mts'o* (p. 124 foll.). This text relates: "According to the *Yig ts'an rñin pa*, when Sron btsan sgam po died:

In the middle of the tomb they made a round hole; they placed the body of the C'os rgyal on mud to which silk and paper were joined; Then, carrying the corpse on a carriage, they deposited the body inside the tomb with accompaniment of music;

the hole inside was then filled with riches of every kind

and on the four sides walls were erected „⁶⁰¹

The same facts are narrated with greater particulars by the *dKar c'ag* (of bSam yas) attributed to the minister mGar; it is there said that the tombs of the seven K'ri were in the sky, where they dwindled away like a rainbow, leaving no corpse. The tombs of the two sTeñ were in the abysses and in pitchers; of the six Legs near slabs of slate; of the eight lDe in the rivers.

The last eight kings erected the tombs in the country itself. Sometimes, as in the case of the tomb of aBron gnan sde, record is found of three living servants being placed inside the tomb itself: that tomb was therefore called gSon bcad ldem po (the tumulus where living beings had been killed).

These tombs are said to be made according to the rMu lugs, the system of the rMu, which proves again our surmise that the rMu were a class of priests or a clan claiming to be connected with the gods of the dead; they were therefore in charge of funeral ritual.

If it were necessary we could also quote a passage of the PTY (Toussaint transl., pp. 311-312) from

which it appears that the Bon as stated above (p. 715) were specialised in building tombs.

So also the fifth Dalai lama: "all the seven gNam gyi k'ri dwindled away in the sky with the help of Mu t'ag and therefore there were no tombs... When Gri grum cut the rMu t'ag the corpse was put in a copper box (*gau*) with iron nails; then they threw it in the water, but the river Koñ swelled up (*rlag tu byuñ ba*) and the *c'u srin* Bye ma lag riñ took it and offered it to the Jo mo; then he took (the corpse) out of that box and built a tomb in Dar t'añ in P'yin yul. This was the beginning of the construction of the tombs. At the time of the two sTeñ, tombs (*gTam gyi ts'ogs t'ig pai rgya mts'o*, p. 125) were built in slates and clay; at the times of the six Legs' in places between slates and meadows; at the times of the eight lDe in the valleys along the rivers (cfr. *Chronicles*, pp. 11, 12).

But the account of the rGyal rabs does not mean that tombs were reserved to kings only. The existence of a class of Bon priests whose work was required, as we saw, for building tombs seems to point to a large use of funeral monuments of the same type as those illustrated by Roerich; but this does not exclude the contemporary existence in Tibet of the exposal of the corpse to animals, as now generally practised, by other classes.

10. FAMILIES OF HOR DESCENT

Some families claimed descent from countries other than Tibet. One of the most conspicuous examples is that of the princes of aP'yoñ rgyas in whose family Blo bzañ rgya mts'o was to be born. Their genealogy is contained both in the *Chronicles* by the same Blo bzañ rgya mts'o and in his biography. The first has been translated above. I shall translate here that contained in the last work since it is an ampler redaction and therefore easier to be understood, the difficulties of the text consisting in allusions to facts not sufficiently known.

(Complete works of the Fifth Dalai Lama, vol. ca, p. 12 b): "In the old records of the family is written that Dharmapāla himself came into Tibet from China and that the hermitage where Pe kar resided is located in the country of Za hor. On the other hand the statement contained in the *rNiñ mai rtsod* by the bla ma Sog bzlog, viz. that: the lineage of Za hor of the princes of sTag rtse is not from Za hor of India, implies that there is another Za hor in China. But both stories are a foolish talk with no foundation at all (because Za hor is not in China but in India, while Dharmapāla of Pe kar did not come into Tibet from India).

"If one admits that the hermitage of Pe kar was in India, one would contradict the story of the image of rNam t'o' sras in the country of lJañ; in the records there is no mention of the story of another Za hor in China different from Za hor of India. Bhāṅgal in Eastern India and China are strictly connected and there are many travellers such as merchants etc. who cross the ocean with boats. Therefore even Dharmapāla



having gone in China settled in the hermitage of Bha ṭa hor. Then, after some generations, during which his descendents increased, one Dharmapāla was contemporary with K'ri sron lde btsan, king of Tibet, the same who invited the Abbot (Śāntirakṣita) and the ācārya (Padmasambhava). This king built in bSam yas the temple Mi āgyur lhun grub, on the pattern of that of Otantapuri. Since a guardian for this temple was necessary the great ācārya asked the king of the Klu, Zur p'ud lña for advice. The latter said: 'We sleep in winter and during that time we remain unconscious; but there is a king called Hu who descends from a Klu, in the family dMu. He can pursue anything as small as a needle, covering in a day the space for which a vulture employs 18 days. Such is the guardian you should appoint'. Shortly after the prince Mu rug btsan po⁶¹ killed the son of Žaṅ rgya ts'a lha snañ. Then since the great minister aGos rgan tried the case⁶² he went to guard the northern boundaries. Then the great ācārya evoked rNam t'os sras with his eight horsemen and actually showed them to the king and the ministers and gave him orders. Then a barbarian (litt. a man living in the boundary) called mGon brtson painted that god on a flag as he had appeared, and into that flag rNam sras really sank with his accolytes. The prince then with the army went to gYar mo t'añ; Žaṅ lha⁶³ bzañ klu dpal counted his army which had appeared in rGya zam: there were 100.000 soldiers with hawk heads in the East, 100.000 soldiers of Grul bum rkañ rtse (with the point of their feet like that of the Grul bum = kumbhāṇḍa) with feet of horses and asses, 120.000 soldiers with human body and the tail of a mouse, 130.000 with human body and the ears of an ass. With such a numberless army he plundered China, Hor and Gru gu. The king Pe kar was afraid and fled away changing his body into that of a vulture. But a gNod sbyin hit him with an arrow on his wing; so he fell down and was caught by rNam t'os sras and led to bSam yas. At that time the prince saw numberless ugly beings, viz. the messengers created by magic by rNam t'os sras and taking them as a model he drew them: this was the image of rNam t'os sras of lJañ.,.

"Since Pe kar caused by magic madness and epidemics, the great ācārya compelled him to fly away ... Be it as it may, the Abbot, the ācārya and the king agreed in sending a messenger in order to invite Dharmapāla of the royal lineage of Za hor, so that he might come from his hermitage of Hor. Pe kar was very affectionate to him: he therefore took a self-made image of the ascetic made of turquoise, a mask called *se abag* ("the leather mask",⁶⁴) and a lion of rock crystal and said: 'You are invited as a guardian of bSam yas; I as a god will go with you, a man'. So he went to bSam yas riding a wooden bird.,.⁶⁵

All this story does not only show the pretension of the aP'yon rgyas family to be of Hor descent but also, as rightly suggested by prof. Thomas, Literary text, p. 296 it points to a foreign origin of the cult of Pe dkar, dPe kar, dPe har. The story concerning his flight from bSam yas, of his changing himself into a

bird and of his having been shot down by a *yakṣa* belonging to the retinue of rNam t'os sras was contained in the legend of rNam t'os sras as it circulated in the lJañ country.

This story is very interesting; it is a point of contact, as rightly pointed out by the Tibetan writers, between the Vaiśravaṇa cycle and that of Pe dkar. We are here confronted with a theme not rarely met in Central-Asian paintings. I refer f. i. to the famous Vaiśravaṇa crossing the ocean of Tun huang (*Thousand Buddhas*, plate XXVI) in which we see an archer of the retinue of Vaiśravaṇa preparing to shoot a bat-like demon in the air (*Serindia*, p. 875). The theme is also a frequent motif in the Turfan frescoes (GRÜNWEDEL, *Atbuddh. Kultstätten*, p. 583 and index). This bird is here taken as a Garuḍa. It is difficult to say if the legend is but an interpretation of a painting more or less akin to that published in *Serindia*; the thing is highly probable since the Tibetan story, as we saw, definitely speaks of a tanka of Vaiśravaṇa painted at the time of the expedition of Mu rug btsan po, which was then brought in Tibet and preserved in the temple of C'os luñ ts'ogs. But this does not prevent us from supposing that a blending between the Vaiśravaṇa cycle and a local deity of unknown origin and character had effectively taken place in Central Asia where Vaiśravaṇa was assumed to the rank of a patron god. This would again point to a Central-Asian origin of Pe dkar.

We are therefore again confronted with cultural elements originated in the North-Eastern marches of Tibet.

In later times a real epic cycle was formed, of the same type as the one concerning Gesar, which had a literary formulation of its own; in fact the Tibetan tradition knows a *dPe dkar ar gtad lo rgyus*, the story of dPe dkar's tribulations. It is a gter ma, discovered by Grva bsgon c'os kyi rdo rje (*rNin ma pa Apology*, p. 70). It is an epic cycle, which finds its counterpart in a local tale *lJañ yul mai lo rgyus*, connected with rNam t'os's sons; both of them have their centre in two cycles of parallel legends, equally celebrating rNam t'os sras's victory over dPe dkar and relating the origin of a celebrated representation of rNam t'os sras, who succeeds in overcoming his rival and antagonist.⁶⁶

The story told of the fight between a tribal god Pe dkar and rNam t'os sras, from which this god came out victorious. Pe dkar appears there as a foreign tribal god later imported into Tibet and compelled by Padmasambhava to accept Buddhism. But he was always considered a *bGegs* (*srog bdag rgyal po man c'ad nas, dpe dkar rgyal po yan cad kyis, bgegs rigs ston p'rag brgyad t'ams cad; gSañ bdag dregs pa dul byed las ts'ogs dam srii glud mdos*, RC, p'i). He remains connected with the North: *byañ p'yogs p'rin las rgyal po*; his wife is bDud gza' smin dkar "the white pupil of the demon planet", (cfr. *Pe dkar c'os kyi rgyal po bskañ gso dregs pai sde dpon mñes byed zla ba gsar sad mñams dgra dpuñ ajoms byed dan dga' gdon yon tan rgyal poi sprul pad dan bka' sdod bzañ moi btsan rgod kyi gsol mc'od*, n. 960).

I cannot say whether the connection of Pe dkar with this goddess goes back to the early times of the legend

and if therefore it represents a primary character of the myth; in that case one should feel inclined to consider dPe dkar as a planetary god and then, following the suggestion of Thomas that Pe dkar is probably derived from a Chinese 白 *pai*, meaning white, as Tib.: *dkar*, "dPe, the white,, to suppose that it may correspond to *Pai ti* 白帝 "the white emperor,, viz. the planet Venus which from ancient times was considered as a symbol of warriors.

But it is also probable that under the name Pe har, dPe dkar, Pe kar, may be hidden the Turkish *Bäg* or its derivatives. However, according to other traditions, independent from the one recorded by the fifth Dalai Lama, which has become orthodox (Indexes of the bka' agyur, SP, p. 172, etc.) Pe kar, dPe har, is the son of gNam gyi dkar po and Šug lcām rgyal mo; he was also called brGya sbyin dkar po, and settled among the Hor, garrisoning the temple of Bha ṭa hor and assuming different names: gNam lha dkar po, the white god of heaven, Srog bdag dkar po, the white lord of life. From his father's name and from his own name, the god's heavenly character is clear.

The princes of aPyoñ rgyas claimed, then, a descent from Za hor of India through a provisional settling in Bha ṭa hor. Za hor in India has been differently located. The Tibetans held different opinions regarding this place: European scholars on the other hand are inclined to identify Za hor with Mandi (see LAUFER, *The Bruža Sprache*, p. 29, n. 8, where the old bibliography is given) JÄSCHKE s. v. and FRANCKE, *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 65 were of the same idea. On the contrary B. BHATTACHARYA, *Introduction to Sādhnamālā*, p. XXXVII, identifies Za hor with Sabhar in East Bengal. The Tibetans seem to hold two different views. The dGe lugs pa consider Za hor as the birth-place of Atiśa and on the basis of a very authoritative source, contemporary with that teacher, place Za hor in Eastern Bengal, in the Vikrampur district.

Tsoñ k'a pa in his *Lam rin c'en mo* (*Tashilunpo* ed., p. 3^a, vol. *pa* of his works) quotes from a hymn in honour of Atiśa, written by the great lotsāva Nag ts'o. This was the Tibetan sent to India to invite the famous pandit to come to Tibet. He therefore was very well acquainted with the biography of Atiśa. In this hymn is written: "In Eastern India in a famous place called Za hor there is a great town called Za hor; in this place there is a royal palace called gSer gyi rgyal mts'an (*Suvarṇadhvajā*)". The same information is contained in the biography of Atiśa: *Jo bo rje lha geig dpal ldan rnam t'ar bla mai yon tan c'os kyī abyūñ gnas sogs bka' gdams rin po c'ei glegs bam*, p. 1 (see also the *bKa' gdams gsar rñiñ gi c'os abyūñ yid kyī mdses rgyan* by the C'os rje bSod nams grags pa, p. 3 a). Even the fifth Dalai Lama places Za hor five months to the East of Bodhgayā in a country called Bhaṅgala.

So the opinion of the dGe lugs pa is well founded since it can be traced to the times of Atiśa himself. On the other hand the rñiñ ma pa and, depending on them, the bKa' brgyud pa placed Za hor near

Uḍḍiyāna on the basis of what is written in chap. 37 of the PTY, "Near the North-Eastern boundaries of Uḍḍiyāna, in the center of the capital of Za hor,,"

But from this passage no definite conclusion can be drawn. Uḍḍiyāna (= Swāt) being in the legend of Padmasambhava a great kingdom, it is imagined to extend to the extreme ends of India. In chapter XI, that same text locates Za hor to the South-east of Bodhgayā while Kāmarūpa (Assam) is placed to the North-East; in this case Za hor would roughly correspond to Orissa. But this division of India has no great geographical value: India is for this text a *maṇḍala* whose center is Bodhgayā; it is a kind of miraculous lotus, four leaves corresponding to the four cardinal points (Uḍḍiyāna = West, Bengal = East, Kashmir = North, Baidḍha = Vaideha = South) and four other leaves to the intermediate points.

So there is hardly any doubt that the dGe lugs pa placing Za hor in Bengal are right. The Tibetan tradition does therefore fully support the identification Za hor = Sabhar of B. Bhattacharya. As to Bha ṭa Hor I agree with Thomas that Bhaṭa Hor is = Bhadrā Hor, a sanskritization of the name of some nomadic tribe located near lake Baikal (p. 299).

Anyhow it appears that the fifth Dalai Lama tries his best to connect his family indirectly with India establishing a link between Za hor = Sabhar and Bha ṭa Hor through an early migration of a royal prince from India. But the pretended connection with Bha ṭa Hor was not less ambitious: this people in fact settled according to the Mongol tradition near the Burqan Qaldun, the mountain sacred to the family of Gengis Khan. So the princes of aPyoñ rgyas boasted of descent from two places, one of which was in the holy country of Buddhism and the other the birth-place of an ancestor whom all Mongols, then bestowing their favours upon the Dalai Lama, most revered. There are also some indications which seem to show that this legend was given a shape by learned circles which had some knowledge of Chinese sources. The name of the Klu whom Ts'ur p'ud lña advises to appoint as guardian of bSam yas is *Hu*: this word is evidently Chinese: 護 to protect, viz. *pāla*. Though all this legend may be fanciful and concocted in order to increase the reputation of the family, it is quite possible that the aPyoñ rgyas had not lost the memory of an ancient nomadic origin to be sought for outside the border of Tibet proper.

The example of this family was followed by many others which elaborated their genealogies in such a way as to claim a descent either from India, the country of the Holy Law, or from those parts of the world which might prove the relationship of that nobility with the leading powers of the time. To quote a few instances: the Zur pa, a family in which many great religious personalities were born, boasted to be descended from bDe byed gžon nu (Śaṅka-rakumāra) who, on the occasion of the war between the Gods and the Asura came down from a corner (*zur*) of the heavenly palace, won the battle against the Asura and then became the ancestor of a family



which settled in India and then from India migrated into Tibet.

The *Ža lu pa*, as we saw, left in the background their pretended origin from a Bon po god, possibly thunder, and emphasized their connection with two sons of that god who ruled over Persia and China. So it appears that little by little the primitive records of the aristocracy which connected the human lineage of the leading families with Bon ideas, were modified according to the new religious and political situation. In this way many old myths and legends referring to particular families and places were definitely forgotten.

II. THE MIGRATION OF TIBETAN ARISTOCRACY SOUTHWARDS AND WESTWARDS

Another important conclusion can be drawn from the study of the genealogical legends of the leading families of Tibet, at least of those which survived after the collapse of the royal dynasty and came to the foreground during the period of the second introduction of Buddhism, being the builders of the medieval history of Tibet; these families as I anticipated above (p. 6) generally hailed from North-Eastern Tibet. In the records of these families we therefore find the memory of a wave of migration of nomadic aristocracy coming from the East or the North and little by little spreading southwards and westwards, subduing the aboriginal population and imposing upon it their language. This fact is clearly evidenced in Ladakh where the Dardic and the Mon element and their language, were ruled out by the Tibetan invaders and settlers. The same thing happened in Spiti and in high Bashahr where Kanawri dialects slowly disappeared or in Guge where the *Žaṅ žuṅ* language, used as a literary language by the Bon po, was equally cancelled by Tibetan.

This nomadic population was divided into clans called *rus* "bones"; it is the same as the division into *yasun* which we find among the Mongols.

The names of some of the most prominent clans have been preserved. They are contained in a list of the *bKa' t'aṅ sde lha, ca*, p. 7; this text, referring to the five kinds of ministers, records the following clans:

- gNubs — bla ma k'yen maṅ btsan pa
btsan po de ri maṅ btsan
k'ri do re m'ton po
skyes to re maṅ snaṅ
sBas — k'ri gzigs žaṅ gñan
k'ri gsum rje stag sna
žaṅ bžer bla btsan
ap'ags te re bži c'e ba
rgyal rta ra stag snaṅ
aBro — aBro c'uṅ bzaṅ ṅo ra ma
k'ro ma gsum rje stig snaṅ
gtsug sba lha snaṅ
btsan pa stag ts'ab
k'ri rje ne šam

- gNags — gñags k'yim bu bdud kyi rje
bal gsum sgra ya mdsad
t'aṅ pa ya t'aṅ rje
gñags rgyal lto ri gal
K'yuṅ — yu yar zuṅ ts'e
yuṅs rta riṅ po
mi riṅ sos dkar
mGar — mgar sron (corr.: ston) btsan yul gzuṅ
k'ri aḅriṅ btsan grol
btsan sña sdom bu
k'ri t'og rje a nu
k'ri sgra zin luṅ
mC'ims — mar bžer ṅan pa po
btsan bžer legs gzigs
rgyal gzigs šud t'oṅ
rdo rje spre c'uṅ
sNa nam — rgya ts'a lha snaṅ
maṅ sña bse btsan
ma žaṅ k'rom pa skyabs
btsan pa 'u riṅ
aGos — k'ri bzaṅ yab lhag
yaṅ goṅ bla ma
lha gro
C'og ro — skyes bzaṅ rgyal ma 'og
legs sgra lha ldoṅ
c'og ro p'o goṅ
Myaṅ — myaṅ smon to re rtse gu
myaṅ mc'og rab gzu 'o
myaṅ maṅ po žaṅ snaṅ
T'u — aḅrin to re a nu
t'u mi rgyal mts'an snaṅ
t'u mi klu maṅ dred
Ts'e spoṅ — na gad
se

A second catalogue has been preserved in another passage translated by Thomas, *Literary Texts*, p. 277 ff. in which the territorial and military division of Tibet at the times of K'ri sron lde btsan is contained.

BANNERS (RU)

GTSAṆ

Supplementary banner:

FAMILY		CHILIARCHY	COMMANDER
upper side	aBro	1 Maṅ gar	aBro
		2 K'ri dgoṅs	
side	aBro	3 Grom pa	
		4 Lha rtse	
FAMILY		CHILIARCHY	COMMANDER
lower side	aDre	5 Ṇaṅ ro	aDre
	K'yuṅ po	6 K'ri t'a	
	aGos	7 Gad bkram	

Under-chiliarchy of sGro.

Right wing:

	FAMILY	CHILIARCHY	COMMANDER
upper side	K'yuñ po	1 Upper Yoñs high	K'yuñ
	Pa ts'ab	2 Šañs	
lower side	Lañs	3 Lañ mi	
		4 P'od dkar	
	aGos	5 Drañ	
		6 gÑen dkar	
		7 Yel rab	
		8 high Zom	

Under-chiliarchy Rin sle bya of Šañs.

DBUS

Central wing:

	FAMILY	CHILIARCHY	COMMANDER
upper side	Cog ro	1 aBrin	sNa nam
		2 P'yug	
		3 bCom pa	
		4 Upper Zom	
lower side	rMa and Ka ba sBas	5 Dor de	Skos
		6 sTe aJam	
		7 Upper sKyid	
		8 Lower sKyid	

Under-chiliarchy Bran k'a: Yel žabs.

Left wing:

	FAMILY	CHILIARCHY	COMMANDER
upper side	gNags Ts'e spon Myaň sNa nam	1 Yar klunš	Myaň
		2 P'yi klunš	
		3 lJaň kyaň	
		4 Luň pa	
lower side	mC'ims Sñi ba lDoň mC'ims	5 gÑal	mC'ims
		6 Lho brag	
		7 Nāñ	
		8 Dags po	

Under-chiliarchy Spraň ston Ri bo.

From the last catalogue it appears that Tibet was once divided into four *ru*: in these there were 17 families ruling over the 34 (at the end of the chapter erroneously 44) *ston sde viz.* chiliarchies.

This fact is very important because it shows that at the times of the royal dynasty, there was in Tibet a military administration akin to that of the Turks and the Mongols. The territory was a military

entity which was bound to supply, in case of war, a certain number of warriors under the responsibility of the clan settled in it.

The army was divided, just as with the Turks and the Mongols, into sections of 10.000, 1000, 100, 10.

This army, so to say, was facing south. In fact I would suggest that in the above-quoted catalogue "*ru*," does not mean, as translated by Prof. Thomas "brigade," but "wing,": dBus and gTsaň were divided into 4 wings, one in the centre, one to the right and one to the left, to which a supplementary wing (*ru lag*) was added. References to these *ru* are often met with in Tibetan literature. I quote here some of these references taken from old sources, even if some of them are found in modern compilations:

bKa' t'añ sde lña - *Id., ca, chapter ka, p. 8 ff.*
k'a, chapter 17 *k'a, chapter 47, p. 65 b*

gTsaň { gyas ru gyas ru (f. i. sTag nag, Šañs)
ru lag (f. i. aBri mts'ams, Nāñ stod)

dBus { gyon ru dBu ru (f. i. Mal gro, sTod luñ)
dBus gyon ru (f. i. Dvags po, gÑal, Lo ro)

gTsaň { gyon ru
ru lag

dBus { dBu ru
gyas ru

Klon rdol bla ma ('a, p. 4 b)

gTsaň { gyas ru gYon ru (Nāñ c'u)
gyon ru ru lag (Šab agyed)

dBus { dBu ru dBu ru (sKyid šod)
gyon ru gYas ru (Nāñ šod and Lho k'a)

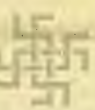
Biography of Blo gsal rgya mts'o grags pa, (Works of the fifth Dalai Lama, vol. *ta*, p. 19 b): dBu ru, gyo ru, gyas ru, ru lag.

From these lists it appears that gYon ru was in eastern dBus and gYas ru in gTsaň; for *ru lag* of gTsaň in some catalogues is substituted gYon ru in imitation of dBus. But this is certainly due to a mistake of later sources because gTsaň and dBus form a unity and it would be impossible to speak of a central wing (dBus) without taking the territory of the two provinces as a whole. Moreover the explanation of Klon rdol bla ma on the second list leaves no doubt on this subject; it is therefore evident that, as I said, we are here confronted with a southward direction of the 4 wings, as we find among the Turks or the Mongol tribes.

NOTES

1. See above p. 689, n. 156.
2. S. CH. DAS, *Dictionary*, p. 51. I possess two editions of this book: one from Derge (sDe dge); the other bears no indication of the press. The real title of the work, as it appears from the colophons added to some sections was: *Bon rin po t'e ap'ru' nag bden pa gtsai ma klu abum dkar po* (nag po, k'ra bo) *gyuñ druñ t'eg pa c'en poi mdo*. The references in this paper are to the Derge edition.
3. The equivalence Bon = Dharma is shown by the following examples which I choose out of the many: *bon t'ams cad stoñ pa ñid* etc., p. 39, *ak'or bai bon dai t'ar pai bon* etc.
4. *Sühngedichte der Bon po*. It is from him that civilisation begins.
5. FRANCKE, *A lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar saga*. Prelude n. 5.
6. *qDsam gliñ gais ti sei dkar c'ag ts'ans dbyans yid ap'rog dgos adod*, p. 6 a.
- Gur rgyal lha mo is the small Kurgyal-tso lagoon under the Pundigponpa in the plain to the north of the Manasarovar.
- Guñ c'u dñul mo is the Gunchu-tso, a salt-water lake without outlet to the east of the Manasarovar. Kawaguchi spells this name Kon-gyu-tso and the guides of Sven Hedin (*Southern Tibet*, II, n. 264) Kunkyu-tso. The Gunchu-tso had been identified by Atkinson (*Himalaya Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Allahabad, 1882, II, p. 285) with the Arunoda lake of Indian cosmology. According to the Shui tao ti kang (*Outlines of Hydrography*, chap. 22; compiled in 1762; translated in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, I, p. 121) the Gunchu-tso has an underground outlet into the Tage-tsang po, and hence into the Manasarovar. But according to Sven Hedin (*Southern Tibet*, II, p. 50) it is impossible that in 1762 the Gunchu-tso could have belonged to the Satlej basin. On the lake issued from an egg, see J. F. ROCK, *The birth and origin of Dto-mbas Shi-lo*, *Artibus Asiae*, VII, p. 15.
7. FRANCKE, *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*, Darmstadt, 1923, nn. VII and XV. The Tibetan text of these songs is being edited by me and Doctor Petech along with other popular songs collected in Ladakh, Spiti and Western Tibet.
8. Such a myth was not unknown to the Manichaeans; see REITZENSTEIN, *Weltuntergangsvorstellungen*; Kyrkoh. Årskrift, Upsala, 1924, p. 197; HARVA, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*, pp. 110 ff.
9. WENZEL, *The legend of the origin of the Tibetan race* in Festgruss Roth, pp. 70-172. On this subject see LAUFER, *Über ein Tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon po*, T'OUNG PAO, 1901, p. 27, n. 11.
10. EBERHARD, *Kultur und Siedlung der Rand-völker Chinas*, p. 79.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 144, cfr. pp. 330 and 332.
12. THOMAS F. W., *A Rāmāyaṇa story in Tibetan*, *Indian studies in honour of Ch. R. Lanman*, p. 193.
13. In fact the rGyal po bka' t'an says: "each clan has its own account",.
14. I follow the spelling adopted by the fifth Dalai lama in the biography of bSod nams mc'og ldan rgyal mts'an; there was a great variety of spellings of these names in the sources, as it is proved by the quotations from the *Yig ts'an* of sPyan sna Lha gziḡs contained in the biography of bSod nams mc'og ldan: dga', ldoñ, abru gsum: dgra dai bzi, nu bo dpa' mda' gñis ste drug tu gsuñ. To resume, the various spellings of the names of these tribes are as follows: se; mu, rmu, dmu; ldoñ; stoñ; gra, dgra; bru, abru; dpa rda, mda'; nu bo.
- These same stories are contained in a long inscription written by Blo bzai rgya mts'o for aBras spuñs (vol. tsa, p. 136) (but dpa' rda for dpa' mda'). This author says that according to the Ka k'ol ma there are four clans; according to the Bod k'ri t'o c'en po six according to the Ts'al pa deb amar 9 Ma sañs, 25 and 12 rGyal p'ran, 40 Sil ma.
15. But k'ro c'u is also the water which instills hatred in the soul of the gods when fighting against the Asura. See: mK'a agro me lee abar, bKa' agyur, vol. Ža, p. 330.
16. According to J. F. ROCK the Ssu is the "ancient ancestor of a family whose spirit has joined the realm of the gods, and who has himself become a demigod", among the Mo so (art. cit., p. 45, n. 2).
17. *Asia Major*, vol. I, p. 397, *dpal gsas, at'or gsas, lba ak'or, sman ak'or*. Francke translated: "clan", but if there is no mistake in the text (rus instead of ru) the meaning of ru is: wing.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 267 and 270 text (pp. 321-323 transl.).
19. Francke translates: consecration; more probably *žal srod, žal bso* means an offering of warm food.
20. Bon who introduced the service? Cfr. *sna bon* S. CH. DAS, s. v. and the *Snañ gSen* of the rGyal tabs quoted below.
21. A reference is here contained to the nine vehicles of the Bonpo. See HOFFMAN, *Zur Literatur der Bonpo* (reprint), p. 171, n. 4, *bKa' t'an sde lha, ca*, p. 45. But the doctrine of a division of the Bon into a part considered as the cause and a part considered as the effect is evidently based upon the classification of Buddhist Tantras into *betu-Tantras* and *phala-Tantras* (amutara class).
22. "A man able to chant", is a man able to "perform a ceremony to suppress demons", according to the Mo so (J. F. ROCK, art. cit., p. 38).
23. But *gsas rham pa* is a god of terrific nature; his voice are thunder and hailstorm, *Zi k'ro dgoñs pa kun adus t'os c'og ran grol c'en mo yid bžin nor bui gter mdsod*, p. 23.
24. *Dam sri gyag ru dgra ajom* attributed to Padmasambhava.
25. Quoted in the biography of bSod nams mc'og ldan written by the fifth Dalai lama, p. 6 a. *spreu dai sñin mo las m'e'd pa ma sañs spun dgu rgyal p'ran ñi šu rtsa lha bcu gñis sil ma bži bcus rim kyis dñan byas*. Cfr. Chronicle of the same author, p. 76 b.
- In Sum pa mk'an po, p. 148, it is written: *de las ap'el bai ma sañs spun dgu rgyal p'ran ñer lha dai bcu gñis sil ma bži bcus dñan byas zer*; "it is said that their subjects were ruled over by the nine brothers ma sañs, the 25 and the 12 kinglets and the 40 sil ma". The paraphrase of S. Ch. Das of this passage is untenable.
26. The aDre are the Dsa⁴ of the Mo so. See the article already quoted of J. F. ROCK, p. 33, n. 1.
27. According to Western Tibetan traditions, the gÑan of sun and that of moon were imagined in form of birds: *Bya k'yuñ dkruiñ ñi ma*, *Bya ñi ma k'yuñ ruñ*, for the sun; *Bya mo dkar mo* for the moon. But in some parts of Tibet they believed, as in China, in the existence of more than one sun. In the Ladakhi nuptial songs 9 suns are recorded. Cfr. FRANCKE, *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*, p. 35.
28. Viz. without a body, stretching the arms in the four directions.
29. In the book itself the title is interpreted in the following way: *gnam* means that on the four sides of the Sumeru situated in the middle of the ocean the light of the ocean coming up reaches the sky; *sa* means that in the middle of the ocean there is an island; from the middle of this big ocean on the four sides four islands burst out and appear;
- sNan* means the beings dwelling between *gnam* and *sa* and there born, moving, living;
- brygad* means the eight classes of Lha ma sñin ruling over them.
30. On the Gi or Ge k'od I know one book included in the sacred lore of the Bon po: it bears the title *Lha rgyal bdud adul*. According to this book Ge k'od is said to protect the believer from the Dri za in the East, from the gNod sbyin in the North, from the Klu in the South, from the bDud in the space above, from the Sa bdag, Klu and gÑan underneath. This Ge k'od is the stormy weather, the storm; his weapon are in fact hail, snow storms etc. In the said liturgical text he is called: *Žan žuiñ smad gyi lba* "the god of lower Žan Žuiñ". But it is clear from many passages that the Ge k'od are also cycle: at p. 11 we read of the *dGe k'od rtsa ba lba*, "the primary god dGe k'od", of *dGe k'od lba ts'ogs*, "the cycle of dGe k'od". On the number 360 cfr. also ROCK, op. cit., p. 39 ff.
31. Gap is not equivalent in this case with the first letter of the cycle of the ten stems; in this meaning we meet in the astrological works the expression *gab tse* 甲子. The Tibetan form shows that this word was borrowed by the Tibetans in early times when the final labial of 甲 was still pronounced, thus confirming the statement of the fifth Dalai Lama on the introduction of *Nag rtsis*, Chinese astrology, at the times of the Tibetan kings.
32. I take this opportunity to give a short resumé of the most important passages of this book; they are, as a rule, interesting in so far as they show the blending of religious idea of various origin: side by side with astrological gods introduced from China, there are occasional



references to Indian deities, for instance Viśvakarman, brGya byin (Indra), Kartika etc., though, as a whole, these are in the background; the prominent part is played by the purely aboriginal pantheon gÑan, Sa bdag etc. The fact that a king of blacksmiths viz. mGar yug pa is invoked deserves special mention.

The genealogy of the mGar ministers of the first emperors of Tibet is not known to me except by the short resumé given by Blo bzai rgya mts'o. and therefore I cannot say if this family of the oldest aristocracy of Tibet had any connection with metal work. This invocation anyhow seems to prove that in some parts of ancient Tibet metallurgy was the privilege of some tribes supposed to be patronized by special gods as was the case in ancient China and among the Turks.

We find in this book the invocation of the 8 *spar k'a* (pa kwa) and of the twelve animals of the cycle of the year combined with the five elements.

The sa bdag T'e se rgyal po, T'e k'yim btsun mo, Hañ (in the xyl. hañ ni hañ) p'an (= Hañ p'an), the son rTen so, the minister gTsañ kun, the great lama Se śar, the custodian Se lo "sweeping the earth,,," Se'u spreading the carpet, Bya ra ba taking care of the horses and riches, Hal k'yi keeper of the time, dKar śam, sBal t'e, the blue dragon on whose body there are yellow and black lines, the white tiger Hañ bu skyans can; the heavenly executioner, Gap pa god of thunder, Byi lam with pig's head, the god of the moon and that of wind, Bla sdos, the king of earth (Sa rgyal); then Sa sman Sa yi bstan ma, Nan lha, rGan rgon the sa bdag; Sa zor, Byi lam with a sman mo, the gÑan aP'ar ma with nine heads, the nine gods, the five gods kings of earth (cfr. BANG GABAIN, RACHAMATI, op. cit., etc., pp. 60-92-97, n. 7, but in the text published by LAUFER, *Sühngedichte*, p. 32, sa bdag gi rgyal po ni | sa sna lña la gnas, the king of the Sa bdag, abiding in the earth of five kinds). "On account of this great lto (on this word see later) of heaven and earth may everybody be happy: you, Sa bdag, be satisfied; the great gÑan of the rocks may not try us, the great Sa (bdag) may not tear us asunder; the great Sa (bdag) of water may not overflow us; erratic stars may not roll upon earth; flames of fire fall not upon earth; violent hailstorm fall not upon earth. Do not send (you spirits) diseases to men, diseases to cattle, epidemics; do not send hail and famine. May the red K'yuñ shake not his wings (and cause wind); may the blue dragon close not his mouth (and cause draught); may the yellow monkey dance not (and cause earthquake). May the white fish not shake his tail. The turquoise mouse may not bark as a dog; may not the many-coloured boar be agitated; may not the black snake shake his tongue. May the brownish yak sharpen not his horn. May the young bullock through the hatchet perish not.,,"

The list of astrological Sa bdag beginning with T'e se is the same as that contained in the *Vai ñu rya dkar po*, p. 442 (Lhasa edition) which is but a catalogue of the household and the retinue of T'e se lo rgyal po. The differences are chiefly in spelling; rten so in one text instead of te so of V. K., se lo sa aP'ar instead of the faulty se lo sa ac'ar of V. K., dkar śam in V. K. is called daughter of T'e se, sBal t'e is the bridegroom.

33. The *mdos* can be of various kinds (*p'a, rus, spyi, sgos* are the four fundamental classes: *gTsug lag snañ srid spyi skoñ gi mdo c'o ga*, p. 1) and have different names according to the deities under whose protection they are placed or the kind of demons which they are supposed to expel or the purpose for which they are meant. The RC contains some dozens of treatises dealing with this subject. As a rule the *mdos* is placed upon four square *bañ rim*, basements, made of straw and grass in decreasing order; then on the upper basement a mast is placed which is crossed by a transverse bar: threads of various colours are then interlaced between the arms of the cross so formed.

This is the *ñal yas k'an*, the palace, where the gods invoked are supposed to reside. In a second moment images of various Sa bdag and of the deities presiding over the cycle of the 12 years are made out of the *zampa* by means of the *zan ñpar*, a piece of wood upon which these deities are engraved so as to form a mould. These images are then placed in the lower basement facing the exorcist.

From the symbolic point of view it is interesting to notice that this *mdos* is supposed to represent the world: and the mast or *mdos śin* is the *ri rab*, Sumeru, the mountain (called also *ri rab rgya mdud* consisting in knots disposed in form of a cross), supporting the sky. The four basements are said to be the four continents. "On the top of the *mdos* there is the canopy of the *mdos* which represents the sky of the celestial tent with eight ribs,,," It is surmounted by sun and moon, *Glin bži spyi mdo kyī zin bris rā ga a syas mdsos*, RC, p'i, p. 2. In other cases it is called

ri rab bum pa, the pot, the Sumeru (*mK'a' agro glin bži srid pai spyi mdo c'en mo*, RC, p'i, p. 3). The pot is the Sumeru in which the gods are invited to descend (*gñags su gsol*). It is therefore a cosmos which is here built and upon which the exorcist makes the gods or demons to dwell so that he might contrall them. (In fact if they do not comply with his orders their heart will split in many pieces). The construction of the *mdos* cannot therefore be separated from that of the *me'od rten*, the *stupa*; the scheme of the *mdos* and of the *stupa* being determined by the same symbolism. This is a fact which may contribute to the study of the evolution of the *stupa* so well investigated by P. Mus in his work on Barabudur. The *mdos* go certainly back to prebuddhistic times: in *gTsug lag snañ srid spyi skoñ mdo c'o ga* the invention of some of them is attributed to P'yva gñen Bon po T'od dkar of Žañ žuñ. The book contains some parts which are purely Bon po and belong to the *p'yva* section of the Bon scriptures.

34. These goddesses have nothing in common with those of the *Kumāratantra*. On the *Rāvana-tantra* and the eight *ma mo*, *mātrkā*, see FILLIOZAT, *Le Kumāratantra de Rāvaṇa*, Paris, 1937.

35. *a'teb kyu*, *a'teb skyu* = S. CH. DAS *me'teb kyu* "A symbol resembling a finger which is placed with the torma,,," Cfr. VAN MANEN, *Minor Tibetan texts*, p. 19; in the text instead of *gzugs*, image, as in the following cases there is *gzug* (= the tenth part of a slaughtered animal).

36. *c'an bu* "the dough of barley-flour squeezed or pressed within the hand coming out between the fingers given to the ghosts,,," S. CH. DAS s. v.

37. This ceremony is very interesting from many points of view: first of all it shows the vitality of prebuddhistic beliefs and practices and secondly it sheds a new light upon the relation which Tibetan magic established between men and the much dreaded world of their primitive mythologic lore. It is therefore worth while to summarize the various moments of the ceremony itself in order to get a glimpse of the ritual by which the Sa bdag and their bad influences are warded off.

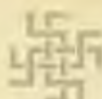
I. Preparation of the *nar mi*. This *nar mi* can be of three sizes: great, one cubit (*k'ru*), intermediate, a span (*mt'o*), small a *k'yud*. It is made with grains of five sorts: its head should be red, the upper part of the body black, the lower part yellow; on its head 25 small images of a man made of dough are placed and other 25 in each hand and on the back; the 12 animals of the cycle of the year should be placed round him: a hundred of *me'teb kyu* (see above), *k'on bu*, *c'an bu* (see above), offerings of food; on the right hand 10 white dots (*nam mk'a'*) should be put then on the head 11 yellow dots, on the right hand 10 white, on the left hand 10 black, 10 blue on the back. The same as regards the *rgyañ bu*.

II. Invocation to a Jam dpal so that he may favour with his blessings the ceremony of the lto and impart power to the exorcist lto mk'an. Then many gods are invoked. Lha c'en, Ts'añ pa (Brahmā) on the Sumeru (*ri rab c'en po*), sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) on Potala, P'yag na rdo rje on lCañ lo can, Koñ tse rgyal po on the Ri bo rtse lña (Pañcākūṭa, T'ai shan) of China, the men of China (rgya) and Tibet, (spirits) abiding in red cliffs, in the depth of the ocean, on the snowy peaks, in temples, houses, cross-roads, caves, springs - the golden turquoise, the 12 animals of the cycle, the 12 gods of the earth years, the 12 gods of the iron years, the 12 gods of the wood years, the 12 gods of the fire years, old *mk'en* (乾 ch'ien, heaven) the father, old *ak'on* (坤 k'un, earth) the mother; the eight *spar k'a* 八卦. They are called after their Chinese name: k'yen (乾 ch'ien), kam (坎 k'an), gin (艮 ken), zin (震 chen), zon (巽 sun), li (離 li), k'on (坤 k'un), dva (兌 tui); the nine *sme ba* (on which see WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 457); the seven stars of the East, the seven of the South, the seven of West, the seven of North; the 28 mansions; the eight great planets, T'e k'yim btsun mo, the black dog of the sky, the black dog Hal sa bdag, the eight Lha c'en, the eight Klu, the four rGyal c'en; the great *bkor bdag* (dPe dkar), rDo rje legs, the Lha srin sde brgyad.

III. The exorcist addresses the *glud kyī mi c'en*, *glin bži nar mi*: he asks him to accept the 25 small figures of men placed upon the image as ransom for the life of the noble man (*mi ya rabs*) in whose favour the ceremony takes place, the 20 dots as substitutes for his clothes, the 20 *rgyañ bu* as ransoms for involuntary causes of misfortune.

IV. Invocation to the effect that there be no mistake either on the part of the lto mk'an in presenting nor on the part of *nar mi* in accepting the offerings.

V. The *nar mi* replies to the exorcist. He calls himself a *nar gyi mi bo c'e*, "the great *nar mi*,,," he states that he has come to take a ransom from the man for whose benefit the ceremony has been undertaken.



VI. The exorcist replies: "In your right hand there is the ransom for the consciousness (i. e. the vital principle) which you want: they are eight dots made of precious copper: I offer them to you as a ransom for the life of the religious (c'os byed) man; the yellow *rgyan bu* I offer to you as a ransom for the life of the great man. These 25 images of men I offer to you as a ransom for his wealth. Then prayers follow to the effect that all bad influences may be warded off by the *nar mi*, after he has accepted the afore said offerings.

VII. Reply of the *nar mi*: he says that having come in order to get the ransom for that man, he wants the *rgyan bu* with white dots and *gtor ma* of flesh.

VIII. Reply of the exorcist: "Since you have come in order to get a ransom for that man, take for his ransom the 25 images of men placed in his left hand, the 25 *rgyan bu* as ransom for his clothes.,"

IX. The *nar mi* answers that he wants nine kinds of pure seeds, nine kinds of food, 20 small red men, 20 dots of precious copper. If he gets all these things he can go.

X. The exorcist offers all these things, begs the other to accept them and expresses the wish that everything turns out well, and every action is successful. In this way the exorcist of *lto* is efficient.

XI. A litany of ghosts pernicious to men and to their limbs and a list of the corresponding parts of the *gtor ma* intended as equivalent ransom follow: Nag pa t'an yan, Ma bdud p'un sri, Dri mo lag dkar, Srin mo t'an yan, Ses rgyal srog gcod, bTsan rgyal ya ma, K'rag rgyas dmar po, Nag po min sriin, gSer mo srog gcod, K'ram bdud nag po; each one of them causes a particular disease; prayer to the effect that disease of the father, mother and sons, all troubles to the house and to the fields, ominous signs such as that of the crow crying in the night, etc., evils produced by exorcists of India, of Zan zun, brahmans, heretics, all sorts of diseases, all dGegs, Drag po, P'o ña may in this way be expelled.

XII. The Sa bdag of the four points of the compass who want to take their *lto* are requested to take it and to go away, if they do not want it. The gods enumerated in n. XI are notified that if they do not take this *lto*, their head, by the power of aJam dpal will split in 7 pieces and their bodies in a thousand pieces.

It is clear that the text published by Laufer is a *lto* treatise in which the efficacy of the rite is emphasized having recourse to an old story. At the beginning of mankind the king sKos, the author of civilisation, offended Klu, gÑan and Sa bdag when he built castles and houses, and taught people the works of the fields. Those demons were therefore angry and caused many diseases. A woman expert in casting lots was called by the king and she explained the cause of those epidemics sent by the irritated Klu, gÑan and Sa bdag; the *lto* was therefore made. In some places the text uses the same expressions as our treatise: Laufer did not always catch the proper meaning: p. 35, vv. 137-151, it is always the sorceress who speaks: (You) have been bound by Klu, gÑan and Sa bdag; you have been bound by diseases. You must be liberated from the bounds of the Klu, gÑan and Sa bdag; so she said. v. 154, *lto mk'an bon po sñed*: does not mean, "so viele essende Bon po da sind", but "there are here many Bon po who can make the *lto*," v. 162 "Da sprechen die essende T'an po und die Geflügelten," then the maker of the *lto* T'an po gšog po said. At page 36 the preparation of the *lto* is described very often with the same technical terms as in our treatises. v. 257, *namis kyi guñ rgyal* is gNam gyi guñ rgyal, the god of heaven.

This text gives an idea of the composite character of these *rtsi* books used by the astrologers and exorcists; local aboriginal intuitions and practices are blended with foreign ideas. China has certainly exercised a great influence on this literature introducing into Tibet many principles and gods of her astrology. In the *Dag pa gser gyi mdo t'ig rgya nag skad du*: *gtsug lag ap'rul gyi agyur rtsis srid pa* which is not a transcription but a translation: *Lhai skad du* (a compromise with the Bon po): *kon tsi lin tsi mir ma rol ma*: *bod skad du*: *gza' skar gsañ bai zu rtsi bskol gyi mdo* side by side with aboriginal gods like Srin po, bTsan, rMu rje, rMu btsan etc. we find the *lha lña*, "the five gods of the five elements," according to Chinese geomancy: East wood, South fire, West iron, North water intermediate point earth; turquoise heaven (*gyu' yi gnam*) is the father of all and the golden earth is the mother of all (different from *lha mo brTan ma*); the tortoise upon which the universe rests is a magic body of aJam dpal; the book is attributed to Kon tse lha yi rgyal po: there is mention of the nine vehicles of the Bon po, but the seven planets and the 28 *naksatra* are according to the Indian system.

38. Cfr. f. i. *U rgyan Pad ma abyun gnas kysis mdsad pai dam sri gyag ru dgra ajom*.

39. This Bon corresponds to the bsGyur Bon of the *Grub m'e'd zel gyi me lon*, JRASB, 1881, p. 191: but the names of the masters are different.

40. The image of this god can be seen in J. F. Rock, *The birth and origin of Dto-mbas Shi-lo the founder of the Mo-so shamanism*. Artibus Asiae, VII, p. 85.

41. The list of the twelve brTan ma (bsTan ma) is found also in the Bon po Bar do t'os grol: *Zi k'ro t'os c'og ran grol c'en moi dban gi las byan*, p. 11, but it is slightly different: gYun drun kun grags ma, gYun drun ma skyol; gYun drun kun tu bzan mo (gsañ bai yum c'en); gYun drun bGer kyiis gšed (abrog c'en ak'or adul); gYun drun srid gcig ma (ša med gans dkar); gYun drun dpal gyi yum (k'a rag k'un btsun); gYun drun lun mo rgyal (gter cen mk'a' ldin); gYun drun lun ma gyogs ma (rma ri rab byams); gYun drun bod k'ams skyons (rkon btsun sde mo); gYun drun sman gcig ma (btsan la rol pa), gYun drun dbyal moi bsil (ma btsun k'ug c'os), gYun drun lo sman (Byan gi tin tin).

42. *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

43. *aDsam glin gans ti sei dkar c'ags dbyanis yid ap'rog dgos adod*, p. 30 b. Perhaps the fact that the K'ri are seven has an astrological meaning.

44. This mention is very important since it shows that the mythology of the dGra lha is very complex. There are dGra lha male and dGra lha female; in other words we should speak of dGra lhas and not of a dGra lha. In fact there is a group of nine dGra lhas; their names are preserved by Klon rdol bla ma in his treatise upon the bsTan srin ma, p. 14 b: dPa' brtan dmag dpon c'en po, sNan grags abrug ldir (roaring thunder), Drag tsal t'og abebs (lightning), sDan bai stog gcod, sKyes bu ran c'as, Bya k'ra snon mi, dGra sman šog tsal. The last one is evidently a female. We notice also that some of these gods represent atmospheric phenomena; others have the aspect of birds. As to their number nine it is well known that Bon po deities are often divided into groups of nine: f. i. aGoñ po spun dgu, T'eu ran mc'ed dgu, Ma sans dgu etc. See *rGyal mdo dkar po drug mdo kyi bca' t'abs mdun bskyed*, RC, p'1, p. 4.

45. *The animal style among the nomad tribes of Northern Tibet in Sky-thika*, n. 3, Praga, 1930.

46. TUCCI-GHERSI, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 22 ff.

47. FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, p. 21 ff.

48. These gods are classified by Klon rdol bla ma according to the five-fold division of Buddhism: *sku* (body), *gsun* (words), *t'ugs* (spirit), *yon tan* (virtue), *ap'rin las* (activity). But it is evident that this is an addition of the learned Buddhist commentators dealing with the old folklore of their country.

49. So also the 13 mGur lha have 32 blon po, ministers.

50. This legend is followed by the story of the building by the same man of a castle and of the epidemics which ensued on account of the offences done by the artisans to the Klu; it introduces therefore a myth on the rites of foundations.

51. *Ru pa ti žes bya ba rgyal po dpuñ gi ts'ogs gcig dan bcas pa gyul ap'yed (agyed) pai ts'e, bud med kyi c'a lugs su byas te bros nas ri k'a ba can gyi ri k'rod du žugs la gnas pai rigs las dri gan na yon bod c'es bya bar grags pa yin*. Cfr. fifth Dalai Lama, *Life of Zur t'ams cad mk'yen pa c'os dbyinis ran grol*, p. 7. In *Mani bka' abum*, p. 18, the same story is narrated, but there is no name of the prince; he is said to be the son of a king of the last of the three clans: Šākya, Licchavi and Ri dvags.

52. BUSTON, p. 123 a: *sras lña ts'igs*; *rGyal rabs*, p. 51: *brgyud lña ts'igs*. Obermiller translates *gzugs can snin poi sras c'un stobs c'un gi sras lña ts'igs* as "the fifth descendant of the youngest, feeble son of Bimbisāra", but I believe that *stobs c'un* is a proper name *Ksudrabala*. According to Pad ma dkar po the king who came into Tibet and was called there gÑa k'ri bzan po was a Licchavi prince. The various theories have been summarized SP, p. 149. On the value of *ts'igs* "number of a generation", (Jäschke) cfr. this following passage DT, da, p. 5 b, *dam pa sgor ni yab dan yum gñis kyi sras sna ts'igs su c'en po stag la k'ruñs*. In the *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 29, *sras lña mña' pai bar pai* "the middle of the five sons".

53. In the *Ts'al pai deb dmar* quoted in the biography of K'ra ts'an pa blo gros mc'og, p. 67 he is said to be an incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs; for the benefit of Tibet he descends in the family of dMag brgya. The place where he appeared is called in different ways by the various sources: according to Pad ma dkar po "Lha ri gyañ", so also in the *rGyal rabs bon gyi abyun gnas*, LAUFER, T'oung Pao, 1900 (*Chronicles of fifth Dalai Lama*: Lha ri gyañ t'o); in the *rGyal rabs*, p. 32, "Gar lha šam po"; in the *Mani bka' abum*: Yar klun lha ri yol pa; in Buston (OBERMILLER, p. 182) Lha ri yol ba; in the *Ts'al deb dmar* Yar lha šam po.

This place is, in spite of the contrary opinion of Klaproth (KOEPPEN, *Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, p. 50) is in Yar klun as one may deduce from the *rGyal rabs* itself the Chronicles of Blo bzän rgya mts'o and S. CH. DAS, *Journey*, p. 231. But if we are to follow the fifth Dalai lama there are three different mountains or peaks of the same range corresponding to three different moments of the descent; the reason is either to reconcile the different traditions or rather to comply with local legends considering those places as particularly sacred: "from the top of the Lha ri gyan t'o where he had arrived, he looked down and saw that the country of Yar klun appeared so pleasant as if the qualities of Heaven were descended upon earth and that the Yar lha šam po ri was so beautiful as the mount Sumeru embraced by the full moon, the lord of *candrakānta*. He therefore went on the top of the Lha ri rol pa and then descended by the heavenly ladder," (p. 11).

54. *gNam sa* means regularly heaven-earth; but it seems to me that *sa* should be taken in this case as *bbumi*: stage and that it refers to the heavenly spheres

55. Out of the nine storeys. Even in ancient Chinese mythology the celestial planes were 9. V. MASPERO, *Legendes mythologiques dans le Chou king*, J. A., 1924, p. 29; so also among the Turks, THOMSEN, *Altürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei*, ZDMG, 1924, p. 31.

56. Cfr. BUSTON, p. 123; OBERMILLER, p. 182, wrongly translates "The Bön po priests who came from the Mut-hag and Mu kä declared that he was a god,,". The right translation is: "the Bön po priests thinking that he was descended by the dMu t'ag or the dMu skas said that he was a god,,".

57. *rMu t'ag*, *rMu skas* are equivalent, cfr. the passage of Bu ston quoted above.

58. CROOKE, *Folklore*, XXV, 1914, p. 397.

59. In the text wrongly: *sMa gza'*.

60. This passage is also quoted in the *rGyal rabs*, p. 122.

61. Another name of Mu tig btsan po; on this story, cfr. *rGyal rabs*, p. 134; PETECH, *A study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 74; THOMAS, *Tibetan literary texts*, p. 268.

62. *Zal gto qdar gsum dan dga' gsum bca'd*. This obscure sentence refers to the able way by which aGos rGan na so rgad avoided a dangerous resentment among the subjects as a consequence of the murder committed by the prince, at the same time giving satisfaction to the ministers and saving the life of the prince. He put the same questions twice viz. if a prince guilty of the murder of a subject was punishable and by whom; each time the question was formulated in three different ways so that the king, the ministers and the subjects in turn trembled (*qdar*) and rejoiced (*dga'*). Mu ru btsan po had killed the son of the minister because the latter had forbidden him from entering the room where the king was having a council with his father (Apology rñin ma pa, p. 54).

63. On that occasion, according to the Apology Lha bzän klu dpal went to subue K'yi tan viz. the Kitan of China. The history of the submission of the frontier by Mu rug btsan po was written by lDan ma tse mañ (*So k'a t'ams cad mu rug btsan pos btul pai lo rgyus*. *Ibid.*, p. 54).

64. Viz. the leather mask of gNod sbyin brTse dmar. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

65. This same story is contained in the introduction to the sNar t'an edition of the bKa' agyur, the link between the two texts being the legend of Pe dkar, which appears in either cases. This introduction has been translated by F. W. THOMAS (*Tibetan literary texts*, p. 300); this dispenses me from giving it again. In a few cases I would suggest a different rendering: "basis and superstructure,," *rtan dan brten*; *rtan* is the temple itself and *brten* the images and other religious objects placed in it.

"A council of teachers, disciples and the religious was held,," *mk'an slob c'os*. This sentence is abbreviated for *mk'an po, slob dpon, c'os rgyal* viz. Śāntirakṣita, Padmasambhava and K'ri sroñ lde btsan. "a retinue of eight horses,," it refers to the *rta bdag* the eight acolytes of sNam t'os sras mounted on horseback. "soldiers of various services,," *mgo brñen* is "of monstrous aspect,,". Instead of "The turquoise-sage himself arrived,," read: "the image (of the Buddha) made of turquoise miraculously created,,"; *ran byon* is the usual term for things created by the agency of the gods.

"The ice tadpoles,," *šel* is not "ice,," but: crystal, p. 302.

"This being the first time that the names 'Dbas, race and 'Outer aBrog regiment, came to be known, according to a received tradition Dbas šes-phrug came to be pronounced as the race name,," rather: "this family originally belonged to the clan dBas: these being distinguished for having received by royal order the investiture (on this technical expression see above p. 688, n. 117) upon the external aBrog, that clan was called aBas šes ap'rug,,".

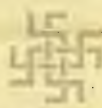
66. It is noteworthy that the title of the book dealing with Pe dkar, *Pe dkar ar gtad* should contain a word: *ar gtad*, *ar la gtad pa* (Jäschke, quoting Schiefner) "to be reduced to extremities, to extreme misery,," which is most likely Turkish. This word seems to me to be connected with the Turkish *arta* (verderben), *artat* (vernichten), GABAIN, *Grammatik*, s. v.

Anyhow, it is clear that Pe dkar too is fundamentally a fiend who took the form of a bird, evidently the same one appearing in the Central Asian pictures quoted above. In the rñin ma pa Apology we have often quoted and in the Dalai Lama's account, translated above, he is transformed into a vulture *Bya rgod*, and as such he fights against rNam t'os sras's army and is laid low by the latter. One of his symbols is the *šin bya*, "the wooden bird,," which was preserved in bSam yas. In fact he is often called *šin bya can*, "he who holds a wooden bird,," (*Padma abyun gnas skyes rab dri ma med*, mss., p. 97).

TIBETAN TEXTS

[illegible]

1. Ms. rtser - 2. Ms. kyi - 3. Ms. bstan - 4. Ms. agrel - 5. Ms. rdor - 6. For: ts'ai mar - 7. Ms. gril - 8. Ms. spro ris - 9. Sic: aḅrim.



གདོགས་གཉིས་གོང་ལོག་དང་། རྩོང་གཞིས་ཐ་དད་ཀྱི་གཉིས་པ། བྱེས་གཉིས་། དྲག་ཞན་¹⁾ ཀྱན་གྱི་ཐེལ་ཚོ་མ་འགྲིམ། གཡ་ཏེ་བྱང་
 ན། མི་དཔོན། མི་སྡེས་ཀྱང་མ་ཅི། ཡག་རི། གམ་པ། ལྷ་ཅི། རིན་ཆེན་ཅི་སོགས་ནས་དོས་ཡོང་བ་རྣམས། གཉིས་པའི་དོས་ཡིག་
 ཐེལ་ཚོ་འབྱར་བ་བཞིན་ས་རིམས་ཀྱི་འགྲིམ་ལ། དོས་རྣམས། ཞོལ་གཡས་གཡོན་འཁྱོག་དྲུ་མ་བཅུག། ཁལ་ཇེས་ཀྱི་མིས་སྦྱོན་བཟུང་
 བའི་ཅིས་སྦྱིགས། གཉིས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་འདོད་འོ་ཞོར་འཇུས་ཀྱི་ཁལ་པ་མ་བཟང་། རྩ་ཚན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། ཡུལ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་སར་
 ཚོར་མ་འདེབས། ཟ་མ་མི་ཟ་བ་གྱིས་ཤིང། ལྷང་པ་དང་གོ་བོ་ལ་འགྲིམ་པ་སོགས། ཆེབས་པ་ཡར་མར་འགྲོ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། འདི་
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེར་གསལ་བའི་དྲ་བྱངས་ལ། གཉིས་པར་དུ་དྲ་འབྲིད་མི་རེ་མ་གདོགས་དེ་བས་རྣམས་པའི་དྲ་མཐིད་མ་བསྐུལ། ཆག་རྩ་
 འདུར་མ་ལེན། དྲ་གཞུང་ལས་ལ་འགྲིམ་ལ་འོང་མེད་དུ་མ་བཟང་། དྲ་ཇེས་ཡི་གེར་གསལ་བ་ལས་རྣམས་པའི་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་མ་ལེན་བཞིན།
 ཟ་མ་དང་། ཀྱང་སྒྲུའི་བསྐྱད་མ་བྱེད། དྲ་རྣམས་ཡར་ལས་འོང་ནང་ཡན་དུ་ཞག་རེ་དང་། བྱིར་ལས་སྒྲུང་ལྷང་འདར་ཞག་རེ་སྤྱོད་ལ།
 གཞན་གང་དམ་དུ་ཞག་སྤྱོད་མ་བྱེད། ཁལ་ཁྱིལ་མོར་དྲ་གཡོག་ལྷག་ཇེ་ལ་མ་བཟང་། དེ་ཕྱིན་དྲ་གཡོག་གསུམ་དང་། དེལ་གཡོག་གཅིག་
 ལས་མ་བསྐུལ། དྲག་ཞན་མི་དམངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། གཅིག་གི་གཅིག་ལ་སྒྲོ་ཉལ་མ་འབེབས། གཤིན་པོ་ཇེས་འཛིན་ཡོད་པའི་
 ཁང་ཞིང་ལ་མཐོལ་²⁾ འབེབས་མ་ཞུ། ལས་ཁྱི་དང་། ཀྱན་མ་། མཚོན་རྫོལ་བའི་འཐབ་ཅོད། གནོད་པར་འགྲོ་བ་མ་བྱེད། བྲིམས་
 འགལ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱེད་མི་བྱང་ན། ཟུང་ལ་ནང་སོར་སྦྱོལ། ཞོར་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྩར་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན། ཕུག་པོ་སྦྱ་སེར་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལོ་དུས་འདིའི་བར་
 བཞི་ལྷ་གོ་³⁾ ལས་རྣམས་པའི་མ་ལེན། ལོ་གསུམ་པན་གྱི་བྱ་ལོན་རྩིང་རྣམས་ལ་། ལྷ་ཤེས་དང་ལེན་ཤེས་གྱིས། སྤྱོད་པ་ལ་མིག་ཉེ་མ་བྱེད།
 སྤྱོད་པའི་བྱ་ལས་པ་རྣམས་དང་། གསེར་ཡིག་ལ་མངགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། རྒྱུག་སྤྱན་མ་ཟ། མི་དཔོན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། མི་སྡེ་ལ། སྤར་
 གཡག་དང་། སྤར་བོང་མ་འདེད། སྤྱོད་པ་བྱོན་གཤེགས་ཀྱི་རྩ་ཞལ། ལས་ཚན་གྱི་འདོད་འོ་ཁ་སྤོལ། གོས་རྩ། རྩ་སྤོར་⁴⁾ རྣམས་འཆག་
 དྲུ་རྩལ་ཅིང་། གཉིས་ཕན་དང་བཟོ་རིགས་པ། ལས་རྩལ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མི་འུལ་མ་འདེད། སྤར་སྤོར་དགོས་ཡོད་པའི་ཁ་སྤོལ་⁵⁾ རྩིང་
 པ་ཀྱང་སྒྲ། ཟ་མ་འདོད་འོ་སྤུལ་འང་མ་བྱིན། ཁལ་མི་གྲོས་འཛིན་མ་སོང་བ་རྣམས་ཐ་དད་ནས་ཁྱུག་ལ། རང་རང་གི་ཁང་ཞིང་དང་
 སྤོར། ཁང་པ་རྩལ་⁶⁾ ཟོས་ལ་སོང་བ་འདུག་ན། བའུལ་⁷⁾ མི་སྤུ་ཡིན་གྱིས་⁸⁾ གསོར་⁹⁾ རྩལ། མི་སྤེའི་ས་ཞིང་། སྤུ་བཅུན་དྲག་ཞན་
 སྤུས་ཀྱང་མ་འཛིན། ཡུལ་སྤོན་¹⁰⁾ ཁྱུགས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ལོ་གཅིག་གི་ཁལ་རིགས་རྩ་འཆག་དང་། ལོ་རྩིང་མ་བྱེད་འཆག་བྱིན་ལ་སྦྱོངས་
 སྤུ་འགྲོ་བ་གྱིས་ཤིང་། ཡུལ་འཛིན་པའི་བྱ་བ་ལ་ཐ་དད་ནས་འབད་པ་ཐོན། ས་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཀན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། དགོས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཁལ་
 རིགས་མ་འགོལ། གཞུང་ཁལ་རྣམས་མི་ཕུགས་ཞིང་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤོངས་སྤུ་སྦྱོམས་པར་ཁྲོལ། རྩ་སྦྱོ་ཆེན་མོ་རྩ་སྦྱོ་ཡིག་སྤུར་ཡོད་
 པ་བཞིན་སྤར་བོང་རྣམས་ཀྱང་། སྤར་¹¹⁾ དགོས་ཀྱི་ཉེ་ཆད་ལས་རྣམས་པ་མི་བསྐུལ། བན་དེ་ཀྱན་དང་། སྤགས་བོན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་
 ཀྱང་རང་རང་གི་ཆོས་ལྷགས་དགོ་བར་འགྱུར་བ་རྣམས་ལ་བཅོན་པར་གྱིས་ལ། དུད་འགྲོའི་ཤ་ཁྱུག་ལ་མ་ནམ། བསད་ཤ་ཟོས་
 པ་ལ་སྤྱིག་པ་མེད་པའི་ལོག་རྩ་མ་སྦྱེ། གསོན་གཤིན་གྱི་དགོ་བ་ལ་དུད་འགྲོ་མ་བསོད། བསོད་སྦྱོམས་ལ་འབུལ་ཤེས། ལེན་ཤེས་
 བྱེད་པ་དང་། རིས་གོ་ལ་འབྱུང་བ་གྱིས། གཡ་ཏེ་འདི་ལས་འགལ་བ་དྲག་¹²⁾ ཞན་¹³⁾ སྤུས་བྱས་ཀྱང་། ཇིང་ལ་མ་བསམ་པ་ཡིན་པ་¹⁴⁾
 གོ་དགོས། སྤུབས་གནས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཇེས་དགོ་བ་གཞན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བསམ་པ་བཞིན་འགྲུབ། ད་ཀན་འདི་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡོང་། ལུས་
 སེམས་བདེ་བར་བྲིམས་གཉིས་དང་མཐུན་¹⁵⁾ པའི་བྱ་བ་ལ་འབད་པ་ཐོན། ལྷགས་པོ་སྤུ་ལོ་ཞོར་རྒྱ་དང་པོའི་ཆོས་ལྷ་ལ་རྩལ་ཅིར་
 བྲིས་པ་དགོ་ཞིང་བྱ་གཤིས། །

1. Ms. gžan - 2. Ms. t'il - 3. Ms. agro - 4. Ms. rdor - 5. Ms. sroñ - 6. Ms. c'ug - 7. Ms. bšu - 8. Ms. kyi - 9. Ms. sor - 10. Ms. mt'on -
 11. Ms. sha - 12. Ms. grag - 13. Ms. gžan - 14. Ms. yin pas - 15. Ms. at'un.



I (fig. 124)

༡༡། ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་གིས། ཡེ་ཤེས་རིན་ཆེན་ཏི་ཤིའི་གཏམ། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་གྱིས་སྤར་ནས་ཤེས་པའི་མི་དཔོན་དང་། །
མི་སྤེའི་ཀན་པ་དང་། མི་སྤེ་ནམས་ལ་བརློབ་། ། བྱིད་ནམས་ཀྱི་མགོ་ལྷང་ལ་གོང་ནས། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལ་གསེར་ཡིག་དང་། །
འཇའ་ས་གནང་ནས་བསྐོས་པའི་ལྷགས་བཞིན། བྱིད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་གྱི་ངག་ལ་ཉོན་ལ། བྱོས་མཐོར་དང་འཇུས་
འཁོར་ས་བྱེད་པར། རང་རང་གི་ལྷལ་དུ་སྤྲོད་ལ། བྲིམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་ནམས་དུས་ལ་སླེབ་པར་བརྒྱབས། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་།
ངེད་བསྐོས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས། ལྷགས་མེད་པའི་བྱ་བ་ས་བྱེད་པར། ཐམས་ཅད་ཉེ་རིང་མེད་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་ལེགས་པར་སྦྱངས་བརྒྱས་
ནས་འཛིན་རྒྱུའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ལྷག་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་བདུན་པའི་ཆོས་གཅིག་ལ། པོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོ་ཤང་ཏོར་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ།

II (fig. 125)

༡༢། ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་གིས། ། གྲགས་པ་འོད་ཟེར་ཏི་ཤིའི་གཏམ། ཞ་ལུ་རྒྱབ་པ་ཤེས་པའི་མི་སྤེ། ར་ས། མ་ངག། ལྷགས་
ལྷང་པ། ། སྒོན་འགོ། སྒྲེ་ཆལ། ར་སོག། བྱི་ཡིང་། ལྷང་ར། ཡན། སྒྲོལ། འདི་པ་ལ་གཏོགས་པའི་མི་སྤེ་སྤོང་སྒོར། བརྒྱ་སྒོར་བཅུ་
སྒོར་ནམས་ལ་བརློབ་། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལ། གོང་ནས། གསེར་ཡིག་དང་། འཇའ་ས་གནང་ནས། བྱིད་ནམས་ཀྱི་སྤེང་དུ་བསྐོས་
འདུག་པའི་ལྷགས་བཞིན། ། ངེད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་བསྐོས་པ་ཡིན་པས། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་གྱི་ངག་བཞིན། བྱིད་ནམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་བྲིམས་
ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་ནམས་དུས་ལ་སླེབ་པར་བརྒྱབས། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་། ངེད་བསྐོས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས། ལྷག་ལེན་དང་། ལ་ལྷས་ཨོ་
ཁོལ་གྱིས་མགོ་བྱས། སྒོན་རྒྱ་སའི་མི་དཔོན་ནམས་ལ་གྲོས་མེད་པར། ལྷགས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་བྱ་བ་ས་བྱེད་པར། ཉེ་རིང་མེད་
པའི་སྒོ་ནས་མི་སྤེ་ནམས་ལེགས་པར་སྦྱངས། ལྷག་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་བཞི་པ་བྱི་མའི་ཆོས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ལ། པོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོ་ཤང་ཏོའི། །

III (fig. 126)

༡༣། ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་གིས། རིན་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཏི་ཤིའི་གཏམ། གཙང་དང་དབུས་ཀྱི་སོན་རྒྱ་སའི་མི་དཔོན། དམག་དཔོན།
དམག་མི། ལྷལ་སྤངས། བྲིམས་གཙོད། སྤུང་དང་འགོ་འོང་བྱེད་པ། བྲི་དཔོན། འཇ་མོ་ཆེ། མཛོད་གསན་མ། རྩོ་ལྷང་བ། ལྷ་
སྤེ་མི་སྤེ་ནམས་ལ་བརློབ་། རྩོ་ཆེ་དབང་ལྷག་གིས་སྤར་ཤེས་པའི་བརྒྱ་ཆོ་གཉིས་ལ་གཏོགས་པའི་ལྷ་སྤེ། མི་སྤེ། གཟའ་འཁོར། སྤེ་
པ། ལུ་བ། ལུ་དཔོན་ནམས་ལ། སྤར་གྱི་འཇ་སའི་ལྷགས་བཞིན། དབང་ཆེ་དང་རྩོ་བསྐོར་ས་བྱེད། སྤར་མེད་པའི་ཁྲལ་ཟ་མ་ལུ་
ལག་མ་ལེན། རང་སེམས་ཀྱིས་མཛོད་མ་གསན། ལྷ་སྤེ། མི་སྤེ་ལ་སོགས་སྤྱ་ཁབ་འཇུས་ཁོར། དགོས་བདག་དུ་མ་ལེན། སྤར་བརྒྱང་
བ་ཡོད་ན་ཕྱིར་གཏོད། གདལ་པོ་ད་སྤྲད་བཏགས་པའི་འདོད་མཆུ་མ་བྱེད། ལྷང་བཞིན། ཁྲལ་རྩིང་འབྲེལ་རྩིང་དང་། ཁ་མཆུ་རྩིང་
པ་ས་བཅོད། བརྒྱས་ནས་འཛིན་རྒྱུའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ཡི་གེ་ལ་ལོག་པ་བྱས་ན་ཅ་ར་བྱེད་དུ་འཇུག་པ་ཡིན། འདི་པས་ཀྱང་ཡི་
གེ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ནས། བྲིམས་དང་སྤྱལ་བའི་བྱ་བ་ས་བྱེད། འདུག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ལྔ་པའི་ཉི་ཤུ་གསུམ་ལ་ཤང་ཏོར་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ།

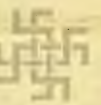




FIG. 124

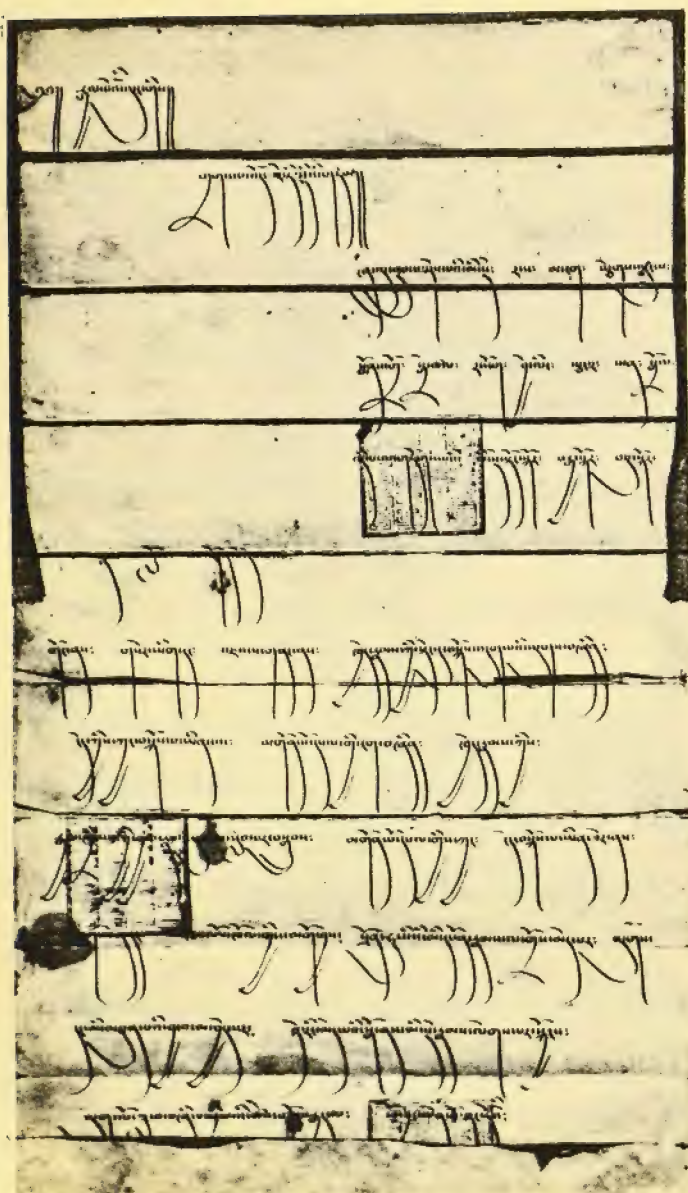


FIG. 125

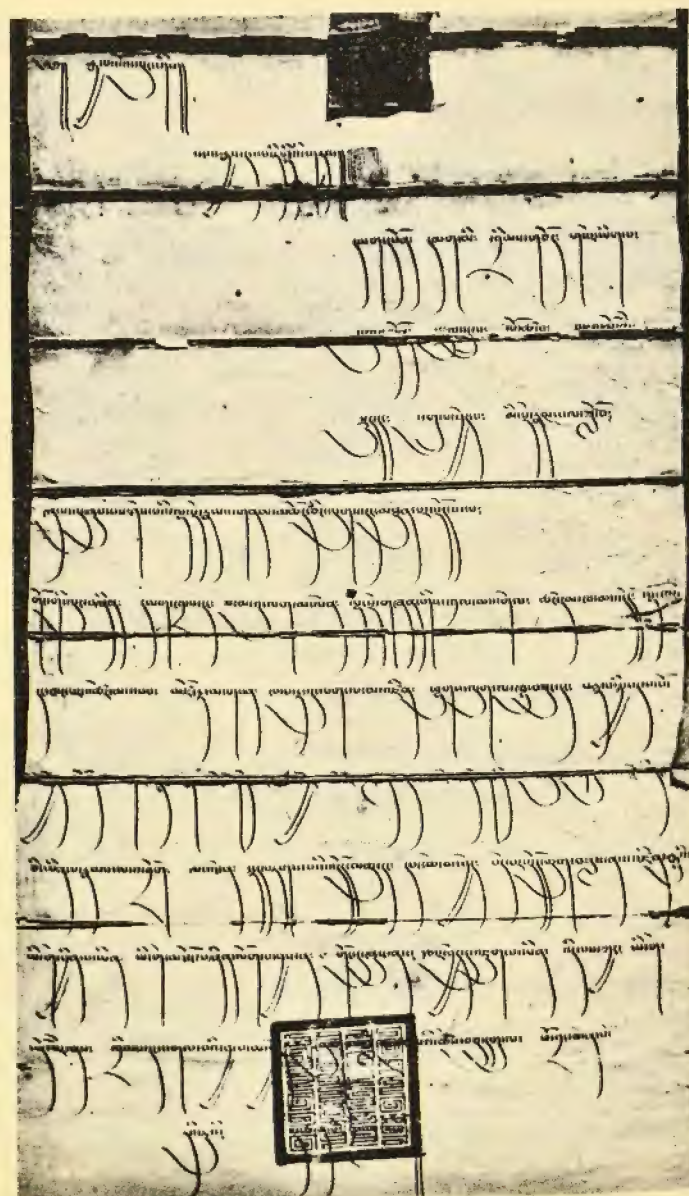
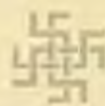


FIG. 127



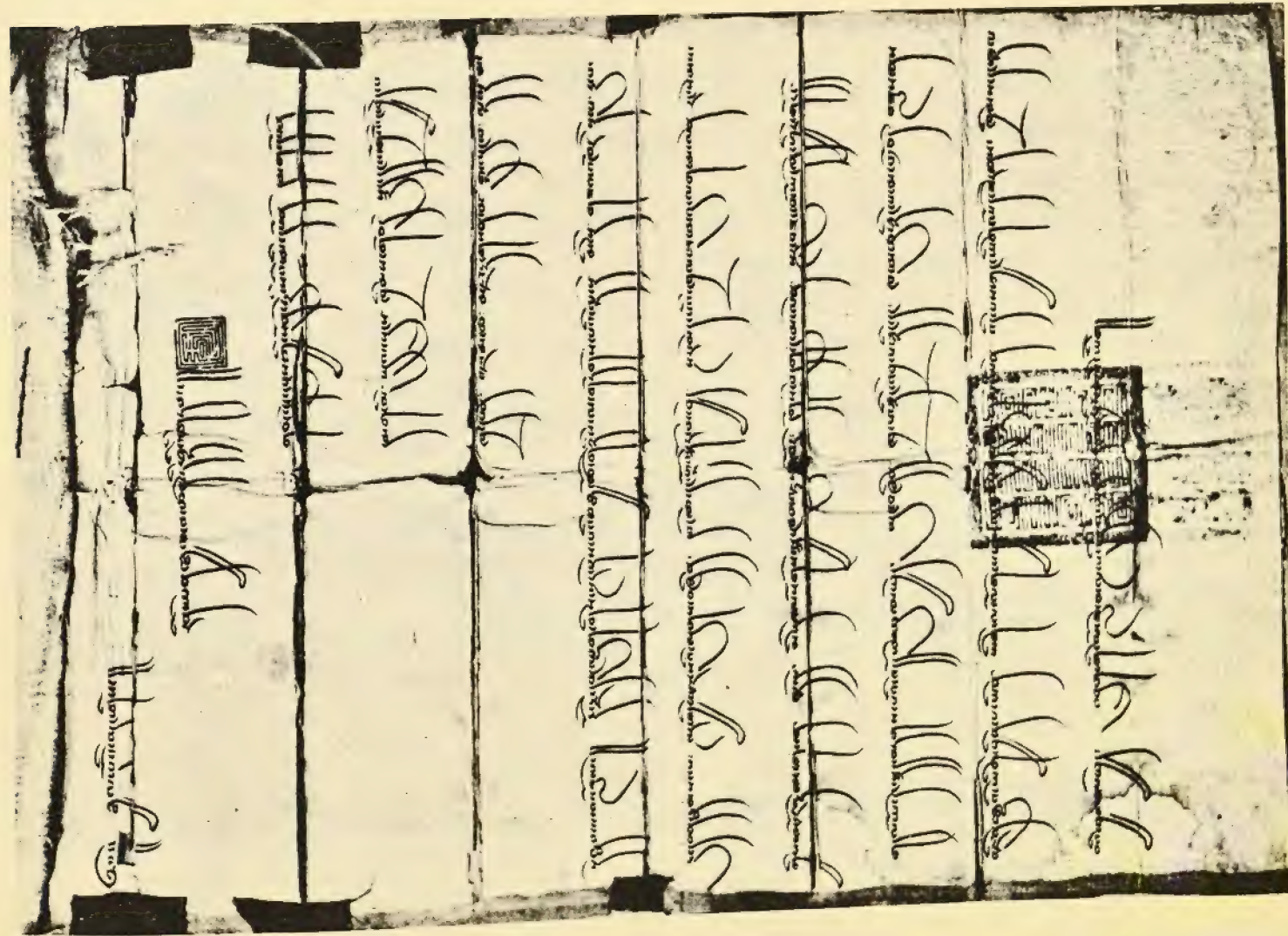


FIG. 126

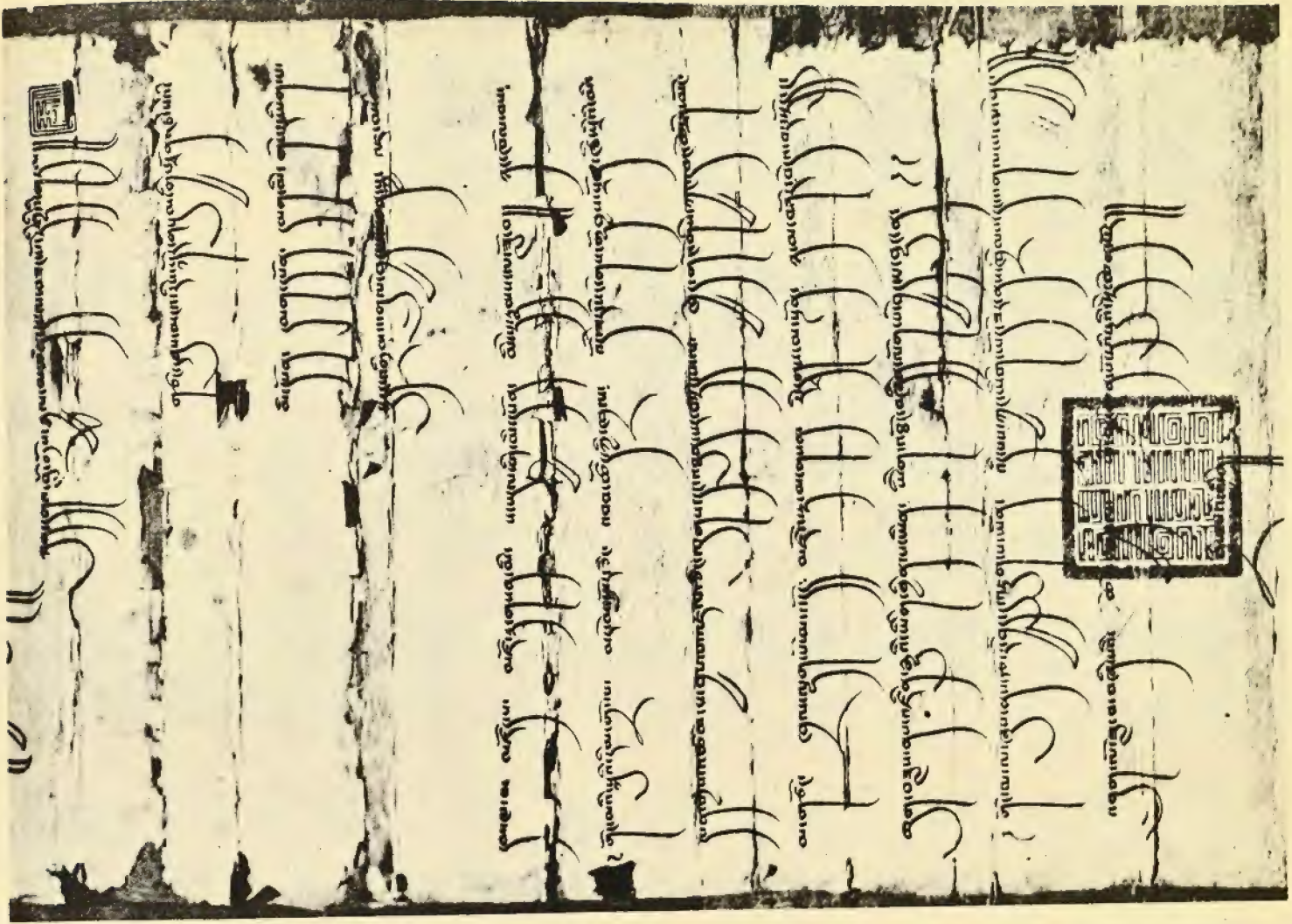


FIG. 128

IV (fig. 127)

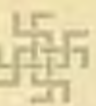
༡༥ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷང་གིས། ། སངས་རྒྱལ་དཔལ་དྲི་བྱེད་གདམ། ། དམག་དཔོན། དམག་མི། ཁྲིམས་གཙོད། གསེར་
ཡིག་པ། ལྷལ་དཔོན། ལྷལ་སྤངས། ལོ་ཆ་བ། འཇ་མོ་ཆེ། སྤྱད་དང། འགྲུལ་བྱེད་པ། མི་སྡེ་རྣམས་ལ་བསྐོས་བ། ཞ་ལུ་རྒྱལ་པས་
ཤེས་པའི་ལྷ་སྡེ་རྣམས་གནས་སའོད་ཅིང་ལྷགས་དང་མཐུན་པར་སྤོད་པ་ལ། གོང་གི་ལྷང་བཞིན། དམག་ཁྲལ་དང། ཟ་མ་ཁྱུ་ལག་མ་
ལེན། ལྷ་སྡེ་གཞན་གིས་ཁྲལ་མ་འགལ། ཆང་དམ་ཁ་མ་འདོད། ལྷ་ཁང་དང་ཁང་པར་འཆོར་མ་འབབ་། མཛོད་མ་གསན་། ཁལ་
དྲུ་ལག་ལ་མ་འཛིན། ལྷགས་ལྷག་ལ་བྱ་བཟུང་དང་། བརྟ་བཟྱི་བདལ་པོ་མ་བྱེད། མོ་རྣམས་ལག་ཆ་དང། སྤལ་པོང་གཏོང་བར་མ་
བྱེད། ཁོ་རང་སྤར་ནས་དབང་བའི་ཞིང་གཞིས། ས་རྒྱ་ཅ་གསུམ་ལ་སྤྱོད་དང། ཅི་ཡིན་བ་རྣམས་མ་འཕྲོག། མ་འཕྲེན། སྤྱད་
བདགས་པའི་འདོད་མཆུ་དང། དབང་ཆེ་མ་བྱེད། བདེ་བར་སྤོད་ཅུག་བསྐྱས་ནས་འཛིན་རྒྱུའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ཡི་གེ་མཐོང་བཞིན་
ལོག་པ་བྱས་ན་གོང་དུ་ཞུས་ནས་རྩ་ར་བྱེད་དུ་འཇུག་པ་ཡིན། འདི་བས་ཀྱང། ཡི་གེ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ནས། ཁྲིམས་དང་འགལ་བའི་བྱ་བ་
མ་བྱེད། ལྷག་ལོ་སྒྲ་བ་བདུན་པའི་ཆོས་བཅུ་དགལ། མོ་བྱང་ཆེན་པོ། དཔེ་དཔེ། སྡེ་ཆེན་པོར་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ།

V (fig. 128)

༡༩ ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་གིས། ཀུན་དགའ་སྒོ་གོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་དེ་ཤིང་གདོ་གཅོང་དབུས་མངའ་རིས་
སྒྲོར་གསུམ་གྱི་སྒོར་ལྷོ་སའི་མི་དཔོན། དམག་དཔོན། དམག་མི། གསེར་ཡིག་པ་སྟུང་དང་མགིས་འབྲལ་བྱེད་པའི་བན་སྒྱ། འཇ་མོ་
ཆེ་དམ་ཁ་བ་། མཛོད་པ་། མཛོད་ཀྱི་གསལ་མི་། ས་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་དཔོན། མི་སྡེ་ནམས་ལ་བརྒྱེད་པ་། ཉང་ཁོལ་བས། སྒོང་མའི་སྒྲུབ་
རིས་གོལ། མར་མེ་སྒྲོར་ཅིང་། འབབ་ཆོད་ཀྱི་བྲལ། འོད་ཟེར་སེངྒེས་སྒྲོ་བྱས་སྒོར་སྒྲི་སྒྲིའི་མི་དཔོན་གྱིས་འཚམ་པ་བྱས་པ་འཇལ་
ཅིང་ལྷགས་དང་མཐུན་པར་བསྟེན་པ་ལ། བྱིད་གང་གིས། ཀྱང་དབང་ཆེ་ཤེ་མོང་མ་གཅོང་། བྲལ་སྟག་པོ་མ་འདོད། མཛོད་ཏུ་མ་མ་
གསལ། རི་དྲགས་མ་སྟོན། ཉམ་བཤོར་བདེའ་བར་སྟེན་དུ་ཆུག་བརྒྱས་ནས་འཛོན་རྒྱུའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ཡི་གེ་མཐོང་བཞིན་ཡོག་
པ་བྱེད་པ་བྱུང་ན། སྒོང་མ་ལ་ཞུས་ནས་ཙཱ་ར་བྱེད་དུ་འཇུག་པ་ཡིན། འདི་པས་ཀྱང་ཡི་གེ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ནས་བྲིས་ས་དང་འགལ་བ་མ་
བྱེད། འབྲུག་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཆོས་བརྒྱད་ལ། སོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོ་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོར། བྲིས་བའི་ཡི་གེ།

VI (fig. 129)

༡༣ ། ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕྱང་གིས། ཀུན་དགའ་སློབ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་མཆོན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་དེ་བྱིད་གདམ། ། སྔོན་གྱི་སྤྱི་མི་དཔོན།
དམག་དཔོན། དམག་མི། བང་སོའི་གཉེར་པ། བྱིས་མ་གཅོད། གསེར་ཡིག་པ། ལྷལ་སྤྱང་། སྤྱད་དང་འགྲིམ་འདྲལ་བྱེད་
པའི་བན་སྒྱ། བྱི་དཔོན། འཇམ་མེ་བྱ་བ་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་བརློབ། སྤར་ནས་ཞུ་བ་ཤེས་པའི་ས་ཆ་སྒྲོན་གྱི་རྩེ་མཆོད། བྱ་པ་ཅ་
འཆོས་ས། རྒྱ་ཆོ་གཉིས། སྒྲོལ། ཡོན། མོན་ཁ། ཆོས་མེ། སྤྱོ་སེར། ཀུན་དགའ་ར་བ། ཆོ་ཆ་བཅོད་པོ། ཤེ་མཚུར། འཕྲོན་
བྱ་མདའ། མཚུར་ཕུ། འདོའ་དགོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ས་ཆ་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་རྩ་མེ། མི་མེ། ཅ་དཔོན། ཅ་བ་རྣམས་ལ། ཁོང་གི་འཇ་སྤྱི་



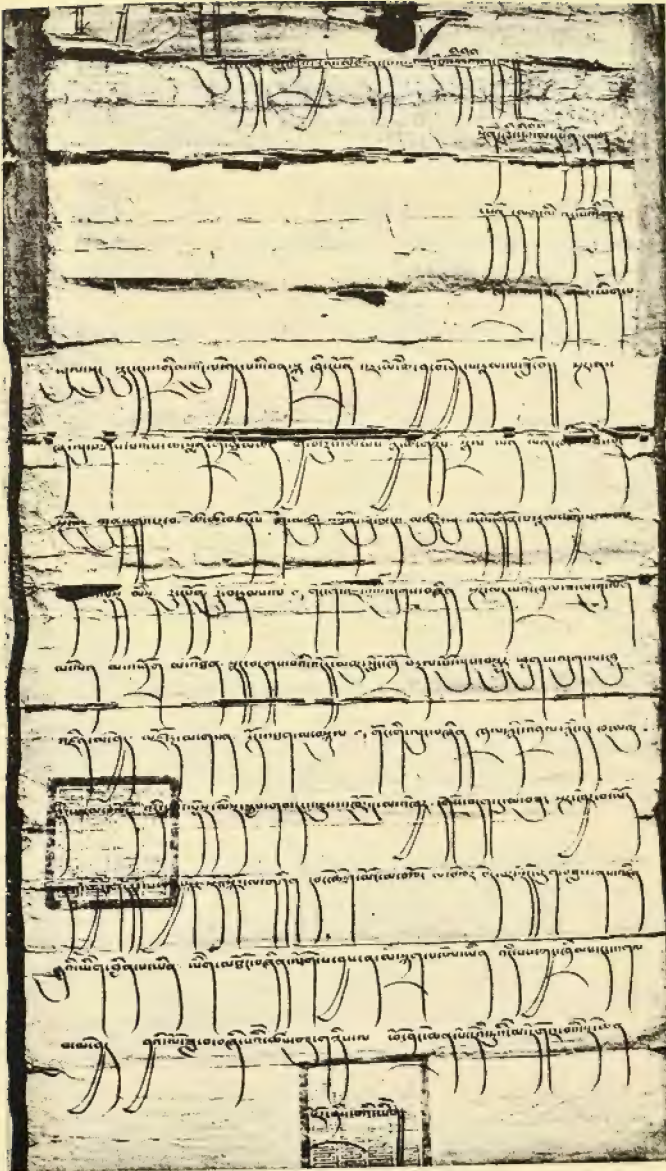


FIG. 129



FIG. 131

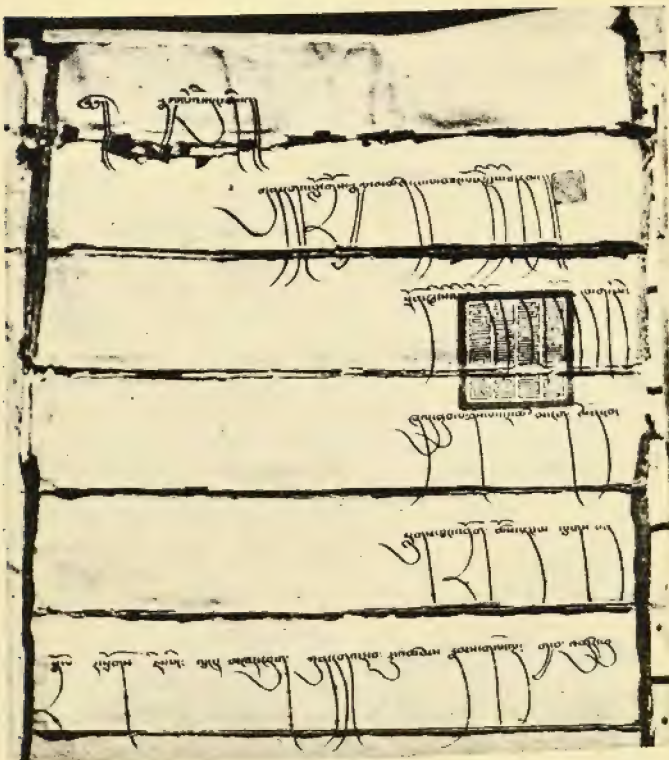
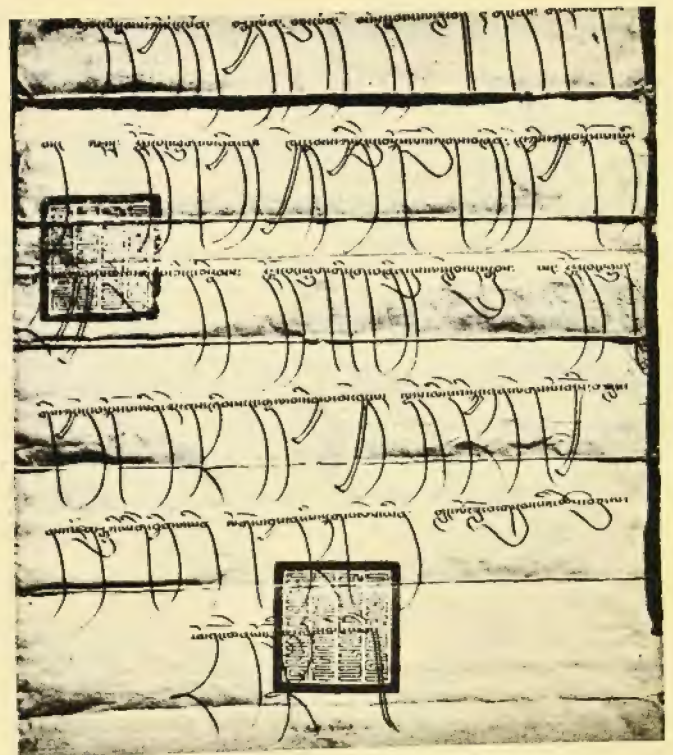


FIG. 130



ལྷགས་བཞིན། སྤར་མེད་པའི་བྲལ་། ཟ་ས་ཁྱུ་ལག་ས་ཡེན། མ་འཕྲོག། མ་འཕྲེན། སྤྲད་བདགས་པའི་འདོད་མཆུ་སྒོང་བྲོ་
 བདུལ་པོ་ལྷན་བསྐྱར། ལྷགས་ལྷགས་ལ་བྱུ་འཛིན་ས་བྱེད། མཛོད་ས་གསལ། རྡོད་འཕགས་ས་བསྐྱལ། གོང་གི་ལུང་བཞིན་བྲལ་
 རྩིང་འབྲེལ་རྩིང་ཁ་མཆུ་རྩིང་པ་ས་བཙོད། འདི་པའི་རྩ་སྡེ་མི་སྡེ་སྦྱབ། གཤམ་དང་འཇུས་འཁོར་དུ་ས་འབྱེར། དགོས་བདག་དུ་ས་
 བཟུང། སྤར་བྱིར་བ་ཡོད་ནའང་བྱིར་གཏོད་ལ་བརྟེན་སྒོར་སྒོར་ས་གཤིག། ། དབང་ཆེ་ཤེ་སོང་ས་བཙོང། མ་བཙེར། བདེ་
 བར་སྒོད་ཆུག། བརྒྱས་ནས་འཛིན་རྒྱུའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ཡི་གེ་མཐོང་བཞིན་ཡོག་པ་བྱས་ན་མི་སྦྱག་པ་ཨེ་ཡིན། འདི་པས་ཀྱང་
 བྲིམས་དང་འགལ་བ་ས་བྱེད། བྱའི་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཆོས་བཅུ་གཉིས་ལ། སྔ་བྱང་ཆེན་པོ་དཔེ་དུ་མེ་ཏོག་ར་བའི་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོར་
 བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ། །

VII (fig. 130)

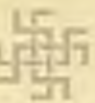
༡༣༠། ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུང་གིས། ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་དེ་བྱའི་གཏོ། སྤོན་གྱི་སེའི་མི་དཔོན་དམག་
 དཔོན། དམག་མི། ཞུ་རྒྱལ་པ་ཤེས་པའི་ར་ཆ་ས་ངག། མོན་ཁ་སྦྱགས་ཐང་འབྲོག། ཆོས་ཐང་ས། ལྷགས་པན། སྒྲོལ། ར་
 སྒྲོགས། རི་ཡིང་། ལུང་ར། མཁར་ཕུག། ཀུན་དགའ་ར་བ། ཅུ་འཆོམས་ནམས་གལ་ལྡེ་བྱ་བ། འཆུར་ཕུ། ཆོ་ཆ་བཅད་པོ་
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོང་དཔོན། བརྟེན་དཔོན། བཅུ་དཔོན། མི་སྡེ་རྣམས་ལ་བརྒྱོབ། ། གོང་ནས། གསེར་ཡིག་ཆེ་བ་དང་། འཇ་སྤ། རྡོ་རྩེ་
 དབང་ཕུག་ལ་བྱིན་ནས། བྱིད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོང་དུ་བསྐོས་པའི་ལྷགས་བཞིན། རེད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་བསྐོས་པ་ཡིན་པས་བྲིམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་ཆེ་བ་
 རྩིང་པ་ཅི་དང་ཅི་རྣམས་རྡོ་རྩེ་དབང་ཕུག་གི་ངག་བཞིན་དུས་ལ་སྦྱོབ་པར་སྦྱབས། ཡང་རྡོ་རྩེ་དབང་ཕུག་གིས་ཀྱང་རེད་བསྐོས་པ་ཡིན་
 ཟེར་ནས་བྲིམས་དང་ལྷལ་བྱའི་བྱ་བ་ས་བྱེད་པར། རྩ་སྡེ་མི་སྡེའི་སྤྱང་བྱན་ཡོགས་པོ་བྱིས། བརྒྱས་ནས་འཛིན་རྒྱུའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན།
 ཡོག་པ་བྱས་ན་མི་སྦྱག་པ་ཨེ་ཡིན། སྤྱང་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་གསུམ་པའི་ཆོས་བཅུ་ལ། སྔ་བྱང་ཆེན་པོ་དཔེ་དུ་མེ་ཏོག་ར་བའི་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོའི་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ། །

VIII (fig. 131)

༡༣༡། ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུང་གིས། ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་དེ་བྱའི་གཏོ། གཙང་དབུས་སྤོན་གྱི་སེའི་མི་དཔོན།
 བང་སེའི་གཉེར་པ། སྤྱང་སེའི་ཉེ་གནས། ཆ་ཏེའི་སེའི་མི་དཔོན། ད་ར་ཁ་ཆེ། བྲིམས་གཙོད། གསེར་ཡིག་པ། སྤྲད་དང་འགྲོ་
 རོང་བྱེད་པའི་བན་སྦྱ། བྲི་དཔོན། ཐར་པ་སྤྱང་པའི་མཁར་སྒོབ། སྒྲོང་དཔོན། བྱ་བ་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་རྒྱོབ། རྒྱ་ཆོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ས་
 ཆ་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་རྩ་སྡེ་རྣམས། སྤར་། འཇ་སྤ་དང་། བཀའ་ཤོག་རིས་པས། ཞུ་རྒྱར། གོང་ས་སྤུའི་རིས་གོ་དང་། སྡེ་རྩ་ཁང་གི་
 ཞབས་ཐོག་བསྐྱབས་པ་ལ་ཕན་དུ་བཅུག་འདུག་པས། དཔལ་སྤར་ལྷགས་བཞིན་འཇགས་སུ་ཆུག་ལ། བྱིད་གང་གིས་ཀྱང་། མ་
 འཕྲོག། མ་འཕྲེན། སྤྲད་དང་བཙོད་འཕྲེན་ས་བྱེད། བདེའ་བར་སྒོན་ལས་འདེབས་སུ་ཆུག། བརྒྱས་བཞིན་ཡོག་པ་བྱས་ན་མི་སྦྱག་པ་
 ཨེ་ཡིན། བྱི་བ་རྒྱ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཆོས་བཅུ་དུག་ལ་སྔ་བྱང་ཆེན་པོའི་དཔེ་དུ་མེ་ཏོག་ར་བའི་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོའི་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ།

IX (fig. 132)

༡༣༢། ། གནས་གྱི་ཤེ་སོང་པ་། ཀྱི་ལུང་། དགོ་བའི་བཤེས་
 གཉེན། བྱ་སྒོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྲུབ་ལ། རེད་ཀྱིས་འདིར་རིས་པར་བྲོས་པ་ལ། བྱིད་ཀྱིས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གསུང་རབ་སྡེ་སྒོད་གསུམ་དང་།



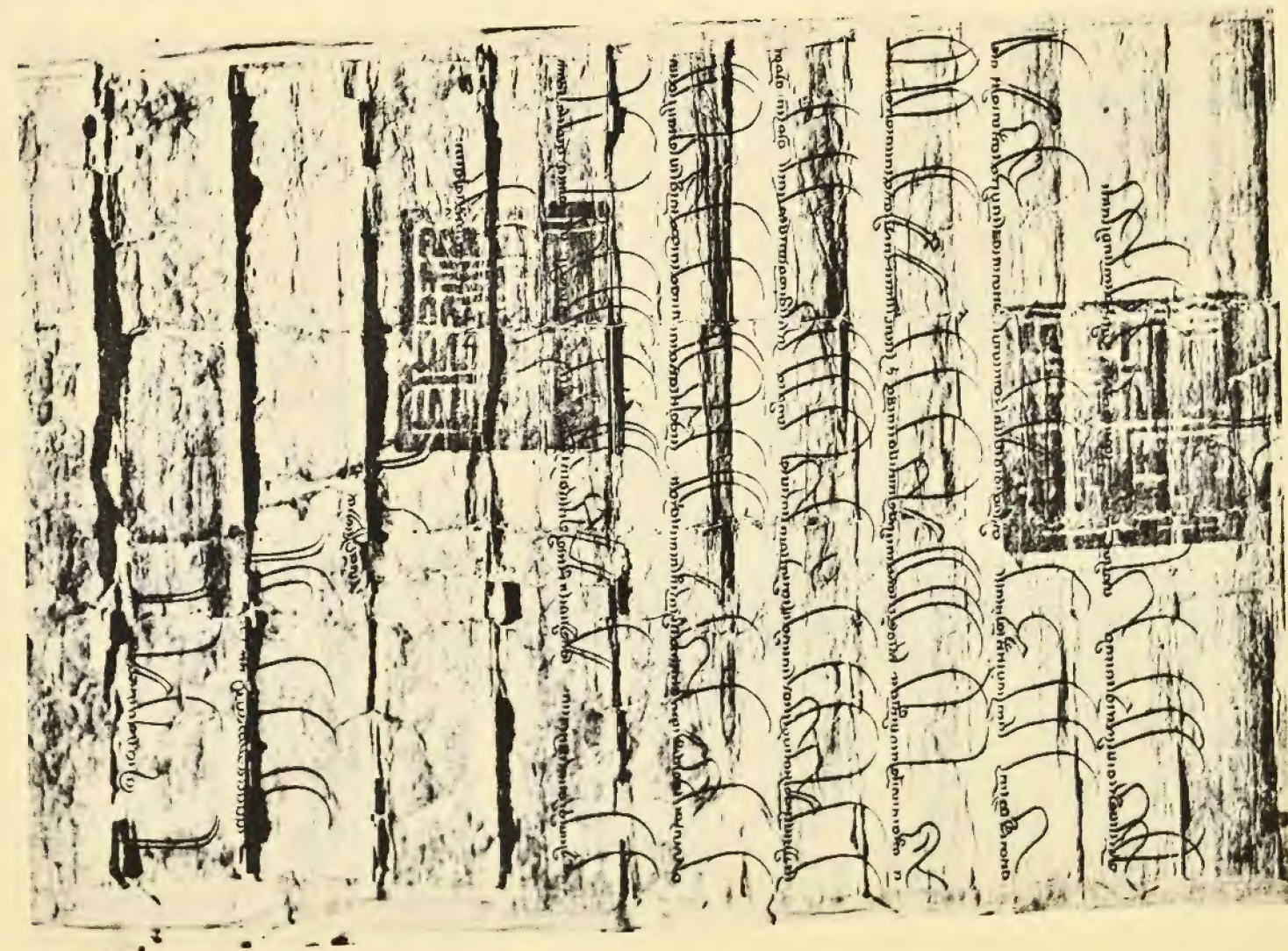


FIG. 132

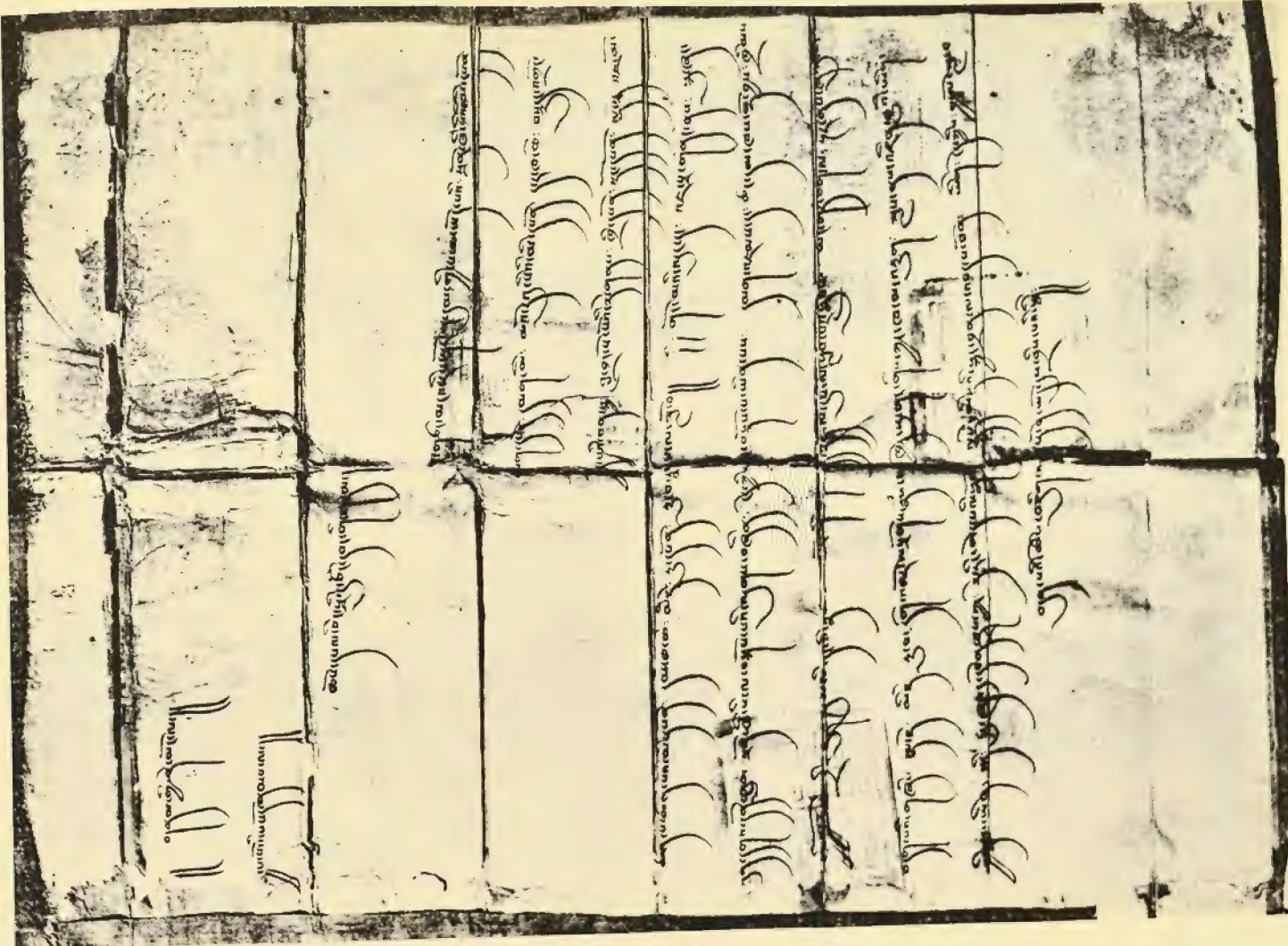


FIG. 133

གྲུང་མེ་བཞིའི་ལུང་རིགས་པ་མན་ངག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་བཙོན་འགྲུས་ཀྱི་ཆེན་པོས་ཡུན་རིང་པོར་སྤངས་པ་ལ་བཏེན་ནས། དེ་ཕྱོགས་
 སུ་བཟུན་པ་ཡན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱང་འདུག་པའི་དོན་ལ། དེད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ཕྱོགས་འབོད་དུ་བཏང་བ་ཡིན་ནའང་མི་སྟོབ་ཡོད་པ་འདུག་ཡིན་
 ན། དེ་རང་དུ་སྟོབ་པ་ལ་འཆད་པ་དང་། བཙོན་པ་བཙོས་པ། བསྐྱབ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྟོན་ནས། སྤར་བཞིན་བཟུན་པའི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་
 འབད་པ་ཐོན། དེད་ལའང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བཟུན་པ་མ་གཏོགས་གཞན་བསམ་ཀྱི་ཅི་ཡོད། དེར་ཡོད་པའི་ས་སྐྱ་གྲོས་པ་དང་། མི་
 དཔོན་བྱ་བ་བྱེད་པ་ནམས་ལའང་། བསམ་པ་བཟང་པོའི་དྲན་བསྐྱལ་གྱིས། བདག་གཉེར་དུ་འགྱུར་བ་འདི་ནས་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན། ལྷག་
 གི་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་དང་པོའི་ཆོས་བརྟུ་ལྷ་ལ་ཏའི་དུ་མ་ཡོད་པའི་དུས་སུ་བྱིས།

X (fig. 133)

༄། ། གནས་གྱི་ཤེ་སོང་ལ། རྒྱལ་བོའི་བསོད་ནམས་ལ། ཆོས་དཔལ་ཅིང་སྤྱུ་ཅིང་དབང་གི་གཏམ། ། དབྱས་གཙང་
 མངའ་རིས་སྟོར་གསུ་གྱི་ས་ཆ་ཡོད་པའི། སྟོན་ཁྱི་སའི་མི་དཔོན། དམག་དཔོན། དམག་མི། ཆའོ་དབྱ་སའི་མི་དཔོན། དར་ཁ་
 ཆེ། བསྐྱད་དང་འགྲོང་བྱེད་པའི་བན་སྐྱ། སྤང་བའི་སོ་སོ་ཉེ་གནས། ཁྲི་དཔོན། ལྷ་མེ། འཇ་མོ་ཆེན་པོ་... ཆེན་པའི་མི་དཔོན། དམ་
 ཁ་ཆེ། མི་མེ། ཅུ་དཔོན། ཅུ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་སྟོབ་། གོང་མའི་ལུང་དང་། འཇ་སྤྱ་གནང་ནས། སྐྱ་ཞང་ཀུན་དགའ་དོན་གྲུབ། སྟོན་ཁྱི་སའི་
 ལ་བསྟོས་པའི་ལྷགས་བཞིན། དེད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་བསྟོས་པ་ཡིན་པས། དམག་འཇམས་དང་། ཆང་དེ་ཁས་སྟོ་བྱས། ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་ཆེ་
 འབྲིང་ཆུང་གསུ་ཅི་དང་ཅི་ནམས། ཁོང་གི་ངག་བཞིན་ཉན་ལ་དུས་ལ་སྟེབ་པར་སྐྱབས། མང་གར་བཅག་ལ་... སྤར་ནས་ཞུ་ལ།
 བདག་པའི་གཞིས། ལྷ་མེ། མི་མེ། ཅུ་བ། དགོ་འཁོར་ལ་སྟོགས་རྣམས་ལ། བྱིད་སྤྱ་གང་གིས་ཀྱང་ཁ་ས་འཇུག། རྒྱས་ནས་འཛོན་
 གྱའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། འདི། སྐྱ་ཞང་དུ་དབེན་སྤྱས་ཀྱང་། ཉེ་རིང་མེད་པའི་སྟོན་ནས། ལྷ་མེ་མི་མེའི་སྐྱང་བྲན་ལ་འབད་པ་ཐོན། ཡི་
 གེ། དེད་ཀྱིས། བྱ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ། བདུན་པའི་ཆོས་བརྟུ་ཅིག་ལ་... ང་རོ་མ་ཡོད་དུས་བྱིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ།

XI (fig. 134)

༄། ། གནས་ལ་གྲུས་པའི་སྟོབས་ལ་ཏེན་ནས། རྒྱལ་བོའི་ལུང་གིས། དེད་ཀྱི་བསམ་པ་ལ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ནི།
 བྱས་དང་སྟོང་ཇེས་གཞན་དོན་མཛད་ཅིང་། རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་དང་ཞི་བ་ལ་གཙོར་བྱས་ཤིང་། གོང་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ལ་སྟོང་གོགས་དང་
 ལྷན་། འོག་དུ་ས་རིག་པས་འཐིབས་པ་ནམས་འདུལ་བ། གང་ཞིག་དེའི་བཟུན་པ་ལ་དར་རྒྱས་བྱེད་པའི་རྣམས་པ་ཅན་ཡོད་ན་གོང་
 གིས་དེ་ལ་ངེས་པར་མངོན་པར་བསྟོད་པ་ཡིན། རྟོ་ཇེ་རིན་ཆེན་ཁྱོད། སྤ་མོ་ནས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བཟུན་པ་ལ་ལྷགས་ཤིང་། ཚུལ་
 ཁྲིམས་ཚུལ་བཞིན་དུ་བཏན་པོར་བསྐྱང་བ། སྐྱེ་བོ་རྣམས་ཐབས་ཀྱི་བདུལ་ནས་དགོ་བའི་ལས་བཀོད་པ་ལ། དེའི་ཆེད་དུ། བསྟོད་པར་
 འོས་པ་ཡིན། ད་ལྟ་ཁྱོད་ལ་སྤྱུ་གཤེན་ཡི་ཀུའུ་གོའི་ཤིང་ལས་ཀ་གནང་ཡོད་པས། ད་ཕྱིན་ཆད། བྱིད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་དམ་
 པའི་ཆོས་བཤད་བསྐྱབ་དང་། དེའི་བཟུན་ཆེས་ཆེར་དར་རྒྱས་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཡུན་རིང་དུ་དགོ་སྟོར་ལ་ལྷགས་པོར་བཙོན་ཅིང་བསྐྱབ་
 པ་དང་། དེས་ན་དེད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱོད་ལ་གཅེས་སྤྱས་བྱས་པའི་བཀའ་རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོར་མངོན་པ་ཡིན། ལུང་འདི་ལ་གྲུས་པར་བགྱིས།

1. Abbreviation for: agro dan 'on - 2. Reading doubtful: mon gor?

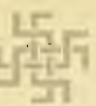




FIG. 134

XIb (fig. 134)

天 順 四 年 十 二 月 初 四 日	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>脩</td><td>範</td><td>教</td><td>茲</td><td>化</td><td>夙</td><td>榮</td><td>承</td><td>下</td><td>為</td><td>以</td><td>皇</td><td>天</td> </tr> <tr> <td>式</td><td>丕</td><td>國</td><td>特</td><td>誘</td><td>承</td><td>之</td><td>其</td><td>以</td><td>宗</td><td>慈</td><td>帝</td><td>承</td> </tr> <tr> <td>光</td><td>根</td><td>師</td><td>封</td><td>善</td><td>梵</td><td>尔</td><td>教</td><td>化</td><td>上</td><td>悲</td><td>制</td><td>運</td> </tr> <tr> <td>寵</td><td>宗</td><td>尔</td><td>尔</td><td>類</td><td>教</td><td>朵</td><td>者</td><td>導</td><td>以</td><td>為</td><td>曰</td><td>奉</td> </tr> <tr> <td>命</td><td>風</td><td>尙</td><td>為</td><td>良</td><td>恪</td><td>兒</td><td>朝</td><td>群</td><td>陰</td><td>用</td><td>朕</td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>欽</td><td>永</td><td>宏</td><td>輔</td><td>足</td><td>守</td><td>只</td><td>廷</td><td>迷</td><td>翊</td><td>以</td><td>惟</td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>哉</td><td>篤</td><td>宣</td><td>善</td><td>嘉</td><td>毘</td><td>領</td><td>必</td><td>有</td><td>皇</td><td>寂</td><td>佛</td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td><td>清</td><td>妙</td><td>翊</td><td>尙</td><td>尼</td><td>占</td><td>褒</td><td>能</td><td>度</td><td>滅</td><td>氏</td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>之</td><td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>道</td><td></td> </tr> </table>										脩	範	教	茲	化	夙	榮	承	下	為	以	皇	天	式	丕	國	特	誘	承	之	其	以	宗	慈	帝	承	光	根	師	封	善	梵	尔	教	化	上	悲	制	運	寵	宗	尔	尔	類	教	朵	者	導	以	為	曰	奉	命	風	尙	為	良	恪	兒	朝	群	陰	用	朕		欽	永	宏	輔	足	守	只	廷	迷	翊	以	惟		哉	篤	宣	善	嘉	毘	領	必	有	皇	寂	佛			清	妙	翊	尙	尼	占	褒	能	度	滅	氏													之													道	
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NARTHANG

I

༄༅། । དེ་ལྟར་འགྲོ་བའི་སྒྲ་མ་རིན་ཆེན་གཏོར།

ལེགས་བསྟོད་སྟུན་ངག་ཀྱང་པ་བརྒྱ་ཙ་བརྒྱད།

བས་རིམ་ལྟར་འོག་ཕྱོགས་དང་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་ན།

བཞུགས་པའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ཀྱལ་བའི་གཙོ་ནམས་དང་།

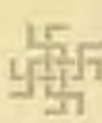
སྟུན་པའི་ཀྱལ་པོའི་དམ་ཆོས་་་་་་།

བསྟོད་པའི་སྟུན་ངག་ཀྱང་པ་བདུན་བཅུར་བཅས།

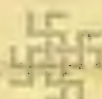
ངོ་མཚར་མཚོད་དེ་ཆེན་ཆོས་པོའི་དཀར་ཆག་འདི། སྒོ་གྲོས་ཁྱར་ལྡན་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྟོན་ཞེས་པ། དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་སངས་
 གུ་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི། སྐུ་གསུམ་ཐུགས་ཅིག་ཏུ་བལྟས་པས་སྟར་བཅས་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་མཛད་པ་ལ། ཐིན་ལས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོ་ནས་ཐུན་ཐུས་
 ཆོགས་པར་གྱུར་པ། ས་གསུམ་གྱི་འགྲན་རྒྱ་དང་བྲལ་བའི་མཉམ་མེད་ཀྱི་མཁའ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་མཆིམས། ཐམས་ཅད་མཐུན་པ་སྒོ་
 གྲོས་བཟང་པོ་གྲགས་པའི་སྐུ་གདུང་རིང་བསྐལ། གྱི་སྒྲིང་པོ་ཅན་ལ་ངོ་མཚར་པའི་གཟུངས་བཞུགས་དུ་མས་བརྟམས་ཏེ། དེ་ཉིད་
 ཀྱི་གཟུང་པོ་མཆིམས་སྟུན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོའི་དཔལ་ཞེས་པས། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་མཆིམས་སྟུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་མི་ཕྱེད་པའི་
 དད། ། བཙོན་དང་། ལྷག་བསམ་དགེ་བའི་སྟོན་པ་བརྒྱབས་པོ་ཆེ། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ཆོགས་པར་བྱ་བའི་སྟོན་དང་།
 ཡངས་པའི་ཀྱལ་ཁམས་ཆེན་པོ་བདེ་ཞིང་སྦྱིད་པར་བྱ་བ་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱང་ཡར་ངོའི་རྒྱ་ལྡར་ཐུན་ཐུས་
 ཆོགས་པ་བཟྱི་བའི་སྟོན་དུ། བཏུ་ཤིས་སྒོ་མང་གི་མཚོད་དེ་ཆེན་ཆོས་པོ་བཞེངས་སུ་གསོལ་བའི་ཐད། དཀར་ཆག་ངོ་མཚར་གྱི་སྤྱིང་བ་
 ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ཁོང་གི་སྟུན་ངག་པ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བས་ཀྱན་གྱི་གོ་སྐྱ་བས་ཕྱིར། ། མིང་སྟོར་སྟངས་ཏེ་མཁས་
 གྲུབ་དུ་མའི་བསྟོ་གནས་དཔལ་ལྡན་སྟར་ཐང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་པོར་སྟར་བའོ། ། ཡི་གེ་པ་ནི་ཁོ་བོ་ཟེར་དཔོན་ཡིན། འུ་ཐོ་
 ཡ་ཐུ་ས་མ་ཐོ་ག་ཏུ།

II

༄༅། । ཀ་མ་ཤུག་ཐུ་ན་ཡེ། མཛད་པ་མད་བྱང་དཔག་བསམ་ཤིང་བཞིན་མངོན་འདོད་འབྲས་བུས་མི་དམན་ལ།
 གཉིས་འབྱུང་ཆེ་ལ་བྱང་བའི་སྤྱིང་བཞིན་དཔག་ཡས་ཡོན་ཏན་ཁྱར་བྱིར་ཤིང་།
 ཉོན་མོངས་ཤུགས་ཆེན་རྒྱབ་བྲལ་གཡོ་བའི་སྤྱིད་ཅེ་ལས་སྒྲོལ་གྱུ་བོ་ཆེ།
 ཀྱན་གྱི་ཉར་འཛོའི་རིན་ཆེན་གཏོར་མངའ་དཔལ་ལྡན་མཆིམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆའོ། །
 མཐོན་མཐོང་མིག་གི་དགའ་སྟུན་དཔལ་འདི་མཛོས་སྐུ་མ་ལགས་ཐུན་མཚམས་སྟུན་སྤྱིང་རོལ་པའི་གསེར་གྱི་རི་བོ་ལགས།



757



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སྤྱིན་བྲལ་མཁའ་ལ་ཉིན་བྱེད་ཇི་བཞིན་ངོ་མཆར་གཟེ་འདྲ་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་འཕྱོ །

ཆོས་སྤྱིན་ཀྲུལ་བའི་མཐུ་ཅལ་གང་ །

..... འདི་སྤྱབ་པར་མི་ཉུས་པ །

.....

འགྲོ་བའི་བསོད་ནམས་དོན་ཆེན་སྤྱབ་སྤྲད་གང་ཉིད་མངོན་སུམ་བྱོན་པ་བཞིན །

ཀྲུལ་བའི་ཕོ་བྲང་བཟླ་ཤིས་སྒོ་མངས་མཆོད་ཉིན་ཆེན་པོ་དད་པས་བཞེངས །

འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་ཀྲུལ་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་མི་སྤྱིན་པའི །

རྒྱལ་མཆོད་དགེ་བའི་སྟོད་པ་འདི་མཐོང་ནས །

དགེ་བ་གཞན་ཀྱང་བདང་སྟོམས་གྱུར་པ་འམ །

ཉིན་འབར་མཁའ་ལ་སྐར་མ་བཞིན་དུ་སྤྲ །

རིན་ཆེན་གདུགས་མཛེས་གཡོ་བའི་བ་དན་ང་ཡབ་ནོར་བུའི་ཡུ་བ་ཅན །

དྲི་ཞིས་སྟོས་དང་མེ་དོག་ཆལ་ཆལ་ཉིན་བྱེད་མདངས་འཕྱོག་མར་མེའི་ཕྱང །

དམ་ཆོས་སྤྱ་འབྱིན་སེལ་སྟན་ །

ཀྱང་བཟང་ནས་འབྲུལ་མཆོད་སྤྱིན་ཀྱ་མཆོས་ཀྲུལ་བ་སྤྱས་བཅས་དྲག་མཆོད་ཅིང་ །

དགའ་སྟོན་བཟང་པོས་དཔལ་གྱི་རབ་བརྒྱན་པའི །

བཟང་པོ་དྲུག་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་རབ་གནས་དང །

བཟོ་རིག་མཁས་པོའི་ཆོགས་ནམས་མཉེས་པའི །”

སྟོན་མོ་ཡོན་ཇོགས་ལ་སོགས་སྤྱན་ཆོགས་བསྐྱབས །

ཇི་སྟོན་ཀྱ་མཆོད་ཤི་གོས་ཅན་པདྨའི་ཆལ །

དེ་ནས་རྒྱན་པོའི་ཟེ་འབྲུའི་མཛེས་གྱུར་པ །

དེ་སྟོན་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་གྱུར་སྟན་པའི་མཆོན །

སྟེ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་དཔལ་དུ་ཞབས་བདན་མཛོད །

དྲི་ཞིས་ཅན་དན་ནགས་ཀྱི་ཁོང་པར་སྟོས་པའི་ཁྱ་རྒྱང་བུ་མོ་དག །

སྐད་སྟན་རབ་སྟོགས་འདོད་ལྡན་དཔྱིད་དེ་ཡིད་སྤུབ་དགའ་བའི་ཅི་དགར་གྱུར་ །

ཟླ་ཤར་ར་འོ་མཆོ་བཞིན་མཁས་ནམས་དགའ་བའི་སྤུ་ལོང་རབ་གཡོ་བ །

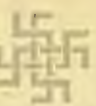
ངག་གི་འདོད་འཛོལ་ཆས་དབྱངས་ལོ་རྩ་སྟན་ངག་མཁན་པོས་དཀར་ཆག་བཞི །

དཔོན་གཙུག་བཟླ་ཤིས་བཟང་པོའི་བཟོ་རིག་འདི །

མཁུན་ལྡན་རྩ་མི་ཀྱན་གྱི་སྤྱན་གཟིགས་མཛོད །

ཡི་གེ་པ་ནི་སྟོ་ལྡན་བཟླ་ཤིས་ཏེ །

1. Verse defective; one syllable missing.



དག་པས་འགྲོ་ཀུན་སེལ་བའི་ཆུ་གཏོར་ཆེར་འགྲོ་བའི་གྲ་དང་ཐར་པའི་ཁང་བཟང་མཆོག་། འཛོག་པའི་ཐེས་སྐུ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར་པར་
ཤོག་། ཤུ་རྣམ་ཐུ་སའ་ཇ་གཏོ་།

III

༡༡། ། ཀ་མཆ་སི་རྩེ་ར་ཐུ། ཤེས་བྱའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་མཁུན་པའི་དཔལ་གྱིས་ཆུ་བདག་ཁོས་པའི་གཏོར་མཐའི་མཐུ་ཙལ་

ཉམས་བྱས་ཤིང་།

ཉོན་ཀའི་མཆོ་ལྷ་བྱར་རྩོག་བྲལ་རང་བཞིན་སྒྲུབ་པ་གསུམ་སྟོན་གསུམ་དཔེ་མཐུད་དང་བྲལ་བ་།

ལན་ལ་ལྷོ་མུའི་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་ཟེར་གྱིས་རྩུར་བཅས་འགྲོ་བའི་ཡིད་ཀྱི་རི་སྒྲིང་ཀུན་ཁྱབ་པ་།

འགྲོ་བའི་སྒྲིམ་དཔལ་ལྷན་མཆིམས་ཞེས་ཡི་གེ་འགྲིགས་འབར་ན་བའི་བདུད་རྩི་དེ་ལ་འདུད་།

བཅོ་མ་གསེར་གྱི་རྩུན་པོ་ལྷར་བཞེད་རི་དྲགས་མིག་རྩང་དགའ་ཉོན་འཛལ་དུ་རྩལ་བའི་སྒྲི།

མཐོ་རིས་མཛེས་པའི་མགྲིན་པད་ཀྱིས་གཏོར་དབྱངས་སྒྲུབ་ཡི་ཁེངས་པ་གསུམ་དུ་འཛོམས་ལུས་ཤིང་།

ལེགས་བྱས་བདུད་རྩིས་ཆུ་མདལ་གྱིས་དུད་པ་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་སྒྲིན་ཤིང་ཆུ་རིས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་གཡོ་བ་ཅན་།

བརྒྱད་གཉིས་གསེར་གྱི་རི་བོས་ཡོངས་བསྐོར་བྱུང་དབང་རྩུན་པོའི་དཔལ་དེ་བདག་ལ་བཀའ་དྲིན་མཛོད་།

ཐུབ་དབང་པོ་བྱང་གནས་བདུན་རྩུ་ཁང་འདི།

སྒྲོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་སྒྲུན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོས་བཞེངས་།

ཆོན་རིག་མཁས་པ་དབྱས་པ་དཔོན་བཅུན་མེ།

ཅུང་ཟད་བཞེད་འདི་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལོ་རྩུ་བ་།

༡༢། ། ཀ་མོ་ཇོན་མ་དུ་ཡ། ལྷར་བཅས་འགྲོ་བའི་ལེགས་བྱས་དག་པའི་མཐུ་ཙལ་གྱིས་བསྒྲུན་དུས་ཀྱི་ས་ལ་ཁོངས་གྱུར་ཅིང་།

མངོན་བར་འདོད་པའི་རི་སྒྲིང་སྒྲུད་དུ་བསྐོར་ནམས་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་འབྲས་བྱ་མཆོག་གིས་རབ་སྒྲུབ་།

ཉོན་མོངས་དབྱིད་ཀྱིས་གདུང་བའི་ཉམས་ཐག་སྒྲིམ་འགྲོའི་དབྱགས་འབྱིན་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་གྲིབ་བསེལ་སྒྲུག་པོ་ཅན་།

མངོན་བཅུན་རྩུ་ཡི་དཔག་བསམ་ལྷོན་པ་སྒྲོ་གྲོས་བཟང་པོ་གྲགས་པའི་དཔལ་དེས་བདེ་ལེགས་མཛོད་།

ཡིན་དུ་ནི་ལའི་མདངས་འཕྲོག་རིན་ཆེན་བྲག་རིའི་ཆོས་ན་ཡིད་ཁོང་གསེར་གྱི་མཆོད་རྩིང་ལྷར་མཛེས་སྒྲུ་དེ་ནི།

གསེར་ཅན་དན་དྲི་ཞིས་གྱིས་བགོས་རྩོག་བྲལ་མཐིང་ཀའི་མཆོར་དོགས་གསེར་གྱི་པད་ལྷོན་ཚལ་དུ་རབ་འགྲོ་བའི་།

ཆ་ཟེར་སྒྲོང་གི་རིག་པ་ལས་ཁོངས་བྱང་བ་སྒྲོན་པོ་དཀྱུ་བཞིན་དྲི་ཞིས་རལ་པའི་ཅོད་པན་རབ་བཅིངས་པ་།

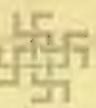
འདུལ་བྱའི་འཛལ་དུ་ངོ་མཚར་དག་པའི་དོག་པ་བཀོད་མཛོད་འཕགས་མ་བྱོད་ཞབས་བདག་སྒྲོའི་འཛལ་དུ་ཞབས་བདུན་མཛོད་།

ཀྱལ་ཡུམ་རྩུ་ཁང་ཞོར་བཟང་དོགས་བཞེད་ཀྱིས་བཀྲ་བ་།

ལུང་རིགས་སྒྲུན་ལྷན་སྒྲོབ་དཔོན་རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་གྱིས་བཞེངས་།

ཆོན་རིག་མཁས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་དཔལ་གྱི་འདུ་བྱེད་དེ།

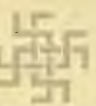
བཅུང་ཟད་བཞེད་འདི་ཁའི་མིང་ཅན་ལོ་རྩུ་བ་།



ཨོཾ། །ན་མ་ཤུག་མུ་ན་ཡེ། སྲིད་གསུམ་སྤྱག་བསྐལ་གདུང་བལ་སྤྲད་དུ་སྦྱང་ཆེད་གྲིབ་བསིལ་གཡོ་བ་ཅན་།
 སྦྱོན་སོགས་དཀར་པོའི་སྦྱོས་ཀྱི་ཤིང་ལྗོན་དགེ་བའི་སེཾ་ཏྲུ་རབ་རྒྱས་པ་།
 གཞན་དོན་དམ་པའི་འབྲས་བཟང་གིས་དུད་ཡལ་འདབ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སྤྲང་བྱར་པ་།
 རྩོ་གསལ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་སྤྲང་པའི་བཟྱ་གནས་མཆིམས་སྦོན་ལྗོན་པ་རྒྱལ་བྱར་ཅིག་།
 སྦོན་ལྗང་མཛེས་པའི་ལྗོན་ཤིང་གིས་དགྲིགས་རིན་ཆེན་བཅེགས་འདྲ་བྲག་རིའི་ངོགས་།
 བྱ་ཆོགས་འཕུར་ཤིང་སྤྲད་སྦྱོན་སྦྱོགས་ལུན་མཛེས་སྤྱུ་རི་དུགས་ཆོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱར་།
 ཆབ་སྤྱ་སྦྱོན་སྦྱོགས་འབབ་ཆུའི་དྲུང་གནས་ལྟ་དབང་བྱུབ་པ་རིག་འཛིན་ཆོགས་།
 ཅེ་གཅིག་སྦྱོན་པའི་སྤྱུ་དབྱངས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱོད་བྱུབ་དབང་དེ་ཡིས་བདག་ཅག་སྦྱོངས་།
 རྒྱལ་བའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱར་བྱུབ་དབང་ལྟ་ཁང་འདི།
 སྦྱོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་སྦྱོན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོས་དད་བས་བཞེངས་།
 རྒྱལ་བའི་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་ཞིང་ཁམས་བཞི་པོ་འདི།
 དེར་འཛིན་མཁས་པ་འཛེས་སྤྲིང་གྲགས་པའི་དཔོན་།
 དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱལ་མཆོན་མཁས་པའི་ལྷགས་བཞིན་དུ།
 བྲང་པོ་ལྷང་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དར་གྱིས་བྲིས་།
 ཡི་གེ་པ་ནི་ཁོ་བོ་ཟེ་དཔོན་ཡིན།
 མོ་ག་ལོ་ཀུ་ཅུ་།

IV

ཨོཾ། །ན་མ་ཤུག་མུ་ན་ཡེ།
 སྲིད་གསུམ་སྤྱག་བསྐལ་གདུང་བལ་སྤྲད་དུ་སྦྱང་ཆེད་གྲིབ་བསིལ་ཅན་།
 སྦྱོན་སོགས་དཀར་པོའི་སྦྱོས་ཀྱི་ལྗོན་ཤིང་དགེ་བའི་སེཾ་ཏྲུ་རབ་རྒྱས་པ་།
 གཞན་དོན་དམ་པའི་འབྲས་བཟང་གིས་དུད་ཡལ་འདབ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སྤྲང་བྱར་པ་།
 རྩོ་གསལ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་སྤྲང་པའི་བཟྱ་གནས་མཆིམས་[སྦོན་སྦྱོན་པ་རྒྱལ་བྱར་ཅིག་།
 སྦོན་ལྗང་མཛེས་པའི་ལྗོན་ཤིང་གིས་དགྲིགས་རིན་ཆེན་བཅེགས་འདྲ་བྲག་རིའི་ངོགས་།
 བྱ་ཆོགས་འཕུར་ཤིང་སྤྲད་སྦྱོན་སྦྱོགས་ལུན་མཛེས་སྤྱུ་རི་དུགས་ཆོན་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱར་།
 ཆབ་སྤྱ་སྦྱོན་སྦྱོགས་འབབ་ཆུའི་དྲུང་གནས་ལྟ་དབང་བྱུབ་པ་རིག་འཛིན་ཆོགས་།
 ཅེ་ཅིག་སྦྱོན་པའི་སྤྱུ་དབྱངས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱོད་བྱུབ་དབང་དེ་ཡིས་བདག་ཅག་སྦྱོངས་།
 རྒྱལ་བའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་བྱུབ་དབང་ལྟ་ཁང་འདི།
 སྦྱོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་སྦྱོན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོས་དད་བས་བཞེངས་།
 བྱུབ་དབང་གཡམས་ཕྱོགས་ཞིང་ཁམས་བཞི་པོ་འཁོར་བཅས་འདི།



འོད་ལྗན་གསེར་རིའི་སྤེང་བས་མཁའ་ལ་བྱུང་ཏེ།
ཀྱན་དྲུག་ཉི་ལྷའི་ཟེར་གྱིས་སྤེལ་མར་སྦྱང་འདྲ་འདི།
བཙོན་མཚོག་བདག་གིས་སྒོ་མང་ནང་དུ་བཟབས་པའོ། །མི་ག་ལོ་ཀུ་ཅ།

V

༄༅། །ན་ས་ས་ས་ན་ད་སྒྲ་ད་ཡ།

དེ་ཞིས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་མེ་ཏོག་བཀྲ།

མངོན་འདོད་ཡོན་ཏན་འབྲས་བྱས་དུད།

མཉམ་པར་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་གྲིབ་བསིལ་བདན།

ཀུན་མཁྱེན་འཆིམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ།

སྒྲ་ཏིག་དྲ་མངོས་གཉིས་འབྲུང་དབང་པོ་འགྱུངས་པའི་སྤྲེང་ན་རོལ་པའི་སྒྲ།

རིན་ཆེན་སྤེང་བ་སིལ་སིལ་སྒྲ་འབྱིན་སྒྲུའི་བར་མཚམས་[ལ་]རབ་བཀོད་པ།

རིག་ལྗན་སྤྱི་བོ་རྗེས་སྒྲ་བཟུང་སྦྱང་འཇུག་པའི་མདངས་གསལ་བཞིན་རས་ཅན།

ཀུན་བཟང་ཀྱལ་སྤྲས་གཙུག་འཁོར་ལྗེ་ཡིས་དག་ལེགས་གཡོ་བ་མེད་གྱུར་ཅིག།

སངས་རྒྱས་སྤོང་གི་རབ་བཀྲ་བའི།

..... ལྷ་ཁང་འདི།

མཆིམས་སྤྲོན་སྒྲན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོས་བཞེངས།

དགེ་བས་སངས་རྒྱས་སྦྱར་ཐོབ་ཤོག།

ŽA LU

༄༅། །སྒྲ་ཞང་གྲགས་པ་ཀྱལ་མཚན་ཡབ་སྤྲས་ཀྱིས།

སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱན་པ་དར་བར་བྱ་བའི་དོན།

གཡུ་ཚུ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཕྱིགས་མང་དུ་བཞེངས།

སང་མྱེང་གི་སྒོ་མོ་ནས་མཁའ་བཟང་པོས་བཟོས།

ལྷགས་ཤན་དྲུལ་གྱི་མདོག་འདྲ་མཐོང་དགའ་འདི།

སྦྱར་ཐང་མཁས་པའི་སྒོ་བདན་བཟང་པོས་བཟོས།

དགེའོ།

༡༡། ། ཡོ་སྤྱི། བཟོའ་རྒྱུ་རོའི་འབེའ་འགར་ནོ་ཇེ་ཡིན། སློབ་དཔོན་ཤངས་པས་སྤང་ལྷགས་ལྷ་བཅུང་གསུམ་སོལ་པ་
བཟང་། སློབ་དཔོན་ཚུལ་སང་གས་ཟངས་ར་གན་སྤང་ཕྱིད་དང་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་གསེར་སྤང་ལྷ་དུལ་སྤང་གསུམ་བཟང་ཡོན་དང་དྲར་
རག་ལ་བཟོའོ། མག་སྤྱི་ར་སྤྱི་ར་བི་ས་ན་སྤྱི་ར་ས་ན་པ་ཆོ་རྒྱུ།
༡༢། ། སློབ་དཔོན་ཚུལ་སང་གས་ལོ་ཆ་བ་ཕུལ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་དད་པ་དང་སློབ་ནམས་ཆོགས་ཆོགས་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག །།

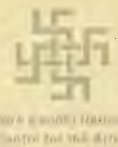
NOR

༡༣། ། དཔལ་ཡེ་ལྷོ་ཆོས་ལྷན་གྱི་བཀའ་འགྱུར་ལྷ་ཁང་དུ་དུལ་གདུང་ཡིད་བཞིན་མོར་བུའི་དུང་དུ་དུལ་སྤང་ཞིང་
ཁམས་ཀུན་གསལ་འདི་ཉིད། ཤར་ཆེན་ཀུན་དགའ་དཔལ་བཟང་གིས་བྱགས་དགོངས་ཆོགས་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། ཤར་པ་ཤེས་རབ་འབྱུང་
གནས་གྱིས་ས་སོ་སྤྱལ་གྱི་ལོ་ལ་ཕུལ །།

GNAS GSAR

I

དགུང་སྤོན་མཐོན་གྱི་འོག་ལྷོ་འཇམ་གླིང་བཀོད་ལེགས །།
སྤྱད་རིགས་མྱི་མཐུན་སྤྱུམ་བརྒྱ་དུག་ཅུལ།
རྒྱ་གར་སྤྱད་ཀྱི་ཐོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱད་དུ་བཟུར །།
གཙང་པོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྤྱད་རིན་གྱིས །།
ཐོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བདེ་ལགས་བཀོད་པ་ལགས།
ཐོད་ཀྱི་རིས་སྤྱད་གཏོགས་པའི་རྒྱ་བཞི་ལགས །།
རྒྱ་ལགས་ངོས་བཟང་.....
སྤང་རོ་སྤྱངས་ཀྱི་མྱི་གཤེགས་བཞུད་གཟིགས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བས་སྤྱན་གྱིག་དགོངས་བས་རྒྱ་.....
བཅོས་ལྷན་དམི་..... ཡོད་གྲུབ་འཁོར་འདི །།
པེར་ཐོག་ཐ་ས་འབྲེང་ན་བཟངས་པོས་བྲིས །།
འབྲོང་ཐོག་ལྷ་ཆོགས་མང་ཅན་རྒྱལ་བཅོགས་སྤྱན་གྱིས་བཞེངས།
འགྲོ་བཅས་སྤྱད་ཐོད་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཐོབ་པར་ཤོག །།



༄༅། | འཕགས་པ་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ།།

དོ་ཇི་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཆོགས།།

འཁོར་ན་གནས་པ་ལྷ།།

སི།།

གསུམ་དང།།

དཔལ་མ་རྒྱ འགོན་པོ་ནག་པོ་ལྷུས་དཔལ་དག་བསྟེན་ཆེན་པོ་དོ་ཇི་ལེགས།

ཆོས་སྤྱོད་བའི་སྤྱངས་མ་ནམས་ལ་ཇོ་།།

རྒྱས་གསལ་བ

བ་རྒྱན་འདི་ནམས་གདར་།

སྟོར་།

ཟ་ན་བཞེས་།

ཡིག།།

NOR BUI K'YUN RTSE

༄༅། | ཨོ་སྤྱི།།

ཕུན་ཆོགས་གཙུག་ལག་ཡངས་པའི་སྤྱོད་ཆལ་འདིར།

དག་ལེགས་སྤང་བའི་པོ་ཉ་རབ་མདགས་ནས།།

བདུད་སྤྱོད་ཕུན་བ་རྒྱ་མཆོད་མཐར་བཀོད་པའི།

བཀའ་སྤྱང་ཉི་མའི་དབང་ཕུག་ཨོ་ས་མཆར།།

འདི་འདྲ་མིང་དོན་འབྱེད་དཔོན་སོ་གནས་མཆོག།

བསམ་མིང་སྤྱི་ནང་བཏོང་ཡངས་བདག་རྒྱན་གྱིས།།

ཉར་ལེན་དཔོན་གྲུབ་ལག་པའི་འདུ་བྱེད་ལས་ལེགས་པར་འོངས།

SPOS K'AN

༄༅། | ལྷན་ནིང་འཇ་ལིང་རིན་ཆེན་ཀུན་གྲག་འདི་ཆུའ་ཅིན་གྱི་ཐོག་ལ་ཕུན་སོ་ཆ་རྒྱ་འགར་གྲུལ་མཆོན་འི་ལག་ཇེས་ན་བགྱིས།

ས་ཐ་སྤྱི་ལྷོ



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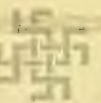
All words are listed according to the order of the English alphabet. Also Sanskrit and Tibetan words are entered according to this principle. Prefixed letters (printed small) in the initial syllable of Tibetan names are disregarded; e. g. *rDo rje* is to be found under D, *gYun druñ* under Y, etc. Numbers refer to pages.

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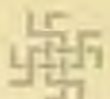


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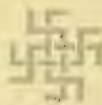
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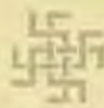
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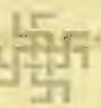
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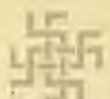
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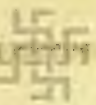


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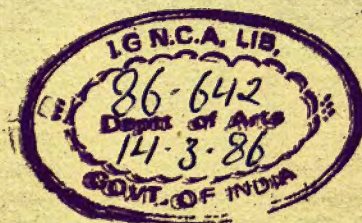
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